312

THE JESUITS IN MALABAR

PERMISSU SUPERIORUM

PREFACE

APRIL 15TH 1539 has long been accepted as a red-letter day in the annals of the Society of Jesus. It marks the beginning of a series of meetings at which the first Companions of St. Ignatius decided the fundamental principles of their organization. The Founder had called them some time previously to Rome from the mission-fields in various parts of Italy, and bade them each prepare himself by prayer and fasting and solitary meditation for his share in the decision of future policy. At one of the sittings, on May 4th, among other resolutions, Ignatius was designated to draw up the petition for Papal recognition.

It is recorded that on reading the Constitutions submitted to him Paul III exclaimed: "The finger of God is here". But official machinery moves slowly. The Constitutions had to be examined by a Committee especially appointed by the Pope and it was greatly feared lest some of its members should raise opposition on the score that new Religious Orders were not looked upon favourably in Vatican circles. St. Ignatius, according to his accustomed practice, had recourse to prayer. In the name of himself and all his companions he vowed that three thousand Masses of thanksgiving should be offered if the desired approval was secured. There is no reason to doubt that the conversion of Cardinal Guidiccioni, from whom opposition had been expected, was God's direct answer to Ignatius' prayers. On hearing the Constitutions read to him the Cardinal at once changed opinion and joined with his colleagues in recommending Papal approval. Soon after Paul III issued the Bull of Establishment *Regiminis Militantis Ecclesiae* on September 27th, 1540.

Voicing the feelings and sentiments of the whole Society of Jesus the General, Very Rev. Fr. Wlodimir Ledochowski, sent forth directions for the celebration of worldwide festivities

to be held in the year 1940. In a letter, dated 21st April 1935, he dwells at length on the things to be done to solemnize the fourth centenary *jam nunc parando.* Above all he stresses the need of reviving the primitive religious fervour of the ancient Society and more particularly of the first ten Fathers, *qui pauci numero atque annis, in navandis tamen Christo laboribus virtutem ac robur unius populi ac integri saeculi aequarunt.*

He then recommends, as chief part of the external celebrations, the preparing and printing of scholarly works and popular publications illustrating the asceticism of the Jesuits, their method and success in the educational field, their experiences in the different countries in which they have laboured. These latter studies are also intended to serve for the compilation of a long-cherished monumental work—the History of the Society of Jesus—during the four centuries of its existence.

As it was anticipated, the desire of Very Rev. Fr. General met with a wave of enthusiastic response from the Provinces, and quite a harvest of scholarly volumes is sure to be gathered in for the occasion of the centenary celebrations.

To Rev. Fr. D. Ferroli, S.J., Professor at St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, has devolved the task of writing the history of the Society of Jesus in Malabar. The subject is worthy of the pen and deep scholarship of the writer to whom it has been entrusted. It fills a gap in the annals of the Indian Missions, and the Venetian Province, working at present in the Diocese of Calicut, is to be congratulated on this contribution to the festivities of the Fourth Centenary.

To lovers of our past and to students of missionary activity and progress the book of Fr. Ferroli will be particularly dear as a welcome addition to such well-known works as: *La Mission du Madure* by Rev. L. Besse, S.J.; *The Bombay Mission History* by Fr. F. Hull, S.J., not to mention the celebrated publications of Frs. Tacchi Venturi, Astrain and

Rodrigues dealing respectively with the history of the Society of Jesus in Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Fr. Ferroli's book is full of charm and interest coupled with deep scholarship, but its chief merit lies in the fact that it tells the truth pure and undiluted. The present writer has recently had an opportunity of delivering a lecture to the students of Zamorin College at Calicut. He chose as his theme: "A plea for the study of historical history". And indeed it is seldom that from official historical literature we can form correct ideas of men and events and their interaction; of the forces at play in the initiation and shaping of national as well as international movements. Contemporary history, in particular, is proverbially a riddle. It has become subservient to politics and party-propaganda. It has ceased to be the impartial teacher of life and has, in its stead, assumed the role of popularizing ideologies of particular leaders who, by hook or by crook, have attained supreme power and rule the destinies of their country. Modern history is often a myth.

The work of Fr. Ferroli, we are glad to say, is free from these all too common faults of subtituting fiction and so-called critical interpretation to the simple narrative of facts. He allows full play to the actors of the drama he has undertaken to write. This is rendered more easy by the wealth of contemporary documents he has been able to unearth and to accumulate—of these he deliberately makes ample use. To such documents the author alludes in a lengthy introduction wherein he marshals forth in battle array an imposing list of historians, travel and chronicle writers who abundantly furnish him the raw material needed for his work.

Among the evidences the author has so diligently collected by far the most important are the *Litterae Annuae.* As stated in the Introduction, they were ordered by St. Ignatius who wished that the General of the Society should be yearly informed about the doings of the Order and enjoined that: "the things concerning each house as well as the whole Province have to be fully told, so that eventually they may serve to write the history of the Society."

SECOND PART.

THIRD PART

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the first volume of this History we have described the establishment of the Society of Jesus in Malabar and its work there in the first century of its life.

Wherever the Jesuits labour, they are a sign of contradiction. Hence, from the very beginning of their apostolate in Malabar, the cross was their constant companion.

First the troubles with the Syrian Prelates, then the misunderstandings with their own brethren in Goa, and the battles with the Bishop of Cochin, and the opposition to the new missionary methods of Fr. De Nobili.

Still these years were years of great labours and even greater hopes HOPE in fact is the key note of Jesuit Apostolate in the South till about 1640. There is the hopeful beginning of Fr. Fenicio's Mission in Calicut, the hopeful attack on Hinduism in its very citadel, Madura, and the hopeful explorations of Todaland and of far off Tibet.

Hope, however. is dimmed now, and greater prominence is evinced by a bulldog TENACITY, which will henceforth characterize Jesuit endeavour in South India.

The tide turns definitely against the Jesuits, and not against them alone, but also against Portugal, under whose aegis they had left Europe and spread all over the East, from the Persian Gulf to the shores of Japan.

Like a swarm of locusts did the Dutch ships cover the Indian Ocean the Straits of Malacca, the China Sea. Just as commercial enterprise and love of gain had taught Vasco de Gama the way round the Cape to the shores of Malabar so did the love of money teach the Dutch to leave their little country, to find fortune in the East.

The spices which the Portuguese had bought in Calicut and in Cochin were brought to Lisbon, and from Lisbon to the Dutch markets of Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam, wherefrom they found their way to London and the Hansa Cities. The profits were enormous and the Dutch thought they too could have a share in them. They first attempted to find a way to India by sailng round the Northen Coasts of Europe and Asia, thus avoiding the armed opposition of Lisbon. These attempts failed; but the Dutch were not discouraged, and they sent Cornelius Houtman, who doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Sumatra and Bantum in 1596.

Various trading companies were started, which in 1602 were amalgamated by The States General into THE UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY OF THE NETHERLANDS, which possessed a capital of £ 540,000 and was granted a monopoly for 21 years.

It is not our intention to describe the doings of the Hollanders in the East. We shall only gather a few details chiefly from the LITTERAE ANNUAE, which show how the Jesuits reacted to the Dutch menace.

Fr. LAERZIO, of whom we have spoken at length in the first volume, writes (5-1-1604) that "in the Gulf of Bengala there were many Dutch and British ships, which have captured some Portuguese vessels". Two years before (1602) Adm. Joris Van Spillebergen had dropped anchor at Batticaloa in Ceylon. Again in Nov. 1604 the Dutch concluded an agreement with the Zamorin of Calicut, who had just mounted the throne, "with the view to the expulsion of the Portuguese from the territories of His Highness and the rest of India". The Zamorin allowed them to open a *"Factory"*—as it used to be called—at Ponnani and one at Calicut, should they help him to conquer Cannanore. They could not keep their promises, and the factories were not opened. Thirteen Dutch ships appeared before Calicut in 1608. Veerhoeven, their leader, presented the Zamorin two guns, taken from the Portuguese, and some gifts brought from Holland. The old Treaty was renewed but it remained on paper. *

We shall begin this Chapter by showing the share which Fr. Fenicio S. J. had in frustrating the aims of the Dutch in Calicut.

Next we shall describe the work of Fr. Levanto S. J. with the Ruler of Bisnagar in order to prevent the Raja of Jinj from allowing the Dutch to open a factory at Devanapatnam on the East Coast.

The conduct of Fr. Fenicio and Fr. Levanto may be blamed by modern Historians, who think that Catholic Missionaries should be absolutely dabarred from all political activity. The XVI Century, however, was not the XIX, nor was the Portuguese enterprise in the East to be put on a par with any modern colonial enterprise. In the first volume of this History we have seen Catholic Bishops leading armed soldiers against people—even Priests and Missionaries—who, they thought, were infringing their jurisdictional rights. We do not justify them; we simply wish to point out how vastly different was the social, political and religious outlook of those days from to-day. Further, Portugal protested quite openly that the aim of her colonial expansion was not merely commercial, but religious as well. In fact tho spreading of Christ's Kingdom was paramount. The triumph of the Portuguese flag was subordinate. The Rulers

* Cfr. *The Zamorin of Calicut* by K. V. Krishna Ayyar, M.A., Calicut-1938. p. 214.

were convinced of this, and the Missionaries even more. They leaned heavily on Portugal, and they thought that a new Power like Holland, which was strongly anticatholic, was to be opposed, not only because it undermined Portuguese influence, but mainly because it threatened to destroy all Catholic Missionary enterprise. Hence the activities of Fr. Levanto in Bisnagar—when viewed in their proper perspective—are excusable.

The Moluccas were the first theatre of the conflict between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and Amboyna fell in 1605. In India itself the Dutch obtained a Factory at Pulicat in 1609, and in 1616 established themselves in Surat, which was then *the gate of the Orient*, as Bombay is to-day.

In this Chapter, however,—as we have already remarked—we have no intention to relate the Dutch conquest of the East Indies; we only wish to cull a few passages from the Jesuit Letters of the times, which bear more directly on the History ot the Jesuits in Malabar.

Then we shall proceed to show how difficult navigation in the Indian Ocean had become; wherefrom it will be easily surmised how much the flow of vocations from Europe must have suffered. Similarly the postal service—such as it was—was impaired, and communication by headquarters in Rome and Lisbon, and even in Goa and Cochin, had become very uncertain.

As will be seen more in detail in a future Chapter, Jesuit enterprises were financed with contributions from Government, fixed income from farm lands and alms from benefactors. Now the wars with the Dutch ruined commerce and emptied the viceregal coffers. Hence the Jesuits were sorely tried and found it difficult to train new recruits and develop their works.

Ceylon was one of the best portions of the Malabar Province of the Society of Jesus. The work of the Jesuits there has been described by others *; but in tracing the development of the Dutch conquests, we could not forbear to say a word about the fall of Colombo and the vicissitudes of the war in the island, which ended with the expulsion of the Portuguese and the total ruin of the Missions. On the contrary the Missions on the Fishery Coast and in Malabar survived the onslaught of the new-comers, partly because Christianity—especially in Malabar—was more ancient and more securely planted on native soil, and partly also because the native Rajas afforded some protection.

The following dates will give some idea of the Dutch conquests in the East;

1596—Cornelius Houtman doubles the Cape of Good Hope.

* Cfr. S. G. Pereira S. J. *"The Jesuits in Ceylon"*. (De Nobili Press, Madura, 1941).

1602—Establishment of the East India Co. of the Netherlands.
1602—The Dutch in Batticaloa (Ceylon).
1604—The Dutch appear before Calicut.
1609—The Dutch open a factory at Pulicat.
1609—The Dutch in Devanapatna (on the East Coast).
1616—The Dutch in Surat.
1940—The first Siege of Colombo.
1641—The fall of Galle (Ceylon), and of Malacca.
1642—Nagapatam (East Coast of India).
1644—The Second Siege of Colombo.
1654—The Mutiny of Colombo.
1648—Fall of Colombo.
1658—Fall of Jaffnapatam (Ceylon).
1661—Fall of Quilon (Malabar).
1662—Fall of Cranganore (Malabar).
1663—Fall of Cochin (Malabar).
1663—Fall of Cannanore (Malabar).

We do not speak at length of the Dutch "exploits" on the Sea, nor of their blockade of Goa itself. What we say, however, though brief and rather sketchy, will be sufficient to show the terrible blows which the Malabar Province of the Society of Jesus suffered at the hands of these enemies of Portugal and of the Catholic Church, and will help us to admire the wonderful TENACITY of the Jesuits, who continued to cultivate the field entrusted to them in spite of poverty, persecution and exile.

The main sources for this Chapter are:

1. The *Annual Letters* of the Society of Jesus for the years 1607, 1609, 1630, 1640, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1648, 1652.
2. *Letter* of Fr. Laerzio S. J. (20-11-1608).
3. *Letter* of Fr. Manuel Roiz, S. J. to the Assistant for Portugal (30-11-1622).
4. *Letter* of Fr. Ignazio Bruno S. J. (27-9-1638).
5. *Letter* of Fr. Francis de Oliveira S. J. (10-12-1664).
6. *The English Factories* (1661-1664).
7. BALDAEUS—*Malabar Choromandel.*
8. GIUSEPPE SEBASTIANI—*Seconda Spedizione alle Indie Orientali.*
9. ALEXANDER REA—*Monumental Remains of the Dutch E. I. C.*
10. K. M. PANIKAR—*Malabar and the Dutch.* (Bombay-Taraporevala-1931)
11. S. G. PERERA S. J.—*The Jesuits in Ceylon* (1941)

CHAPTER I

DUTCH "EXPLOITS" IN INDIA AND CEYON

AS RELATED BY CONTEMPORARY JESUIT LETTERS

1602—1663

1. CALICUT (1607).

IN the Annual Letter of 1607 we read that the Dutch appeared in Calicut and endeavoured to obtain from the Zamorin trading facilities, as well as permission to build Factories in his dominions.

Archbishop Menezes, who was then Governor of Goa, wrote to the Zamorin and to Fr. Fenicio S. J., who had just returned from a Mission tour in the Serra. The Father spoke to the Zamorin, who, during the night, gathered his council and decided to keep peace with the Portuguese. He would, however, receive the Dutch Delegates, accept their gifts, put them off with fair words, but at the same time he would grant them no trading privileges, and no permission to fortify themselves on the Malabar Coast. On the appointed day the Dutch were ready to land, when the news was brought that Don Francis Roz S. J. Bishop of Angamale, was at hand with a large force of Christians. He had been asked, both by the Zamorin, who was at war with Cochin, and by the Raja of Cochin, to bring about peace among them. That is why he was coming to Calicut. At the same time ten ships from Goa appeared on the offing. The Dutch, fearing that a trap had been laid to catch them, returned to their ships and sailed away. They were pursued by the Portuguese under the eyes of the Nayars, who from the coast could see the accuracy of Portuguese artillery.

In fact their estimation of Portuguese valour, which of late had suffered somewhat, was restored, while that for the

Dutch correspondingly diminished. Even the Moors were heard shouting: "Come on, Portuguese, come on: God himself has put the ships in your hands. Take them".

Fr. Fenicio in order to find out the strength of the enemy sent one of his servants—a clever rogue—dressed like a Hindu, who succeeded to board the Dutch ships and reported on the number of soldiers, how many were sick or wounded, on the strength of the artillery, and so on. The Father sent the information to the Archbishop in Goa and to the Viceroy in Malacca.

2. DEVANAPATNAM (1608).

The Dutch having been foiled in Calicut, tried their luck elsewhere. In the ANNUA of 1609 we find that the Bishop of Mylapore, the Commandant of the Fortress and the Senate begged of Fr. Levanto S. J.—who was much loved by the King of Bisnagar—to go and obtain letters from the King addressed to the Raja of Jinj asking him to expel the Dutch from his dominions. The Raja in fact had been very friendly to the Dutch, to whom he had granted the use of the port of Devanapatnam and permission to fortify it. They, of course, had not been slow to avail themselves of the permission, and had already begun to build a fort. The writer of the Annual Letter remarks that their success would have brought great evils both to the Portuguese and to the Christians. Hence the Father could not decline the onerous task.

He had no difficulty in getting the letters from the King, but though he was received with great deference by the Raja, he could not persuade him to give up the advantages he hoped to obtain from the Hollanders. Of course the Raja never said so; but he tried to gain time by making vague promises and fostering vain hopes. Meanwhile the King of Bisnagar, suspecting the true cause of the delay, wrote again telling the Raja to grant the Father's behests and get rid of the foes of the Portuguese. Should he wish the port to be frequented, let the

Portuguese have it, who will turn out better friends than the Dutch.

This had the desired effect, for the Raja prepared letters for the Bishop of Mylapore, for the Commandant and for the Senate, and dispatched an Embassy, headed by Fr. Levanto himself, to settle the details about the port and the building of a Portuguese Fortress in Devanapatnam.

3. MOZAMBIQUE AND GOA (1608).

While the Dutch had tried to gain a footing in Calicut and in Devanapatnam, the English took possession of Mazulipatam (1606). In a letter of Fr. Laerzio, S. J., written from Cochin (20-11-1608) to the Assistant for Portugal, Fr. Alvarez, the troubles of the Portuguese in India are said to be on the increase, owing to the maladministration of the acting Governor General, Archbishop Menezes, and to the growing power of English and Dutch traders. The Indian Seas, which had ever been unsafe owing to the Malabar Pirates, became doubly insecure, owing to the Dutch and the English, who captured or sank many a Portuguese ship.

The Father speaks of the new Viceroy, Conde de Feria, who had left Lisbon at the head of a Fleet of 14 ships. "One of them left the Viceroy and reached Mozambique in the month of August. But the Fort of Mozambique was being besieged by 13 Dutch ships, which set upon the Portuguese boat and took it after one day's hard fighting".

Upon hearing that the new Viceroy was coming, the Dutch raised the siege, proceeded to India and cast anchor off the mouth of the Goa river. "During our stay there", continues Fr. Laerzio, "news reached us that a ship called *Oliveira*, which belonged to the Viceroy's Fleet, had arrived, and was about 6 miles away to the north. Boats were sent there from Goa, which threw overboard all the gold and goods, and, before the arrival of the Dutch, set the ship on fire, so that nothing should go to the Dutch. No news ever reached Goa of the

other ships, and the Conde de Feria perished at sea". The letter continues in the same strain, but this suffices to give some idea of Portugal's troubles in the Indian Seas.

4. THE LOSSES OF 1622.

From a long letter written from Cochin by Fr. Manuel Roiz to the Fr. Assistant for Portugal (30-11-1622) we learn that the Viceroy Don Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidiquerda, was shipwrecked near Mozambique in 1622. He had been attacked by 5 Dutch vessels. The money and the passengers of only two ships were saved. The same year, of 4 vessels and 4 galleons which were directed to India, only one vessel and two galleons arrived safely. The others were forced to return home. Most of the letters were lost. Only those which were on the *San Thome* were received. But they were over two years old.

The tone of the letter is most depressing. Good Fr. Roiz saw the rapid decline of the power of Portugal which nothing could stop.

At this time the English helped Persia to occupy Ormuz.

5. OTHER EXPLOITS (1630-36).

The annual Letter of 1630 tells us that the Dutch were relentlessly continuing their wars against the Portuguese. A galleon belonging to the Governor of San Thome (Mylapore) was attacked with such fury that the prow was nearly sunk. At the same time it was boarded by 40 Dutchmen. The Portuguese Captain, rather than yield, set fire to the Santa Barbara. There was a terrific explosion. The Captain was blown to pieces; but the enemy perished to a man. The Dutch ship was torn open, and to save her, all the cargo was jettisoned.

Incidents of this kind can be multiplied. Commerce was nearly brought to a standstill. Goa, Cochin, Colombo, Malacca, which were once busy emporia overflowing with wealth, were sunk into poverty, and the Missionaries, who, thirty years before, were in comparative affluence, were reduced almost to destitution. And yet the worst was still to come.

Fr. Ignatius Bruno, writing to Fr. General Vitelleschi (27--9--1638) wonders that of the many letters he had written from Malacca none had reached Rome. He adds that the College of Malacca, which he had left to go to Ceylon, was extremely poor. It owned some orchards and houses, but the Hollanders had destroyed all commerce, and the Fathers shared the universal poverty.

In 1636 the Dutch appeared again before Goa with a powerful fleet, and intercepted comunications with Europe. The same year they took Batticaloa and three years later Trincomalee and Kottyiar. No Catholic Missionary was allowed to remain in Dutch dominions.

6. THE DISASTER OF MOUNT GOMEROE (1638).

In Ceylon the Dutch allied themselves with the Ruler of Kandy and attempted to take Colombo and Galle. Diego de Mello, who was Captain General for Ceylon, marched to Kandy at the head of an army. He took the town, but on his return he fell into an ambush set by the Singalese, and perished with 600 Portuguese. The place of the disaster was Mount Gomeroe. Of the time the Chronicler sadly remarks: "On the day when the Church places palms in our hands, the palm of victory fell to the enemy ".

FR. ANTHONY SOEIRO, S. J., military Chaplain to the Portuguese, fell pierced by a lance. He did not die on the field, but was taken alive before a Kandian General, who asked the soldiers, why they had spared the "the archenemy of their religion". The soldiers, repaired their mistake by beheading the minister of Christ.

For many years Fr. Soeiro had accompanied the Portuguese in their expeditions and enjoyed a universal reputation for sanctity. He lived with the common soldiers and endured their privations. He marched on foot, often unshod, and carried his

own baggage. The palanquin which the Commandant had provided for him, he gave to the wounded. A staff, crowned with his hat, marked the place where he stayed while the troops rested, so that all that stood in need of him should be able to find him. The same hat served him as a pillow at night.

Many favours were attributed to his intercession. When he died he was 61.

His companion, Fr. PEDROSA, was also taken prisoner, but soon regained his freedom, for we read that he was wounded at Ambanwela (1639). In March 1640 he was wounded again at Galle, and the Dutch removed him, along with two other Fathers, to Batavia. After having been of great consolation to the Portuguese imprisoned, the Jesuit Priests were eventually exchanged with some Dutch prisoners of war, and were brought back to Galle in 1641. Two years later the good Father, while going to a Portuguese camp to say Mass, fell in with a troop of Singalese soldiers who murdered him. *

7. THE FIRST SIEGE OF COLOMBO (1640).

The Singalese were turning everywhere against Portugal. After the destruction of the Portuguese army by the King of Kandy and his Dutch allies, the Jesuit Fathers had withdrawn to the Fortress of Colombo. The siege began and grew more severe day by day. Victuals were very scarce. The Fathers suffered with the rest. The work among the Heathen had been suspended. During the day the Fathers heard the Confessions of the besieged, and during the night they took their turn in guarding the City against possible attacks.

On the 9 of February fell the Fort of Negombo, if really it could be called a Fort, for it had a single bastion, which might have sufficed against the Natives, but not against the Dutch.

No sooner had it fallen that both Pagans and Christians alike began to destroy and burn the churches, so as to leave no

* Cfr. the Annual Letter of 1640 and also *The Jesuits in Ceylon* by S. G. Perera, S. J. (Madura, 1941) pp. 84, 85, 86.

trace of them. Negombo was retaken by the Portuguese on the 8th of Nov. of the same year. But meanwhile what caused intense pain both to the Jesuits and to other Religious was that of thousands of Christians, of whom the Fathers had taken such great care, only a few kept united. "The Singalese", continues the writer, "think only of the present. They always try to be on the winning side. While the fight went on between the Portuguese and the Dutch they sat on the fence, ready to shout VIVA QVE VENCE "Long live the winners".

8. THE FALL OF GALLE (1640).

Galle fell on the 13th March 1640, and God's hand seemed to be against Portugal rather than against Holland. According to the report of a Dane who was there, in less than half an hour more than 3000 men perished. Three Jesuit Fathers were present at the battle. They did wonders, not only in God's service, but also in the service of their King.

The letter of 1640 gives some interesting details about the Jaffna Mission, its numerous Christians and its beautiful Churches. They—14 in number—were built of brick and coral stone. Not infrequently the church compound was surrounded by high walls, with port-holes, in the manner of a redoubt to provide some defence against the Kandians and the Dutch. To the church was usually attached a fine presbitery. In some places a permanent amphitheatre had been built to afford accomodation to the people attending sacred plays and dramatized Bible stories. The parish schools were well attended and the children are described as "so keen and painstaking in learning their lessons, that even when they are driving cattle they sing canticles".

The Mission had been ravaged by the King of Kandy and by the Dutch, his allies. But now it was rising again from the ruins. The Christians are 23,720, and, though a few years before the number was double, one has to be satisfied in the circumstances.

9. MALACCA (1641).

In 1641 the Dutch took Malacca—a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered. The siege was long, and the Letter of 1640 mentions the great privations of the 6 Jesuits working there.

10. THE BATTLE OF MATARE (1642).

The author of the Letters of 1642—43 from Ceylon speaks at length of the marvellous fertility of the island. Its religious centre was Colombo, where Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans and Jesuits worked together. The portion of the island assigned to the Jesuits comprised 7 districts of Korales, on the West, starting from Colombo and going up the Coast opposite Manar. Forty Fathers would not have sufficed for the work, but there were only 14 and 2 brothers. They lived in constant danger, owing to the unsettled state of the island.

In 1640 Portugal succeeded in regaining her independence from Spain, and arranged a kind of peace with the Dutch. But she was too weak to be able to enforce it in the East. Wherever the Dutch established themselves the Missionaries—especially Portuguese Missionaries—were exiled and the Christians were "reformed" into Calvinism. However the Christians of the seven Korales remained staunch Catholics.

Since the Dutch found that the expenses of maintaing a garrison 600 strong in Galle were very heavy, they decided to break the armistice which had been concluded, and went to Goa for the purpose. But, of course, they spread the rumour that peace was their only desire. However they made a secret treaty with the Kandians securing their help in any eventuality.

Between the 20th and the 25th of May the Kandians were to attack the Portuguese at Mancerivaire, while the Dutch would attack them at Matare near Galle. Then they would march together on Colombo which they would take without striking a blow. On the appointed day the Dutch left Galle

and the Singalese Kandy. There were no Jesuits in Galle to acquaint the Portuguese Commandant Antonio de Motha Galvao. But a servant who was in charge of a farm, which the College of Colombo owned near Galle, suspected that something was in the air. He saw 400 Dutchmen and a large number of Moors marching along. In great haste he went to Matare, and reached the place during Mass. Speechless and out of breath he fell at the feet of the Disawa of Matare, Sebastian de Horta, gave him the news and told him to keep ready for the enemy.

The Disawa communicated the message to to the Commandant, who was kneeling near the altar. Cool and calm Motha Galvao sent a trustworthy officer to ascertain the facts. The officer found that the servant was right. The alarm was sounded, and all got ready for the fray.

The Disawa asked as a favour to be allowed to fight in the first rank. But the Commandant would not yield the honour to anyone. By his orders the Disawa took with him three Portuguese companies and all the Nayars he had, and went to a certain place in order to prevent the auxiliaries of the Dutch from attacking the rear. The Commandant took charge of the vanguard. The Portuguese had only 11 companies of 25 men each. The Commandant marched against the enemy at the head of 8 companies. They fought for about one hour. The enemy was so close that it was difficult to manouvre the artillery. The smoke was so thick that the enemy's feet could not be seen. Discarding the arquebuses, the soldiers fought with swords and spears for another hour. Seventeen Portuguese were killed; among them one Captain and five standard-bearers. Many of the other side fell. But it was impossible to say which side had won.

Then the Commandant cheered up his soldiers, telling them they were fighting for justice, for their King and for the Faith. Like lions they fell on the enemy and did prodigious deeds of valour.

A young Portuguese, not more than 28 years old, alone attacked 4 Dutchmen well armed, and putting his musquet under their noses told them: "In the name of the King of Portugal put up your hands". They obeyed and the soldiers took them to the Commandant. Finally the Dutch were put to flight leaving 200 dead on the field and about 30 prisoners. Having reached Galle, they sent 40 litters for the wounded. The Portuguese took 300 musquets, many lances, 3 banners, 6 drums and other arms, abandoned by the Dutch and by the Natives, for they hampered their flight.

The Singalese had to attack at Mancerivaire at the same time; but the Portuguese were on the alert, and they did not appear.

The Captain General Don Philip Mascarenhas expected the Singalese to make a sortee at Malwana. But having heard what had happened at Matare, they withdrew to the interior. Captain Antonio de Motha, having received some reinforcements, laid siege to Galle. The Dutch began to suffer famine; many deserted, and having come to the Fathers, they were instructed in the Faith and converted.

The Dutch Captain Peter Burel, who had broken the armistice at Goa, seeing that he had failed, went to Pulicat so weary and sorrowful that a few days after he had landed, he was found dead in his bed, of no other sickness but sadness and disappointment. *

By a trait of God's justice, some days after Burel had broken the armistice, a Dutch vessel well armed with artillery, approached Goa, laden with all the treasures which the Dutch Company had acquired by commerce with Persia. The ship was captured and its gold went to defray the expenses of the King's fleet.

11. THE SECOND SIEGE OF COLOMBO.

The Letter of 1644 says that the war continued between

* Cfr. Danvers, II Vol. p. 284,

the Portuguese on one side and the Dutch and the Singalese on the other. The Fathers withdrew from the country to Colombo. But the College lacked the means to maintain so many, the more so that some farm lands were lost.

After taking Negombo the Dutch marched on Colombo. But they were attacked. "The battle lasted four days. Their losses were considerable, while we lost only one young man, who was killed for having imprudently exposed himself.

"During all this time the Bl. Sacrament was exposed in our Church and in various other churches of the town. In lent the Fathers preached more frequently, chiefly on Fridays, and if we may judge from the general Confessions and the reconciliations obtained, their success was not indifferent. The works of mercy were not neglected. Our Fathers visited the sick most assiduously, as well as the poor and the prisoners. Fire having broken out on a ship, a great number of sailors were burned to death. The Christians, however, received the last Sacraments, the Pagans were instructed and baptized, and the Dutch were reconciled to the Church and died a good death". (*Cfr. Annua 1644.)*

12. NEGAPATAM (1642).

From Ceylon let us cross over to India, and more precisely to Negapatam on the East Coast. Against the terms of the armistice, which Holland had concluded with Portugal, the Dutch approached the port of Negapatam with 7 ships well armed and well equipped. They landed 600 men. Since all resistance would have been useless the Portuguese promised allegiance to the Prince of Orange, while the Dutch solemnly said they would not plunder the town, and would be satisfied with 10,000 patacas, as war tribute. They were lodged in the Franciscan Monastery.

Meanwhile the Viceroy, Don Guande Silva Tello, had sent a fleet under the command of Domingo Beliago, in order to

prevent the Dutch from landing both at Negapatam and at San Thome (Mylapore). At the same time Don Alvaro de Athaide was bringing up reinforcements from Ceylon. In front of Negapatam Beliago attacked a Dutch ship, set fire to it, and killed 90 Hollanders. Then he turned towards San Thome, which had already fallen.

While he was leaving the waters of Negapatam, the Nayak of Tanjore, at the head of his troops, came in sight of the town. The Dutch, believing him to be in alliance with the Portuguese, fled to their ships, taking Fr. Rector with them, so that, upon reaching Pulicat, he could give witness that the town had not been plundered. No sooner had the Dutch left Negapatam that the Nayak's Captain began to fight the Portuguese. He wanted all the victuals that could be found in the town to be delivered to him in payment for having saved the town from the Dutch. After some pourparlers 11, 000 patacas were offered instead. He was not satisfied, and asked for more. He even threatened to dig up the floors of the various churches, for he suspected great treasures to be hidden there. The Portuguese were roused to fury by these pretensions. The streets were barricaded. A fight broke out and the enemy was forced to leave Negapatam.

But this was not the end of Portuguese misfortunes. Beliago's fleet having reached San Thome, the Governor of this town learned that the Portuguese in Negapatam has consented to be vassals of the Dutch. Thereupon he excited the people to rise against Portugal and to rob the Portuguese of all they possessed.

The Rector of the College of the Society in San Thome had previously been Rector at Negapatam, where he had many friends. He wrote to them, expressing his astonishment that they had submitted to the Dutch. He exhorted them to repent and to write to the Viceroy telling him of their readiness to submit to John IV, their legitimate Sovereign. The Portuguese

in Negapatam found no difficulty in following the Rector's advice. They wrote to the Viceroy, and offered him the fortress and the customs of the city. The Viceroy accepted and in the name of the King conferred on Negapatam the title of *City* and sent there a garrison of soldiers commanded by a brave and experienced captain by name Antonio Vaz Pinto.

Before his arrival the new subjects of His Majesty had built strong walls and bastions, and—as the writer of the letter informs us-while building, they had to carry on fighting against the infidels, who tried their best to hinder the fortifications. It was like at the time of Nehemias, after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity.

Thus the plans of the Dutch were foiled. Negapatam was the first town in the East which threw up the yoke of the Gentiles to submit to the King of Portugal.

13. COLOMBO (1648).

The letter for 1648 complains that the state of the Missions in Ceylon, once so flourishing, was deplorable. The Fathers still held the College of Colombo with 11 subjects, of whom 4 Fathers and 2 Lay Brothers were in the town. To the ordinary works of the Society they had added that of military Chaplains. Outside the town only 6 Missions were still standing, with 3500 Catholics and 300 catechism-going children. But of these Missions 4 were in territory occupied by the Dutch, where the churches were being destroyed and the Christians scattered.

14. SAN THOME (MYLAPORE).

In the same letter we find that the Jesuits in Mylapore numbered only six. The conditions of the town were most miserable, for commerce had passed from San Thome to Pulicat. The sea swarmed with Dutch ships and navigation was extremely dangerous.

15. MALACCA.

The same Letter informs us that in Malacca there remained only two Fathers in great straits. They lived on the scanty alms which they received from the Portuguese, who in their turn were utterly ruined. The town was in the hands of the Dutch who put great obstacles to the Fathers' ministry. Fr. Rector was arrested for having said Mass against Dutch regulations. The faithful who had attended it were fined. The Dutch set up Calvinistic churches and preaching halls, and wanted to compel the faithful to attend. The Fathers then decided to leave for Macassar with all the Catholics. But during the voyage they suffered a great deal. Having reached Macassar during Lent, the zealous Rector started preaching with such fire against the prevalent vices that defamatory placards were set up against him. An inquest was held with a view to punish the guilty. The good Father, however, preferred to win over his enemies by his patience, and God rewarded him with abundant fruits.

16. FINANCES.

As has already been remarked, the constant wars between the Portuguese and the Dutch, ruined commerce and prosperity. Hence the Malabar Province of the Society shared the general poverty. Novices and Scholastics had to be sent to Goa, for the College of Cochin was overburdened with debts. The Portuguese Factories which had formerly been established everywhere on the Coasts of India and Malacca, and which used to be centres of commerce and wealth, were either closed, or had passed into Dutch hands. Calicut continued, but it was a very small affair. The Viceroys were compelled to spend huge sums on the wars, and could not afford to send to the Missionaries the modest stipends that had been agreed upon since the times of St. Francis Xavier. In Goa the revenues of certain temples had been set aside for this purpose. Now everything was practically stopped, or paid most irregularly. Missionary activity was thus crippled and the money of which the Missions were deprived, did not enrich the Government.

17. THE MUTINY OF COLOMBO (1654).

In 1652 the Dutch founded the Cape Colony, as a convenient, half-way station to the East, and in the same year they laid siege to Colombo. On the sea side seven ships intercepted the victuals, and on the land side the enemy had advanced very near to the ramparts. But the Portuguese General, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, seemed to be quite unaware of the danger. Against the advice of the Council of Colombo he even withdrew the garrison from the outposts, leaving the city exposed to the enemy. The General was suspected of treason and a mutiny broke out. Dishevelled women were running about the streets weeping and lamenting. Men shouted and threatened. The soldiery sulked and growled. In this extremity Jesuits and Franciscans, Crucifix in hand, strove to quell the tumult, and—wonderful to relate—they succeeded in reestablishing peace and order.

The Rector of College, Fr. Thomas da Costa, yielding to the entreaties of the people, come out into the streets carrying the Blessed Sacrament. The crowds were so impressed that they swore not to harm anybody, not even the General, who sought refuge in the Dominican Convent. Joy succeeded fear. Three Governors were appointed to preside over the affairs of the city, till the Viceroy should decide what was to be done. Fr. da Costa was asked to go to Goa and speak to the Viceroy in the name of the city. He tried to decline the offer, but he did not succeed. Since the service of God and of his country demanded it, he embarked on a merchant ship and left Colombo. But the Dutch pursued them. The ship was taken and all on board were made prisoners. The Rector was led into captivity, and after some time died. "*Felix Captivitas*"—concludes the Chronicler—"*Cui Insidet Libertas. Fortuna Mors Et Longa Vita Diuturnior*". From the reports of his fellow prisoners it was learnt that by a refinement of cruelty, only after the Father's death were the fetters removed from his feet.

18. FALL OF COLOMBO (1656).

The fort of Kalutare fell to the Dutch in 1655. From there they occupied the hills commanding the city of Colombo, but their hopes that the town would fall soon, were doomed to disappointment. For seven months did the brave defenders hold out, famished, plague-stricken, wounded, and—which was hardest to bear—left to their fate by Goa. The Jesuits and other Religious strove to help the besieged in every way. Though rice sold at 2500 xeraphins a Kandil, "conjee" was distributed daily at the door of the Jesuit College. On the 7th May 1656, when the Dutch scaled St. John's Bastion, there fell "*Fr. Nunhez*, the Jesuit, a pattern of virtue, who signalized himself, not only along the Bastion of St. John, but also in other parts of the city, by encouraging the soldiers, comforting the sick, and burying the dead. He was shot at the Bastion's Gate with a musket ball; he afterwards received a deep cut, and was at last slain by a hand-grenade after he had killed several of the enemy with his musketoon". So far the Dutch historian Baldaeus.

Fr. Velles—another Jesuit—fought on the same Bastion, carrying the powder needed to set fire to the mortars. Thirty Portuguese soldiers held, for a while, more than 500 Dutchmen. But the fates were against Portugal. Vallour had to yield to sheer numbers. Fr. Velles received two "bullet wounds, one on the shoulder, the other on the eye brow. The pot of powder he was carrying broke. But his hat saved him from death by fire. He laboured during the whole of this siege; during the first months at Galbokke and on the Bastion of St. Anthony and finally at the Queen's Gate and on the Bastion of St. John, where he fell. *

The 26 year old Jesuit Scholastic *Damien Vieyra* distinguished himself for his bravery. Captain Joao Ribeiro—an eye-witness —speaks of him as follows:—"Seeing that if the enemy should fire on us from the new battery, the city would fall in a few

* Cft. Perera, Op. Cit. pp. 124-127.

days, for the defenders were very few, Fr. Vieyra invited some of those who—he knew—would follow him everywhere, as they had done before, and without disclosing what he meant to do, he made thirteen of these promise to find themselves all together by midday. Having obtained permission from the Captain General, he sallied out at the head of this little band and fell upon the battery unperceived. It was only the edge of their swords that gave the alarm, so that only a few escaped with their lives. In the space of an hour, which they spent in that battery built of palmtrees and fascines, they set all of it on fire, and he and his followers retreated unhurt, under cover of dense smoke, leaving the enemy in amazement and confusion. There is no doubt that if he had had 300 men to go with him, our good Religious would not have left a single Hollander alive".*

So far Captain Ribeiro, who admired Damien Vieyra, and saw nothing unbecoming in a Religious, who combined the Rosary with the sword, and prayer with slaughter. As was to be expected, Vieyra did not persevere in the Society.

On the 10th May the white flag was hoisted. Three Portuguese presented themselves to the Hollanders to treat of the conditions of surrender. They obtained that the churches and statues should be treated with respect; "and that the Clergy should be at liberty to take with them all things belonging to the ceremonies and all the properties of the churches they might desire to remove, the Dutch undertaking to convey them to certain places".

After the fall of the city of Colombo came the turn of Jaffnapatam, which fell two years later. Thus the Portuguese lost their last stronghold in the island.

The "reformation" of the Christians in the South started immediately after the fall of Galle. The lapsed Christians professed Calvinism as long as the Dutch remained in power. Then they gradually fell back into Buddhism. But it was not

* Cifr Perera, Op. Cit p. 128.

so in the seven Korales where the Jesuits had laboured with such constancy and love. There is not in the whole of Ceylon a community that has kept the faith more staunchly than the Catholics from Kammala to Puttalam—and this in spite of want of Priests, and constant worries and petty persecutions on the part of the Dutch.

19. The Fishery Coast

The Fishery Coast fell to the Dutch in 1658. Long before they had tried to establish themselves at Devanapatnam, but they failed, due to Fr. Levanto's endeavours. They succeeded better at Pulicat, where the Vijayansgaram Emperor Venkata II granted them permission to erect a Factory. The Viceroy wrote to the King that, if the Jesuit Fathers had then been at Court, the Dutch traders would never have succeeded in establishing themselves there.

Tuticorin had fallen in 1657. The Provincial Fr. Francis de Oliveira writes from Goa (10-12-1664) that the College of Tuticorin was still standing, though by order of the Nayak of Madura the Fathers had withdrawn to the interior. From there they endeavoured to serve their flock.

The English—jealous both of Portugal and of Holland—suspected the Jesuits of siding with the Dutch. But they were very wide of the mark, as must be clear to all who have followed the previous history. More; in a letter of Sir William Foster of 1658 it is explicitly stated that the Dutch conquest gave occasion to the Jesuits to 'recede,' who cannot therefore be said to have defected from the Dutch, unto whose power they never submitted. And notwithstanding that the Dutch have been angling for them a long time, and that these new upstart gamesters seem to outvie in largeness of promises their late predecessor (i.e. the Portuguese) yet no persuasions can prevail with them to return".*

The Paravers, however, succeeded in getting back their Fathers in Christ in 1659.

* Cfr. The English Factories, 1661-1694; p. 254.

20. Cranganore.

Granganore fell in 1662. The previous year Van der Meyden met the Zamorin's envoys at Alikottah, where it was agreed that while the Nayars would attack Cochin by land, the Dutch would attack it by sea. The war expenses would be shared equally. Eventually the Christian prisoners would have to be delivered to the Dutch; and Cranganore to the Zamorin. Quilon and Paliporto were taken. But the Duch had to leave for Batavia, the war was interrupted, and the Portuguese reoccupied Paliporto.

In January 1662 Van Goens returned from Batavia, reconquered Paliporto and proceeded to Cranganore. The town was well fortified and so the Dutch landed all the material necessary for a long siege. After a bombardament that lasted 14 days they stormed the place. *Baldaeus*, a protestant preacher who followed the troops, has left the following description:

"When I finished my prayer in the trenches at the foot of the hill (where many of our troops were hiding), the guns were fired and, taking advantage of the smoke, our soldiers rushed straight to the fort, climbed the bulwarks, put to flight the enemy, who retreated in the big church of the Jesuits. This attack badly damaged the enemy, for the lost 200 white men besides a great number of Nayars, who were thrown into the river and were carried away by the current to the sea. Even the Governor of the Fort, Urbano Fialho Pereira, was grievously wounded and died. After the defeat, the Portuguese came out with a white flag".*

The Carmelite Fra Giuseppe Sebastiani relates that he was not far from Cranganore at the time, and gives some details of the disaster. "In the morning of the 16th Jan. 1662, long before daybreak, I heard crying and lamentations from the neighbouring huts; and then, having been told that the Vicar of Cranganore was outside and wished to speak to me, I bade him

* Baldaeus *Malabar and Choromandel*, p. 111.

come in. He was not a man, but a ghost, he was so changed by fear; and since he could not speak, he caused even greater horror. All the servants came into my room, and when they heard the first words, which finally the Vicar was able to utter, they burst into tears. He said that the previous day Cranganore had fallen and that there had been a terrible slaughter of soldiers and people". **

Baldaeus continues: "Inside the fortress of Cranganore we found a famous convent and a church of the Paulists, or followers and disciples of Loyola. This church was provided with several priests and young seminarists and with a magnificent library; the solid and artistic building could match with any construction of the kind. There was also the Cathedral, a strong and well made work, and which was also the burial place of the Archbishops". (p. 153)

The Portuguese soldiers were sent back to Europe.

21. The Fall of Cochin (1663).

Already in 1661 the Dutch had attempted to capture C chin, but had failed. The Raja of Purakkad with 6000 Nayars came to the rescue and compelled the Dutch to withdraw. But they retired only for a time; in October 1662 they renewed the attack. The Raja of Purakkad was defeated, but the fortress still held out. The Dutch received reinforcement from the Zamorin. They kept up the assault uninterruptedly for eight days and nights till the little garrison capitulated on Jan. 8th, 1663.

The terms were:

1. "The town of Cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands, with the documents and papers relating thereto, and whatever else is held in the name of the King of Portugal, all rights and titles thereto

* *Seconda Spedizione alle Indie Orientali*. p. 96.

being ceded to the Dutch General or His Worship's representatives.

2. "All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, moveable and immoveable property, slaves and whatever else may be, shall be handed over, as above.

3. "All free persons who have borne arms shall swear not to serve against the Netherlands in India for two years.

4. "All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march out with flying colours, drum beating, fuses alight, bullets in their mouths and two guns, to a convenient place outside the town, and lay down their arms beneath the standard of the General.

5. "All the true born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe.

6. "All married Portuguese and *Mestics* shall proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the General and his Council may permit.

7. "All free *Topasses* (semi-assimilated half-castes) and and Canarins shall remain at the disposal and direction of the General.

8. "The Clergy may take with them the images and the Church ornaments except those of gold and silver.

9. "All free persons and all persons belonging to the church now wandering in the country, if they be subjects to the King of Portugal, be comprehended in this treaty."

How far these articles were carried out we gather from the following, which we take from Fra Giuseppe; "The hostilities ceased and all that day was devoted to burying the dead. The following night the Blessed Sacrament was removed from the churches; they were robbed of all ornaments. On the square

in front of each they lit a big fire, and burned the ornaments therein—statues, crucifixes, holy pictures, missals and everything pertaining to the sacred worship. The sight of it caused that poor, miserable people to moan and cry. The next day the keys of the city were delivered. Rickloff took possession of it. He gathered the women in the churches, and some of the noblest in particular houses, with a guard. He collected all the silver plate both from the churches and from private houses. He ordered the Portuguese to remain in their houses, to some of which he granted a guard; then he gave leave to the soldiery to plunder the city for three days. It is not possible to imagine the cruelty of the soldiers, the ways some women were treated, the affliction and tears of all. Those, who, a short time before, owned fine houses and plenty of money, served by numerous slaves, living in ease and luxury, had become destitute, naked, with not even a hut where to take shelter. Some ladies suffered so much that they even lost their lives. The Portuguese soldiers were put on board to be sent to Europe; others, with the Religious and the Clergy, were destined to Goa. The natives were kept to people the town; the slaves passed to the service of the Company. Honourable men were allowed to take away what they had on their backs, and perhaps a small bundle of clothes; but on getting on board, or upon disembarking, and even during the voyage, they suffered much and lost even the little they had". *

22. CANNANORE (1663).

After Cochin came the turn of Cannanore. The town was undefended, but the fort well fortified, especially on the sea side. It was decided to attack it from the land. The siege lasted eight days, till the Commander, having heard of the fate of Cochin, surrendered on the 13th Feb. 1663. "Thus"—*Baldaeus* says—" we captured one of the oldest and strongest places of the Portuguese,.........for which grace we thank the Lord". **

* Op. Cit. p. 131.

** Op. Cit. p. 103.

23. THE DUTCH IN MALABAR AFTER THE FALL OF COCHIN.

On the 22 of March 1663 the Dutch signed a treaty with the Raja of Cochin by which the Christians came under their protection, i.e.

(a) they should be tried by them, and

(b) no new taxes should be imposed by the Raja on the Christians without Dutch knowledge and consent.

After the first destruction of property and looting of Churches, the Hollanders found a *Modus Vivendi* with the Christians. However, they always remained suspicious of the Catholics, and especially of the Jesuits.

In Ceylon they insisted on the banishment of all the Missionaries. The short sighted policy of the latter had never consented to the creation of an indigenous clergy in the island. The result was that, upon the removal of the Portuguese Missionaries, a great number of Catholics apostatized.

In Malabar it was not so, The native Clergy was numerous, and, though the Dutch endeavoured to remove all the Portuguese Missionaries, they did not entirely succeed. Native Princes thwarted them. Alexander Rea writes: "The Dutch were intolerant of those professing Roman Catholicism, and one of the reasons alleged for wishing to rid themselves of these places (i.e. some fortressess in Malabar) was that this faith had obtained a firm hold on the people." *

But sectarian prejudices soon yielded to commercial advantages. The Dutch made a treaty with the Zamorin in 1662 by which "they secured the right to the exclusive purchase of pepper in Calicut territory. But as soon as the campaign was over the Zamorin demanded that the position of the Cochin Raja should be reduced to what it was, before the Portuguese raised his to the status of an independent ruler. Adm. Von

* *Cfr. Monumental Remains of the Dutch E.I.C.*, p. 16.

Goens rejected the demand with the result that the relations between the Zamorin and the Dutch were no better than those which had obtained between him and the Port iguese. *

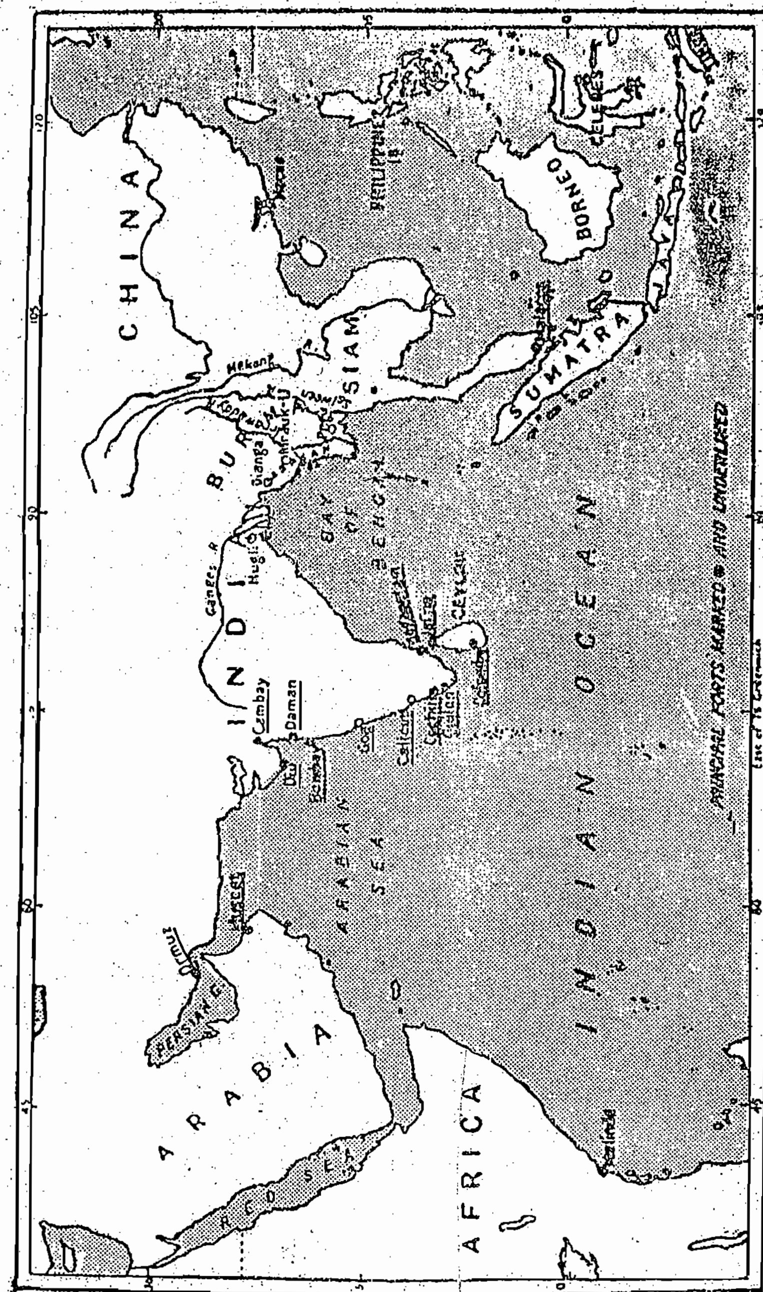
But another power, besides the native Raja, was rising in India. It was the English. After the fall of Cochin they were compelled to quit; but they succeeded in keeping Ponani. In 1664 they opened a small Factory in Calicut. In 1696 they burned the Dutch Factory at Anjengo and gave shelter there to the Bishop of Cochin. Of course, the Dutch managed to stir up the feelings of the Raja of Anjengo against the English. The jealousy between the two Western Powers grew, for each tried to supplant the other in the pepper trade.

We shall not follow the vicissitudes of the Dutch in India. What touches Religion will be briefly dealt with in various places. An English writer says of them that "like the Phoenicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their rivals in commerce; but unlike the Phoenicians they failed to introduce their civilization among the natives with whom they came into contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive in 1759, when he attacked the Dutch at Chinsurah both by land and water and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. During the great French wars between 1795 and 1811, England wrested from Holland every one of her Colonies, although Java was restored to her in 1816 and Sumatra exchanged for Malacca in 1854. At present the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the main-land in India." **

The dawn of Portuguese power in Cochin may be put at the beginning of the XVI Century; its sunset in 1663. Thus it lasted about 160 years. The Dutch reigned there for 132 years; from 1663 to 1795. The English have ruled over Cochin for 152 years; from 1795 to 1947.

* Cfr. PANIKAR—*Malabar and the Dutch* pp. 8-9.

** MADRAS MAIL, 18, Feb. 1902.



CHAPTER II

THE REBELLION OF THE SERRA.

CONTENTS.

APPENDIX.

N. B.:—Besides the Report of Padre Braz de Azevedo, the Viaggio di Fra Vincenzo and the Report of P. Ildefonso, O. C. D., the works of Fra Giuseppe must be consulted in this matter.

After having spoken at some length about the Dutch in India and in Ceylon, let us pass on to relate some events which deeply affected the religious history of Kerala.

The rule and success of the first Latin Bishop of the Serra has been described in the first Volume of this History.

FRANCIS ROZ, S. J. reorganised the Syrian Christians, carried out the Decrees of the SYNOD of DIAMPER, proceeded to the reformaation of people and Clergy. But he soon met with oppositi‹ n from the Archdeacon GEORGE DE CRUZ. Archbishop Roz was succeeded by DON ESTEBAN DE BRITO, S. J., who thought he could win over to his side the Archdeacon by kindness and timely concessions. He failed; and left a legacy of trouble and disorder to the third Jesuit Archbishop, DON FRANCIS GARCIA. Now we shall deal with the History of the Rebellion of the Syrian Christians to their legitimate Pastor in greater detail, and shall begin by recalling what was related in the first Volume, i. e. how good Archbishop Brito

cajoled by the Archdeacon, signed a paper wherein he abdicated most of his powers in favour of George de Cruz. This imprudent act, though well meant, and apparently harmless, led to the most disastrous consequences.

The Dutch will deprive the Jesuits of their Mission in Ceylon, they will drive them away from Cranganore and Cochin, they will dispossess them of their Colleges, scatter their libraries, desecrate their churches. But the Rebellion in the Serra will be even more disastrous, for it will apparently destroy the missionary labours of more than half a century. But let us come to the details which led up to the Rebellion.

1. The Document in Favour the Archdeacon.

Fr. Braz de Azevedo, who was Provincial of the Jesuits in Malabar in 1673, and who has left us a careful record of the Syrian Rebellion, remarks that the year 1652 was a leap year. The superstitious believed it would bring ill luck. But those who had followed the trend of events during the rule of Archbishop Brito in the Serra knew that, leap year or no leap year, things were bound to come to a head.

A new Archdeacon—Thomas de Campos—had succeeded George de Cruz, whose nephew he was. He was nominated by the Jesuit Prelate, in spite of his youth (he was scarcely thirty years old) of his ignorance and loose living. The date of appointment is not sure. It took place after 1637, the year of de Cruz's death. In order to gain George de Cruz—the late Archdeacon—to his cause, Archbishop Brito made the fatal mistake of virtually abdicating into his hands the rule of the Serra. Nominations of Parish Priests, Suspensions, Excomunications, Dispensations, and so forth had all been delegated to George. The weak Prelate discovered his mistake too late, and through the intervention of the Viceroy, Count de Linhares, endeavoured to get back the document wherein he had signed his rights away. Only a copy was obtained. The original remained in the hands of the Archdeacon, who, up to his death, practically ruled the Serra.

Now Mgr. Garcia, who had succeeded the aged, and much too kind, Archbishop Brito, rightly refused to give up his

jurisdiction to a man like Thomas de Campo. But it was not easy to reverse the wrong policy of his predecessor. The Archbishop therefore began by gradually restricting the sphere of activity of Thomas.

He allowed him to settle matters of small importance; but in affairs of greater moment, he consulted him, if he was available, otherwise he acted on his own initiative.

The Archdeacon was offended. From 1641 to 1644 he lived in hidden revolt, interrupted by short periods of truce, in order to secure his pay from the Archbishop.

When the Viceroy, Don Philip Mascarenhas, passed through Cochin, the Archdeacon showed him the precious document, and begged of him to insist with Archbishop Garcia that he should observe it better. Don Miguel Rangel, Bishop of Cochin, had then an opportunity to read it. He was astonished at the Archdeacon's pretensions, and seeing that it was impossible to make him change his mind, refused to attend the meetings where the Viceroy was endeavouring to reach an acceptable compromise. At length a new document was prepared. Some points were indeed granted to Thomas, but otherwise his jurisdiction was greatly curtailed. He signed it, together with the Viceroy, the Archbishop and some Jesuit Fathers.

On the morrow the Viceroy left for Goa. The Archbishop duly paid Thomas de Campos his stipends, but he came to know that instead of peace being reached, war would continue; for Thomas had cunningly forged the document and sent it throughout the Diocese, proclaiming that the rights granted to him by the late Archbishop, had been reconfirmed by both Don Garcia and the Viceroy.

Confusion reigned supreme. Some Cattanars favoured the Archdeacon; others the Archbishop. After nearly a year, a meeting was arranged at Vaipicotta (Chanota), where Christobal Telles of the Christus Order was to act as go between.

3

The Archdeacon was asked to deliver the original document; but he had left it in a box at Mangate. Two or three days were lost in fetching the box. When it came it could not be opened, for the key was missing. When the key was found the document was missing. Don Christobal and the Fathers demanded a written statement, wherein Thomas certified that the document was no more in his possession, and that he agreed to keep what he had promised in the presence of the Viceroy at Cochin.

He kept them in suspense with fair promises for two or three days, till finally they had to leave empty handed.

Thomas then went southward, where he agreed with several Cattanars never to accept Vicars nominated by the Archbishop, and least of all Vicars who did not belong to the Serra by birth.

In the North he was more ruthless, for he imprisoned some of the Cattanars who obeyed the Archbishop. In this he was helped by the Raja of Cochin, who sided with either party according to the wine barrels he received as a bribe.

From the North he repaired to Repolim (Edapally) not to fortify his spirit among the Recollects, but to take possession of churches and property. Soon after he took the great Church of Angamalai—titular of the Archbishop—wherefrom he sent the Recollects away.

No one will accuse Archbishop Garcia of excessive severity, if, after such doings he proceeded juridically against Thomas, and launched the interdict on the Repolim Churches. Thomas was unmoved; and, together with his partisans, continued to say Mass in the interdicted Churches.

The Recollects—though deprived of the Church at Angamalai—sided with the Archdeacon, deeming themselves to be practically independent of the Archbishop, whom they needed only for the ordinations.

Finally Thomas de Campos wrote to the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria at Cairo, to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antiosh, and to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, asking each one of them to send an Archbishop to Serra.

2. THE "ORDINARIAS".

The famous document, of which we have spoken at length in the previous paragraph, is only one of the reasons of the Rebellion in the Serra. To this another—and a very important one—must be added. In a letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy, dated 16 Dec. 1634, we read that there was great discontent among the Cassanars, because, while the King had ordered that each Parish Priest should receive twenty xeraphins, they hardly got ten. They had held a meeting, wherein they decided to go back to the "Babylonian Rite", unless the money was paid. On the other hand the King knew that the Archbishop himself did not get his dues. In fact good Archbishop Brito—to show quite plainly that he was not to blame—had made an arrangement that all the moneys should be put in a safe provided with different keys, one to be in his hands, and the other with the Governor of Cochin. The King complains that all are defrauded, and gives orders that the money due to the Serra should be taken from the estate (*aldea*) of Caranja and paid regularly. He has heard that the Bishop's House is falling to ruin. Let it be repaired at the expense of the State. Further, when the Archbishop makes his Visitation, he ought to do it with the dignity proper to his rank. Let him therefore be accompanied by seven men and carried in a "*manchua*", all at the expense of the royal Exchequer.

Four years later — 8 Dec, 1638 — the Viceroy answers that, owing to a terrible storm in Caranja the crops were destroyed and payments were impossible. He promises, however, to do his best, so that all will be satisfied.

Meanwhile Archbishop Brito died, and Archbishop Garcia succeeded him. The King, in a letter to the Viceroy (8-3-1643)

insists that 500 cruzadoes be paid every year to the Archbishop. That is a strict obligation (continues the King) for the Supreme Pontiff has granted the tithes in all the lands beyond the seas to the Christus Order, of which he is the supreme Master. Let the Archbishop therefore be paid most punctually for his sustenance. Two years later (10-1-45) the King comes back to the same point. Count Linhares—the Viceroy—did not remit the "*Ordinarias*" at all, or most irregularly. The Caranja revenues found their way into other pockets, and not into those of the Prelate, who complained that it was impossible for him to pay the Cassanars. "This—said the King—was not right; the ministers of the Gospel ought to be well provided for".

On 10 Jan. 1646 the Viceroy excused himself by saying that the needs of the Indian Domains were inexhaustible and the money could not reach everywhere. Besides, he had information from Cochin that the Archbishop was not quite blemeless. They were paying for ten Jesuits to work in the Serra, but actually there were only two. There is discontent in the Serra, but the Archbishop does not put any remedy.

It was a lame answer, and the King saw it; Don Garcia could not afford to keep more Jesuits working with him, precisely because he had no money to maintain them with. Had he kept more, they would have complained that the money went to the Jesuits and not to the Cassanars.

On the 25 Nov. 1646 the King writes again that he knows of the dissatisfaction of the Cassanars. They ought to get twenty pardaos, but they receive only ten. The Viceroy should work for peace, and he should recommend to the Raja of Cochin to be more kind and considerate towards the Clergy. And again on 27 March 1647 he insists that the Religious of the Society should be treated with special consideration. "Had not so many of them shed their blood for the spreading of the faith? In particular the Archbishop should be treated very considerately". But dissatisfaction was growing. The Cassanars were being hit in their tenderest spot; the love of money. They considered

they had done a favour to the Portuguese and to the Jesuits in accepting the Synod of Diamper. Now the Portuguese were not keeping their word. Why should they keep theirs? On the 15 Jan. 1648 the Viceroy wrote to the King: "The quarrel between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon is growing ever more bitter. Let us remember that all are united with the Archdeacon, who is one of them and enjoys great prestige and authority. Upon my return from Ceylon I endeavoured to pacify them; but in vain. I am afraid we shall lose the Serra. They demand that it be open to other Religious; and the Pope has written to that effect. But the Jesuits are adamant. They fear that by allowing the Dominicans and the Franciscans to set foot in the Serra, confusion will become more confounded. Further, the Jesuits do not keep any Fathers working in the Serra, except Father Machado, the Rector of the Seminary, who teaches Syriac and Malayalam, an other man, who helps the Archbishop and accompanies him in the visitation of the Diocese, and two more Fathers. I know that nothing can be changed in the Serra without Your Majesty's special permission; and that is the reason why I have written to inform You of the state of the Serra".

On the 27th Jan. 1649 the King answers that the Archbishop has written to him about the dearth of Missionaries in the Serra and the Pope's intention to remedy that defect. He has also told him of the scanty respect that the Cochin Raja shows him, and the growing insolence of the Archdeacon. The King thinks that it is his duty to favour the Archbishop and to help him in every way. He therefore commands that this be done. Further the "Ordinarias" of the Cassanars must be paid without delay.

The King was certainly full of good intentions; but the Officials in India were slow in carrying out his orders. The Archbishop needed money, but that was rarely forthcoming. To reach Cranganore it had to pass through many hands, and each one kept some.

Thus on the 4th March 1651 the King insists that the Archbishop should be helped to repair the Cathedral, which is in a deplorable state. "It is a shame—adds the good Monarch—that pagan temples should be more beautiful than a Christian Church." Whereupon the Viceroy answered (20-12-1651) that he had written to the Archbishop to make his requirements known to the Government through his Procurator at Goa. The Viceroy will do his best, but the needs are many and the coffers are empty.

3. AHATALLA'S ARRIVAL.

In 1652 arrived in Mylapore a certain Ahatalla, alias Theodore or Adeodatus, who had reached Surat on a Dutch vessel, and from Surat had proceeded by land to the city of Saint Thomas. According to a Report of 1654, addressed to the King of Portugal, Ahatalla maintained that, while he was Bishop of Damascus, he had been elected Patriarch of Antioch, wherefrom he had been expelled by a more powerful rival. The Bishops and Priests who favoured him, had been touched by his misfortune, and had given him the title of Patriarch with jurisdiction over all the Syrians, among whom were those of Malabar. In fact, he styled himself "Ignatius, Patriarch of India and China".

Adorned with this great dignity, he had gone to Cairo, where he found the letter of Thomas de Campos to the Patriarch of Alexandria, who appointed him to the Church of South India.

In Mylapore, however it would be dangerous to assert his rights too strongly; so the astute Ahatalla was careful to add that he was sorry to have undertaken such a long journey, now that he had come to know that the Archbishop of the Serra was still living. The letter of the Archdeacon had misled him. His only desire was to return home, and get the Grand Turk to punish the thoughtless and drunken Patriarch of Alexandria, who had made him Governor of a Church, over which he had no rights.

"Outwardly Ahatalla lived as a Catholic. But the Rector of San Thome, Fr. Manuel de Leyva, S. J., in a letter to the Provincial of Malabar, Fr. Andrew Lopez, writes that he had detected Nestorian errors in his conversation. He hinted that Christ was not God; and the Blessed Virgin was not God's Mother. During Ahatalla's stay in Mylapore, two Deacons or Chamas from Vaipicota, went on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas' tomb. They came to know Ahatalla; they spoke with him; they were charmed by his manners; and they invited him to the Serra. He gave them a letter, wherein he stated that our Lord the Pope had sent him to Malabar and asked that two Priests and forty Laymen be commissioned to come and deal with him about his entry into the Serra. People—he said—who make it their business to persecute others had imprisoned him in Kalamina (Mylapore). Shortly he would be brought to Cochin, and then to Goa. Let them arm themselves and release him.

The Chamas informed the Archdeacon, Thomas de Campos, who despatched a circular throught the Serra telling the people how finally God had heard their prayers, and had sent them a Pastor from Babylon. Only that the wily Jesuits had succeeded in jailing him in Mylapore, wherefrom it was necessary to set him free. One can imagine the excitement in the whole Archdiocese. "Down with the Jesuits"; "Down with the Tyrants"; "We want our Shepherd"; "Give us Ahatalla, or you die". A Portuguese was paid to kill the Provincial Fr. Lopez, in Cochin. He failed. The Archbishop forbade the Jesuits to set out on any Mission among the people; for he feared for their lives.

The people of Vaipicota rose against the Fathers; kept them prisoner for same time in their own house; seized the Church; compelled the Seminarists to leave the Seminary—which all did, with the exception of two.

Meanwhile Ahatalla had left Mylapore on a Portuguese ship, and was due to Cochin within a short time. The

Archdeacon promised 150,000 *fanams* to the Rani of Cochin, if she helped to secure the landing of Ahatalla. Further, the Archdeacon and numerous Cattanars, at the head of about 16,000 Christians came from all parts to the neighbourhood of Cochin to catch a glimpse of their "*SANTURRAM*", or walking Saint. They did not forget some casks of good wine, with which to gain over the Raja. But it was all in vain. The Captain of Cochin excused himself, that he had no authority to compel the fleet to enter Cochin. Its course would be fixed by the Commandant, who stopped outside the bar, and, after two days, set sail for Goa. The Archbishop's party had triumphed but their triumph was of short duration. The disappointed crowd, headed by the Archdeacon and the Cattanars, dispersed, only to create greater confusion and discontent everywhere. *

The Jesuits had deprived them of their Babylonian Pastor. The Archbishop was determined to rule them even against their will. They had been patient enough. It was useless to rely on the Portuguese. No redress could be got from them. They must now take the law into their hands. And so they decided to consecrate Thomas de Campos Bishop. **

4. THE CONSECRATION OF THE ARCHDEACON.

Of course, they could not find any Catholic Bishop to do their will. No schismatic Bishop was at hand either. That, however, did not discourage them. On the 3rd January 1653 they met at Matanchere, where first they declared Archbishop Garcia deposed, they proclaimed Thomas Administrator of the Diocese, they gave him all "Power of jurisdiction"; while, as to the "Power of order", the matter would be considered. Further, holding a rope tied to the *Cunan Cross* they swore they would never obey the Jesuits. Archbishop Garcia did not spare efforts to bring the rebels back to better senses. Masses were

* See note (1) at the end of the Chapter.

** *All this is taken from the narrative of Fr. Braz de Azevedo, Provincial of Malabar in 1673.*

said "*Ad tollendum schisma*". The sympathy of Princes and Rajas was sought. Even money was offered to them; but all in vain. If the Archbishop promised one thousand, the rebels promised four thousand.

During previous troubles, the people usually came to terms at the time of the Ordinations. When they saw that, if they persisted in their opposition, their sons would not be ordained Deacons or Priests, they climbed down. But this time the rebellion was no mere squabble; the discontent had spread everywhere; and the Archbishop was deprived of even this last hope.

Ahatalla had written to the Archdeacon that, should he be unable to come, he had only to get 12 Cassanars to consecrate him Bishop. He had added, however, that under no circumstances was he to ordain Priests, or consecrate the oils, and that four of the chief Cassanars were to assist him in the discharge of his functions. This meant that Ahatalla did not recognise him as Bishop, but at most as a kind of Vicar General. The Archdeacon, who knew that such a cerimony would be invalid, hesitated at first; then on the 22nd of May 1653 he arranged for his Consecration in the Church of Mangate. Not satisfied with Ahatalla's letter, Itthythoman (1) the so-called hero of the Syrians - forged a letter from the Pope which authorised the 12 to consecrate their Bishop. Besides Itthythoman, three other Cassanars were made counsellors to the new Prelate. One of them was the future Bishop Chandy.

Several Jesuit Fathers wrote to their old pupils, showing the perversity of their ways, and the disaster they were bringing upon the Serra. "What!" answered one - "You Portuguese have got rid of one King, and appointed another. We have done the same with our Bishop". The Cassanar's sophistry was clever; his Theology was clumsy and unsound.

1. Itthythoman was the Cassanar of Kalluchery and the author of a life of St. Paul in Malayalam verse.

5. PORTUGUESE INTERVENTION.

The events related above took place during the first months of 1653. On the 5th and on the 30th of June Archbishop Garcia informed the Viceroy. The answer to his letters, dated 21 October 1653, is signed by the Count de Obibes and countersigned by the acting Viceroy Don Bras de Castro. (1)

The Portuguese Authorities expressed their sorrow at the course of events, and stated that, owing to the wars, they could do but little. On the other hand they had been informed that, had the Archbishop been less severe, things would not have come to such an extremity.

They advise the Archbishop to allow other Religious free entrance into the Serra, for they will help to heal the Schism. (2)

This was Goa's answer, but, as we have seen in the first volume, the experience of Archbishop Brito showed that other Religious were more likely to increase the dissatisfaction and widen the breach, than to mend matters. No wonder Archbishop Garcia would probably disregard this piece of inspired advice.

The Goa letter states also that "The Council is not of opinion that, in order to change the policy of the Cochin Raja, his custom rights should be touched. The Raja is an Indian, and he will naturally favour the Indian party".

(1) The Viceroy, Don Vasco Mascarenhas, was the prisoner of the Canarins, who had revolted and taken the Fortresses of Barcelor, Ampolim and Mangalore.

(2) No doubt the enemies of the Jesuits and especially those Religious who for a long time had desired to set foot in the Serra, had been at pains to accuse the old Archbishop—he was over 70—of excessive severity. Yet Government Reports ever say of him that he "gives great satisfaction". (f.i. the Reports dated 14-12-1641; 20-12-1642; 5-9-1643; 27-12-1651). In the *Relasao* that goes up to the year 1661 he is spoken of as a man "of great virtue, enjoying the esteem of all". Only in a Report dated Dec. 19, 1650 we read that "O arceb.. de Serra e Relig.. o da Comp. como sao sempre, cuidadoso de sue egr. a, mais vehemente que socegado, de que tem nascido parte de discordia entre elle e o arcediago da Serra; porem de presente nao tenho queixas suas".

We only remark that a man, who has ever been prudent in his conduct is not likely to exceed in severity when he is over 70. Cfr. *Mitras*, pp. 42, 43.

It seems natural to suppose that this underhand stroke had been suggested by the Archbishop, but one of the Archbishop's entourage denies that touching the revenues of the Raja of Cochin ever entered into the plans of Don Garcia, as a means to influence the return of the rebels. This had probably been suggested by meddlesome persons in Cochin. He also notices how a certain severity is needed to deal with the schismatics, for the History of the Church teaches that no heretical movement was ever stemmed by mere mildness. However he denies that Don Garcia has ever exceeded in this respect. "The Archdeacon has become unmanageable, and will have entire jurisdiction. To this Don Diego Cardozo—the Archbishop's envoy to Goa—can amply testify. Now, how can the Archbishop yield in this matter? The Archbishop has neither soldiers at his command, nor prisons where he can lock the rebels up. Not even in spirituals has the Archbishop any coercive power. By his actions the Archdeacon has incurred several excommunications, but Don Garcia has left him alone, for he knows that Thomas would not have minded his fulminations. In twelve years he has excommunicated only two Indian Priests; and that was the best certificate he could have given them for the Archdeacon to take them under his wings. Truth to tell, the rebellion would never have assumed such awful proportions had not the Archdeacon been encouraged by certain personages of Cochin. To mention only one, did not the Franciscan Frey Antonio of the Mother of God assert that Thomas was as much a Bishop as the Archbishop of Goa, for a few Priests were quite sufficient to confer valid orders on him? These Religious hope to supplant the Jesuits. But do they know the language? They do not. And should they be entrusted with the spiritual government of the Serra, will they succeed in quelling the rebellion, while the Jesuits have failed? The Jesuits, who have trained most of the Cassanars, who have prepared them for their first Mass, who have visited the remotest villages. It is not the severity of the Jesuits that is responsible for the rebellion, but the fact that the Cassanars

wish to live according to the flesh, and wish to conform to the customs of Babylon. *

"Besides, it is not true to say that the rebellion is universal. Most of the so-called *Perampagams* favour the Archbishop. A short while ago they met in the church of Cattetta, where they decided to break away from the Archdeacon; they punished a Cassanar who had visited him; and they did not acknowledge as cleric a boy, to whom Thomas had conferred Orders".

6. THE COMING OF THE CARMELITES.

We have said enough to show the gravity of the situation in the Serra. Seeing that his efforts to heal the schism were fruitless, and that he could hope for no help from Cochin or Goa, the aged Don Garcia decided to have recourse to Rome. He chose as his envoy Fr. Hyacinth de Magistris, S. J., who was well acquainted with the state of affairs, who had lived long in the Serra and who could represent things in Rome in their true perspective. **

Rome thought long over the matter. She did not favour the entry of local Religious into the Serra. She did not remove the Jesuits who had laboured so faithfully for so many years. She thought that new men, zealous and impartial, might help to heal the ever widening breach. Hence she decided to send the Carmelites to Malabar, in order that with their patience and tact they should endeavour to bring the schismatics back to the bosom of the Church. The choice of the Carmelites was suggested to Pope Alexander VII by letters received from

* This argument is further developed in a letter to the King of Portugal of 1654.

** Padre Giacinto De Magistris was born in 1605 in the Diocese of Cremona and entered the Society in the Province of Venice in 1626. Maracci says of him that he knew Malayalam to perfection, and "was beloved both by the people and the Priests" (!!) He was sent several times to Europe to deal with the affairs of the Mission. In 1661 he published a *Relatione della Cristianita Del Madure*. We have read the book, and found it somewhat disappointing. While in Rome, he was chosen by Fr. General to visit the Mission of Brazil. He returned to India, and died at Goa on 11th November 1668.

some well-intentioned Cassanars, who had known the Carmelites both in Goa and in Cochin, and who were well impressed by their learning and sanctity. Fr. Hyacinth of St. Vincent—well known in Italy as a preacher—was chosen as head of the Mission, with the title of Apostolic Commissary. His companion was the German Fr. Marcel of St. Ivo. The two were to go to India via Lisbon. Two others, Fr. Joseph of Santa Maria and Fr. Vincent of Santa Caterina da Siena, were to go to India via Turkey, Persia and the states of the Great Moghul.

Fr. Joseph and Fr. Vincent left Naples on the 22nd February 1656, and after a long journey through Syria and Persia reached Surat, which at that time was the gate of the Orient, where Portuguese, English, Dutch, Armenians, Persians, Turks, met Gujaratis, Punjabis, and other Indians, and carried on commerce of all kinds of goods and merchandise. From Surat they continued their journey to Chaul, and from Chaul to Vingorla, which at that time was in the hands of the Dutch. The Dutch, though no friends to the Catholics, received them well, and the Fathers, with the letters from the Dutch Captain, left Vingorla by ship directed to Cannanore. Before Goa they were stopped and taken to the Fleming General Hadrian Totes, who was blockading the town. He, being a secret Catholic, treated them with exquisite hospitality, and calling to himself the Malayalee who directed the paro on which the Fathers were travelling, threatened him with destruction should he dare to ill treat the Fathers in any way.

The Portuguese prisoners asked to make their confession, but the Captain refused not to rouse the anger of the heretics. The Fathers then continued their voyage on the paro. "The sailors"—writes Fr. Vincent—"are all naked, except for a little loin cloth; they are black, with long hair, making a knot in the middle of the head. Their eyes are bloody, teeth dirty, ears very long; and they are cruel above belief". On the 18th January they passed Onor, which formerly was a Portuguese fortress, but now belonged to the King of Kanara. They saw

Baticala, Barcelor, Baccanor, Caricura, Cariapali, and Ormali. They were troubled somewhat by the pirates, but finally sent them off with some cloth, with which they were satisfied. In Mangalore they stopped three days, and then the Fathers became aware of the wicked endeavours of the Captain's sons to induce their father to imprison them. The old man hesitated long between the desire of booty and the fear of the Dutch, but finally fear prevailed and they reached Cannanore in safety. Dressed in their white capes, the Carmelites took up a prominent position on the paro, and were soon descried by the soldiers from the walls of the Fort. There was great wonder at the appearance of European Religious on an Indian boat. Finally the Carmelites disembarked, and with great secrecy they acquainted the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent with their Mission, how they had been sent direct by the Pope, without Portugual's intermediary, to deal with the Church's trouble in the South.

7. The Efforts of the Carmelites to Heal the Schism.

On their way to Malabar Frs. Joseph and Vincent were joined by the famous Fr. Matthew, who, later on will contribute to the composition of the "*Hortus Malabaricus*". From Cannanore they went by sea to Calicut, and from Calicut to the Serra. In February they reached Rapolim, whose Vicar was the elder brother of the Archdeacon, and who had been several times excomunicated by Don Garcia. They met him together with a worthless Portuguese,—Dias by name—who, though accused of theft and various other crimes, had been ordained Priest by the Archdeacon, and had become his Confessor, Se cretary, Advisor and Interpreter.

They saw immediately that the Archdeacon was determined to keep the jurisdiction he had, and to do all in his power to be recognised as Archbishop.

The first thing which the Carmelites had been commissioned to do by the Pope, was to reduce the Serra to the obedience of

the Jesuit Archbishop. * But, rightly or wrongly, feeling that a reconciliation between the people and their legitimate shepherd was out of the question, they determined to act independently of the Archbishop. In fact Fr. Joseph de Santa Maria forbade the Archbishop all acts of jurisdiction and all Ordinations. Being new to the country, not knowing the language of the people, scarcely realizing the consummate art of equivocation and procrastination possessed by the Archdeacon and his adherents, mistrusting the advice of the Jesuits, who for more than sixty years had worked in the Serra, and knew it thoroughly, relying on the advice of Portuguese Priests and Religious, who were jealous of the Jesuits, and who desired nothing better than their downfall, it would have been a miracle had they succeeded in their mission.

It makes wearisome reading to go through the pages of Fr. Vincent's "*Viaggio*" and see the various attempts made by the Carmelites to meet the Archdeacon and to reduce him to better senses. When they insisted that he had to give up the dignity which he had usurped, they were answered that the people had elected him and only the people could depose him. This, of course, could not be done without instructing the people, which the Carmelites could never do without gathering the people, and ascertaining its will. Further the Rajas had acknowledged the Archdeacon and they would back him against these unknown foreigners, who could not speak Malayalam, and who asserted to have an authority, which it was not possible to prove to the satisfaction of all. Thirdly, the Christians of the Serra could not be without a Head.

The Carmelites themselves had excluded Archbishop Garcia. They acknowledged that they were not commissioned to rule the Diocese. In fact no one amongst them had the Episcopal dignity. When the people were advised to wait for a decision from Rome, they answered that they had waited long

* See the brief of Alexander VII, dated 24-1-1656, at the end of the Chapter.

enough; Rome was eternal, and their trouble needed a prompt remedy. Should they write again to Rome, they felt that to every affirmation on their part, the Jesuits would oppose ten on theirs. The Archdeacon was *de facto* Bishop, and he would continue to be. The situation seemed well nigh hopeless. All sorts of rumours were circulated against the Carmelites; that they were Dutchmen in disguise, that they had come to dupe the people, to steal from them chalices, vestments, ornaments. And one cannot help admiring their patience, their tenacity, their endurance.

From Rapolim they went to Cranganore, where Fr. Vincent saw the Archbishop, and acquainted him with their mission. The good Prelate—so writes Fr. Vincent—received the letters, agreed that the Carmelites should work for reunion and with great feeling recommended his flock to them. From Cranganore they go back to Rapolim, where they barely escape being made prisoners by the Archdeacon. From Rapolim they proceed to Verapoly, from Verapoly to Corolangati, from Corolangati to Cochin, to Barcati, to Carturti. Meanwhile the Goan authorities wake up. They see that the Carmelites had entered their preserves disregarding the rights of the Padroado, and they let them know it would be better for them to withdraw. But Cochin was more conciliatory. The Dutch were threatening and the Governor felt he needed the help of the martial Thomas Christians. If he opposed the Carmelites he might lose the Thomas Christians for good. So he ignored the commands of Goa. In fact he even obtained a letter from the Inquisition praising the Carmelites and encouraging them in their mission.

Some of the Cassanars receive them well. Each one, however, proposes his own plan, and condemns that of his neighbour; some exaggerate the difficulties, others belittle them. There is talking to-day, and talking to-morrow and talking for ever. Meanwhile the time passes and nothing is done.

A meeting is arranged at Rapolim for the fourth Sunday after Easter. But the Archdeacon sends messengers everywhere to gain the people to his cause. In this work Itthythoman distinguished himself above others. He was saying: "Now that we have freed ourselves from the Portuguese, shall we be so foolish to subject ourselves to them again? Is not our Church as ancient as Rome? We are reproached for having conferred Ordination on our *Metran*. Is not the Pope 'ordained' by the Cardinals? If they can do it, why can't we? They say that we have deposed our Bishop. How many Popes have been deposed by the people? There is nothing done by us, of which the Latins have not given us the example". Helped by the Vicars of Corolongati and Maliaturti the Carmelites endeavoured to counteract Itthythoman and his followers. But they were labouring against great odds. They had set aside the legitimate Pastor of the Serra, and they had none to substitute in his place. Not the intruder—as was obvious. Not one of themselves, for they were plain priests, and here a Bishop was needed. Not a Thomas Christian, for they could not consecrate him.

On the fourth Sunday after Easter the Carmelites go to Rapolim for the meeting. But only one Cassanar had turned up. They leave for Cochin, and work again to gather people and priests together, in order to read the Papal Briefs to them, and see what can be done.

After the feast of the Ascension Fr. Vincent returns to Rapolim. He is received with honour, but cannot even see the Archdeacon. At the meeting he endeavours to persuade people and priests that the Carmelites are sent by the Pope and not by the General of the Society of Jesus; that their mission is to bring unity to the Church in the Serra; that they are not partial to the Archbishop of Cranganore. But the main point was: "What to do with the Archdeacon?" The Carmelites proposed that he should accompany them to Rome or at least to Goa; and that, if he resigned his office, they would obtain for him the protection of the Inquisitors, and some consolation from Rome. But it was all in vain. The Archdeacon had the power and he meant to keep it. He showed however, a desire

to be validly consecrated, and this was the result of the meeting at Rapolim :—that all understood that Thomas was not really a Bishop ; but instead of agreeing with the Carmelites, that he should withdraw, they asked of them either to consecrate him or to leave Malabar. Other meetings were arranged at Muttano, Mattanchery, Mangate, but all with the same result.

Meanwhile, on the 5th of September, Fr. Hyacinth of St. Vincent—the head of the Carmelite Mission—reached Goa. After the failure of the meeting at Mangate the Archbishop wrote to Fr. Joseph, that he had obeyed his orders long enough; that after what had happened Fr. Joseph should have understood that, to deprive him of his jurisdiction would not help towards reunion ; that the Christians had broken away from their Pastor more by want of faith than by just motives. Hence, in future he would exercise those acts of jurisdiction which would keep him in possession of what by right was his. Further, unless the Churches, which had submitted, were given back to their legitimate Pastor, he would complain to the Holy See.

Fr. Joseph answered that his only object was to do the Pope's will, and work for the salvation of souls. For that he thought it necessary to delay the granting of what the Archbishop desired, in order not to give an occasion to those who had come back, to lose themselves again, to those who still doubted, to get frightened, and to those who were still in rebellion, to become more and more obstinate. He did not want to discuse the motives of the rebellion. He only knew that if he undertook the charge of the Serra, most of the people would return to the fold. If he allowed the Archbishop to rule, all would be lost. He counselled patience, and exhorted the Archbishop not to make any change.

Don Garcia complained to the Chapter and to the Captain of Cochin that he had been unjustly deprived of his jurisdiction, and practically suspended, and said that he would no longer obey. They answered that all was done for the best, they exhorted him to patience, telling him that in the end he would be consoled. Meanwhile a good number of Cassanars, fearing that their ordination was invalid, begged to be brought to the Archbishop. The latter, at first, would not receive them ; but finally he yielded, ordained them, kept them in his house for some time, and treated them like repentant children.

In Advent the delegates of 44 Churches met together. Fr. Joseph told them that Fr. Hyacinth was in Goa, and would soon be among them to govern them. He himself felt the need of returning to Rome ; for, to remedy their ills, the authority of a Bishop was required. They then answered the Pope's Brief, protesting to be obedient children of Rome, and giving their reasons why they could not submit to the Archbishop. During Christmas other Churches made their submission, among others, five which belonged to the Dominions of the Zamorin.

Then Fr. Joseph and Fr. Vincent left for Europe, while Fr. Matthew continued in Malabar.

8. Death of Archbishop Garcia.

At first Fr. Hyacinth treated the Jesuits well. Then the wind changed, and he surpassed even Fr. Joseph in harshness. The latter on leaving the Serra, had forbidden the Provincial, Fr. Barretto, to allow the Jesuits to set foot there, notwithstanding the complaints of various churches.

Fr. Hyacinth, the better to reach his goal, did not hesitate to use the secular arm. He threatened, he imprisoned, he confiscated the goods of those who sided with Garcia. His wrath was dirested especially towards a new Archdeacon, which Garcia had nominated to take the place of Thomas.

It is said that Fr. Hyacinth spread the news that the Jesuits had managed to send Ahatalla from Lisbon to Rome, but then had him poisoned in Paris. A Theatine was happy to

insert this jewel in his sermon on St. Cajetan's feast—sure that Goa would applaud him.

Yet, nothing is more sure than the falsehood of this statement.

Soon after Fr. Hyacinth's arrival, came the news of Fr. Provincial Barretto's elevation to the see of Cochin. The Carmelites insisted that it was an imposture, fabricated in Europe by Fr. De Magistris. However, it was true. But Fr. Barretto—who had already refused to be the Coadjutor Bishop to Don Garcia—refused the Bishopric of Cochin as well. In 1654 an Armenian merchant—*Stephen* by name—had come to Malabar, pretending he was the nephew of a Syrian Pope, who had supplanted Alexander VII. In 1659 Itthythoman brought him to the Archdeacon, where a Brief was shown purporting to have been written by the Syrian Pope. Therein the Archdeacon's appointment in place of Garcia was confirmed. The people knelt down, kissed the letter and put it on their heads. But after a while a quarrel broke out between Stephen and the Archdeacon. Itthythoman loaded a boat with spices and sent Stephen back to where he had come from. At this time Fr. Hyacinth fell sick and died.

Through the good offices of Don Ignazio Sarmento Carvalho, the Captain General, who had come to Cochin to defend the city against the Dutch, a great step towards reconciliation was accomplished. He obtained the help of the Rajas of Cochin and Porca, and thanks to them, the Cassanars of Vaipicotta and the Churches of Cadurcatta and Cadamattur made their submission to Don Garcia. It was a great consolation for the old man, who was very sick, and had already received Holy Viaticum.

In fact he expired on the 3rd of September 1659, in Cranganore, aged 80 years, of which he had passed 57 in the Mission. Twenty two years before he had been made Bishop Coadjutor to Don Estevan de Brito, in the Church of the Bom Jesus, by the Primate Don Francisco de Martyres.

He had received a heavy burden from the hands of the good Don Estevan, who to gain over the Archdeacon, had practically abdicated his rights. Don Garcia tried to undo the evil, and to govern the Church entrusted to him, according to his conscience, and not according to the will of the ambitious and unscrupulous Prelate.

Before being Bishop, Don Garcia had taught philosophy and Theology for many years. He was an expert in Canon Law. He had been Provincial of Goa, Superior of the Professed House, Rector of the Colleges of St. Paul and Bassein. He knew Konkany, Tamil and Malayalam. He translated the *Flos Sanctorum* into Tamil, and composed a Dictionary Konkany-Portuguese and Portuguese-Konkany. It is said that he knew Syriac to perfection.

As was often the case in those days, for some time he was Governor of Cochin, and, according to Nadal, he governed so successfully that he was asked to continue in that office, the more so that, during his rule, the Dutch were compelled to lift the siege of the city. But he, being burdened with years and troubles, refused.

He visited his Diocese several times, though the means of communication were not easy.

He established a "*Monte Pio*", and, according to Franco, those who borrowed money from it, and gave it back at the proper time, paid no interest. If they failed they were debarred from borrowing any more money. *

In the *Relacão dos success. das arm. portug.*: (Lisbon 1663) it is said that all admired the zeal of the Archbishop in the cause of the King, not only for his remarkable talents, virtue and learning, but also because he helped with his own money to fortify the bastions and the towers, which were in ruins. Several times he even paid the soldiers, who claimed in vain

* Cfr. *Mitras* II, p. 42 - *Noa Goa* 1924.

their wages from the King's officials. By his unremitting care he prevented the Zamorin from conquering the fortress. Many thought that, had he definitely taken upon himself the civil Government of the city, he would have alleviated the misery and unemployment, which was general. Finally, though 80 years old, moved by the desire to serve the King, to promote God's service and the good of the Christians, he undertook the office of Governor of Cranganore, just as some time before he had been Governor of Cochin. From the beginning of his Bishopric till about 1650 the reports to the King on Archbishop Garcia are most favourable. But then, when the clouds were gathering, they begin to blame his severity and rigour. That he showed severity we do not deny, but his severity was ever tempered by kindness, and it was amply justified by the fissiparous tendencies he had to contend with.

To say that he endeavoured to latinize the Syrians is not correct. He tried to train the Cassanars—often careless in the administration of the Sacraments—to pay more attention to the sacred ceremonies. If in our own days one should endeavour to reform the discordant music that is heard in some Malabar churches, the cry might be raised that he strives to latinize the Syrian rite.

Equally absurd was the accusation levelled then against Don Garcia. To assert that he wanted to substitute Latin to Syriac is simply false. Himself a scholar in Syriac, he insisted that the young Levites should be trained both in Syriac and in Latin. That he witheld money due to Cassanars is also a fiction. What he received from Goa—and that was often inadequate, and almost always irregularly paid—he gave to priests, who, not infrequently received money from the Portuguese with one hand, while they used the other to undermine the power of the Portuguese. Surely the Society of Jesus had given one of her best sons to govern the Serra; a man of God, prudent, learned. During his government in the Society he was never accused of excessive rigour. Is it probable that, after becoming Archbishop, he should have become harsh, and intractable? Old age

mellows the character, it does not stiffen it. He had lived long in Malabar, before being made a Bishop. He had given many missions in the Serra. He knew the people and the Cassanars. Don Garcia was not the man to break them by his rigour.

The accusers most probably would not have behaved better in the most difficult circumstances he had to contend with.

His death caused universal sorrow, and we are told that his funeral testified to the love and veneration in which he was held.

Under the third of September 1659 Fr. A. Franco in his *Ano Santo* says of Garcia that he abhorred honours and he fainted when he received the news of his appointment to be Archbishop of the Serra. He provided the Churches of his diocese with vestments and ornaments, and out of his funds he maintained practically all the poor and beggars of Cranganore. He gave a decent dowry to many poor girls, thus enabling them to marry. In order to avoid trouble and enmity with the local Rajas, he followed the custom of the land and often offered them gifts.

At home he followed the customs of the Society as to prayer and examinations of conscience and he always spoke of the Society of Jesus, as his beloved Mother. He cherished a great devotion for the souls in Purgatory, and he said Mass for them every day. Long before his death he used to communicate by Viaticum at Mass. Before dying he wrote to the Archdeacon offering to forgive and to forget, if he came back to the bosom of Holy Mother the Church. He even said he was ready to be carried to the Archdeacon's house, if there was any chance of making peace. But it was all in vain.

Note:—Sommervogel gives the following works by Archbishop Garcia:

Relasao dos Gentios Sectarios da India Oriental.

Dialogos Espirituaes.

Carta escrita ao Arcediago......em que lle persuade com affectuosa efficacia a sua redusao a Igreja Romana.

Synodus Provincialis......Archiepiscopatus Cranganorensis, assentiente Clero Malabarico et tota Ecclesia Cranganorensi, evulgata anno 1606 (1646 ?). (Codex est cartaceus vulgari lingua Malabarica scriptus).

APPENDIX

Letter of the Cassanars and People to the Captain of Cochin.

"We beg your honour for the love of God, and of the Christian Community that you now endeavour to bring back the Patriarch (Ahatalla) whom the Paulists (i. e. the Jesuits) have taken from us, so that the truth may be known and we may obey: and in case the Patriarch cannot be produced, he having being killed by the Paulists, let any other person of any of the four religious Orders come here, by order of the Supreme Pontiff, a man who knows Syriac and can teach us in our offices, except the Paulists, whom we do not at all desire, because they are enemies of us and of the Church of Rome; with that exception let any body come and we are ready to obey without hesitation".

See a *Brief Sketch* etc. by Fr. Bernard, T. O. C. D., (1924), p. 60-. Interesting the accusation that the Jesuits are enemies to the Church of Rome. Also one may observe how readily these people obeyed when the Carmelites came.

In the Bullarium Portugalliae are found the following Briefs:

1. "*Cum nos dilectum*", (19-1-1656) of Pope Alexander VII. where Fra Giuseppe a S. Maria is recommended to all whom it may concern. He is sent by the Pope on a Mission to Malabar.

2. The Brief "*Cum sicut*", addressed to Fra Giuseppe himself is as follows: Cum sicut non sine gravi animi nostri molestia, ad aures nostras pervenit, dilectus filius Thomas, Archidiaconus Ecclesiae Angamalensis seu Serrae, una cum 150,000 seu alio veriori numero Christianorum illarum partium ab obedientia fratris Archiep. Angamalensis recesserit, ac dignitatem episcopalem absque hujus S. Sedis auctoritate, sibi arrogaverit, muniaque pastoralia inter eosdem Christianos illegitime invalideque exercere praesumpserit, et forsan praesumat; cumque per excessus hujusmodi et illorum occasione status ejusdem Ecclesiae Angam. cum maximo Christifidelium dictarum partium animarum periculo, valde perturbatus existat,

(1) Nos, pro commissa nobis ab aeterno Pastore omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudine......praedictorum excessuum informationem capi, ac pertubationes hujusmodi componi et sedari, tranquillitatemque eidem Ecclesiae restitui, necnon memoratum *Thomam ejusque sequaces ad ejusdem Archiepiscopi obedientiam reduci cupientes*, ac de tua fide, prudentia etc. plurimum in Dno confisi, de ven. fratr. nostrorum Card......consilio tibi per praesentes committimus *et mandamus, quatenus te una cum duobus vel tribus sociis tibi placitis et gratis ad partes supradictas conferas*, ac super omnibus et singulis praemissis veras *facti informationes* sumas et capias, ac *processum* seu processus desuper fabrices et *conficias*.

(2) Dantes tibi quamcumque necessariam et opportunam facultatem cum eodem Thoma, ejusque sequacibus quibuslibet, libere et licite......ubi et quando, et toties quoties in Dno expedire judicaveris, *super eorum reductione ad praedicti Archiepiscopi obedientiam* communicandi et tractandi, ipsumque Thoman ad obedientiam hujusmodi quoties opus fuerit respective auctoritate nostra ap. reducere, et si hoc a te humiliter petierint, *imposita* eis et

eorum cuilibet *poenitentia* salutari, necnon recepto ab eis *juramento*, quod de caetero *similia non perpetrabunt*, a praedictorum excessuum reatu, a quavis excommunicatione......per eos et eorum quemlibet praemissorum occasione respective incursis liberandi eadem auctoritate absolvendi, et plenarie liberandi......ac eos et eorum quemlibet in pristinum......statum restituendi......ac ad gremium S. Rom. Ecclesiae, dicta auctoritate recipiendi, aliaque ad id necessaria et opportuna agendi...... prout res ipsa exegerit servatis tamen......sacrorum canonum dispositionibus.

(3) Non obstantibus etc. Rome, 24-1-1656.
Here the Pope knows that about 150,000 Christians have been led astray by the Archdeacon Thomas; he sends Fra Giuseppe to gather information and to do what he can to reduce the dissidents to the obedience of the Archbishop. This was the main point. How for Fra Giuseppe and his companions acquitted themselves of the delicate task committed to them appears from the text.

3. The Brief "*Ad aures nostras*" (1-2-1656) is addressed to Archdeacon Thomas. The Pope, upon hearing of the Archdeacon's disobedience and of his endeavours to take upon himself the episcopal dignity, was very much pained. To settle the business he has sent Fra Giuseppe. The Archdeacon is exhorted "ut ad saniora consilia revertaris".

4. The Brief "*Percrebuit*" (19-2-1656) is addressed to the people of Angamale, who have followed Thomas in his disobedience. Perhaps it was due more to levity and ignorance than to malice. Yet how dangerous for the salvation of their souls! He prays that they may return to the obedience of their Archbishop. He commands them to receive Fra Giuseppe as his delegate.

5. The Brief "*In gravissimo*" (19-2-1656) is addressed to the people of Angamale, who have remained obedient to the Archbishop. They are praised and exhorted to persevere and to help Fra Giusppe in his task.

6. The Brief "*Relatum est*" (19-2-1656) is addressed to the Archbishop of Angamale. In order that the Schism may not strike deep roots the Pope sends Fra Giuseppe, and the Archbishop is exhorted to receive him well. Further "fraternitatem tuam in Dno monemus, et serio hortamur, ut memor mansuetudinis illius, qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, eas quas a Deo curae commissas, zizaniorum sator diabolus abduxit, omni studio ad ovile Christi reducere coneris et ad propria pascua redeuntes, benigne suscipias, illisque ad cor reversis debitum per inobedientiam contractum paterna charitate remittas".

7. The Brief "*Cum pro componendis*" (1-2-1656) is addressed to the Vicar Capitular and the Canons of the Cathedral of Cochin. They are invited to receive and help Fra Giuseppe. (19-2-1656)

CHAPTER III.

THE PRELATES OF THE SERRA FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP GARCIA S. J. TO THE YEAR 1800

(1659 — 1800)

The falling away of the Syrian Christians from their legitimate Pastor has been dealt with. Now we shall speak of the Prelates who occupied, or were destined to occupy, the See of Cranganore, or the Diocese of the Serra, as it was called. And first FRA GIUSEPPE da SANTA MARIA O. C. D., the Founder of the Carmelite Mission in Malabar. His stay in India was short. As will appear in the course of the narrative, the purity of his zeal was marred by harshness towards the Jesuits and especially towards the Archbishop, whom he publicly declared deposed from his See, *though he was already dead*. This act was not imposed by Rome, nor demanded by the good of souls. The historian leaves it to the judgement of God. Fra Giuseppe left in the Serra some of his brethren. They were too few and ill equipped for the magnitude of the task of bringing back to the fold the stray sheep. It must be said, however, that they managed to secure the tolerance at first, and, by and by, the helping benevolence of the new masters of Cochin, the Dutch. The learned Fr MATTHEW was the main instrument in gaining Dutch patronage for the Carmelites. Unfortunately he did not see eye to eye with his Superiors. He thought that his brethren—members as they were of a Contemplative Order—where not fit for Missionary life, and repeatedly advised Rome to give the Mission back to the Jesuits or to entrust it to French Bishops, who would work it with Jesuit help. Rome hesitated, the more so that, meanwhile, the Diocese had been entrusted by Fra Giuseppe to an Indian, BISHOP CHANDY, who, Rome felt, should be supported and not supplanted.

But Portugal created difficulties, for—and not without reason—she thought that Propaganda and the Carmelites had too summarily disregarded her ancient rights over the Serra. Strange as it may seem, even during the life time of Bishop Chandy, an Oratorian and three Jesuits were asked by Portugal to take up the burden of ruling the Serra. And Rome acquiesced. In fact, at least in one case, she despatched to Lisbon the Bulls of nomination for the Portuguese successor of Don Garcia. Luckily both the Jesuits (Frs. Barreto, Freyre and St. John de Britto) and the

Oratorian Padre Manoel de Souza, refused. Had they accepted, strife with the Carmelites and with Bishop Chandy would have been inevitable. Another reason for their refusal was that the Dutch ruled Cochin and Cranganore, and did not allow Portuguese Prelates to exercise jurisdiction in their dominions. True, most of the Parishes of the Serra were in the interior, or under the Zamorin of Calicut, and so escaped the direct rule of the Dutch. But a Portuguese Archbishop would have constantly to communicate with Cochin and with the Primate at Goa and the Viceroy. Communications by land were difficult, and the sea was unsafe. Therefore the Bishops Elect thought it more prudent to decline the offer. Rome was perhaps glad of their refusal, though, apparently, she had rather confused ideas of things in Malabar. In fact, that ancient and noble Christian people was actually ruled by an Indian. The experiment was new and the reports about Bishop Chandy were conflicting. The Carmelites, whose creature he was, at first supported him, but soon came to think that the experiment should not be repeated. Portugal insisted that the Diocese should again be ruled by a Portuguese. But it was difficult to see how it could be done against the declared opposition of the Dutch.

Some of the Parishes that had gone astray, had come back to the fold. Others fell even further away, misled by a certain GREGORY, who planted HERESY in this unhappy land of Kerala, which was already torn by SCHISM. Rome temporised, and the first four Portuguese candidates to the mitre, declined it. Later, when a *modus vivendi* was hit upon, four other Jesuits will accept the burden.

We do not think we should apologise if we shall write somewhat at length of one of these candidates to the See of Cranganore, PADRE FREYRE. It is true that his main work was not in Malabar, but in the Madura Mission. Yet he had much to do with Malabar proper as well, and—as will be seen in a later chapter—he was for some time Superior of the Malabar Province.

As to ST. JOHN de BRITTO, he too worked and died on the East Coast. But he lived some time in the Malabar College of Ambalakad, of which he was designated Rector. Further, he was appointed Procurator of the Province to treat of its affairs in Europe. Finally he was chosen to succeed Don Garcia in the Serra. The members of the Malabar Province did not live in water tight compartments. At times we find them in Malabar proper, at times in the Madura Mission, or in Ceylon, or even in Malacca and the Moluccas. Therefore, though we do not wish to write the story of the Jesuits in all these lands, we cannot well be silent on the deeds of such a great Missionary as Padre Freyre, or on the martyrdom of St. John de Britto, one of the brightest stars in the sky of the Indian Missions.

CONTENTS

* Cfr. *Red Sand* by Fr. A. Sanli'ere, S.J. (De Nobili Press, Madura, 1947)

N. B.:—The Sources and Documents are quoted each in its own place.

1. THE BISHOP OF HIERAPOLIS.
(*Fra Giuseppe da S. Maria,* O.C.D. 1661 - 63).

Upon hearing of Don Garcia's death the Chapter of Goa—in virtue of special powers granted by the Pope—named Administrator Ap. of the Serra Canon Manoel Serrao de Nabais, Treasurer of the Cathedral of Cochin, a man worthy of his appointment, if ever there was one. But the Carmelite Fr. MARCEL—successor to the late Fr. Hyacinth—threatened him with excommunication, should he accept. He evidently interpreted the instructions from Rome as practically ending the rights of Portugal over the Serra. Portugal, however, relying on ancient Bulls which had never been repealed, and knowing that the Holy See would not suppress her well established rights through an obscure monk, disregarded Fr. Marcel's threats.

This was only one of an interminable series of encroachments and resistance between new comers, who asserted they had been sent by Rome, and the possessors of old privileges, also granted by Rome. The unfortunate dissension will gradually spread all over India, and will produce untold harm to the cause of Religion in this land. But let us not anticipate. Elsewhere we shall say something of the unedifying battles between the adherents of Portugal—PADROADISTS, as they were called—and the Missionaries sent direct by Propaganda, and therefore called PROPAGANDISTS.

Don Manoel declined the burden which had been offered to him, and explained his reasons to Goa. Meanwhile Fr. Giuseppe, who had left India for Rome in 1658, was back again, wearing a mitre, which, according to the Carmelite Fr Matthew he had cleverly managed to obtain for himself. In Goa he kept his dignity hidden, in order to avoid Portuguese suspicions; but in Cochin he openly proclaimed himself Bishop of Hierapolis, and caused a Brief of Pope Alexander VII to be read in the Cathedral, wherein it was stated that he had authority over the Serra, and the late Archbishop Don Garcia was deprived of all jurisdiction over his Diocese. Almost all were chagrined by this act, which

showed no regard for the dead Archbishop, and which could easily have been avoided.

He then arranged to visit his Diocese. Following the example of the Portuguese Archbishops who knew the value of pomp and ceremony among the Indians, he started with great eclat, preceded by drums and music, surrounded by ecclesiastics, and followed by Nayars and Hidalgos. He was received with great solemnity at Muttam, and proceeded to Kalurkada in the Kingdom of Porca. The Christians here objected to the episcopal slap, which is given at Confirmation, for they thought it signified slavish subjection to the Portuguese. The local Raja and his Divan interfered, explained matters, and made things easier for the new Bishop.

A meeting was planned between the new Prelate and the Archdeacon at Diamper; but the latter objected that the place was too near Cochin. The memory of Ahatalla was still fresh and he feared that a similar fate might befall him. He preferred to betake himself to Molandurte (Molanturutty), which offered better chances of escape. Finally Tripudaray was chosen, where the Delegates of the contending parties should discuss matters. The Archdeacon proposed that some Brahmins should be among the judges, and Fra Giuseppe acquiesced. The first thing insisted on was that the credentials should be examined. The Carmelite had his own papal Briefs; but the Archdeacon could produce only Ahatalla's letter. The rest—so asseverated Itthythoman—had been stolen. Insults and threats followed; nothing was achieved; the breach was widened.

In October 1661 he published a pseudo papal Brief. The people were invited to kiss it with the greatest devotion; and paid one fanam a kiss. Thus it was made easier for the Archdeacon to offer a gift of 18,000 fanams to a Raja to secure his help. No doubt the help was needed, for the Portuguese would willingly have taken him together with Itthythoman, and handed them both to the tender mercies of the Inquisition.

He ran away, and several parishes made their subjection to Rome. In Molandurte ornaments and books were found, which

Cadavil, who was very learned in Syriac and commanded a considerable following in the Serra.

3. Gregory, The Author of the Jacobite Schism in Malabar (1665).

We shall see in a subsequent chapter how the Jesuits were expelled from Ambalakat, went to Goa and then returned. Soon after their return, hope revived of the Archdeacon's submission; but it was soon to be dashed to the ground. In fact, darker days were in store for the Christians of the Serra.

About this time the rumour was spread that an Armenian, by the name of GREGORY, accompanied by two men, had landed in Calicut. Later on it was learnt that he had been invited by the Archdeacon. In fact Thomas wrote to the Northern churches to give him a grand reception. After a while the Armenian reached Rapolim, where he was awaited by the Archdeacon and various Cassanars. They gave out that Gregory had been sent by Rome, and the Pope's Bulls would shortly be read at Parur. But the way Gregory said Mass soon undeceived the people. He used about half a pound of leavened bread, and consecrated half a bottle of wine. No special vestments. In a quarter of an hour the whole thing was over. The Cassanars, however, to their intense disgust, had to pay for one Mass as much as they were used to pay for seventy. Further, Gregory ordered that no more than four Masses should be said in a year. This was a surprise for the people, who often had Mass said for the dead.

As to the Bulls, he produced a paper written with golden letters, but he did not read it. It was from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

Noticing the people's discontent, the Archdeacon prepared a Roman cassock for Gregory, and persuaded him to use Roman vestments at Mass. He made him also diminish the amount of bread and wine.

The Jesuits both by word and letters, endeavoured to unmask the wolf, who lost much ground. To regain it, he went to Cochin, where he saw the Dutch Governor.

"Where do you come from?" asked the latter. "Not from Rome"—answered the Armenian. "That is good"—said the Governor. And then he went on: "Try to give wives to the Cassanars, to suppress Confession, to get rid of pictures and statues of Saints."

"True"—rejoined the Armenian—"These customs did not exist here in olden times. The Jesuits have introduced them, and they cannot be done away with in six months. But I shall do my best".

"Then you may count on me"—concluded the Governor.

Before the coming of Gregory, the followers of the Archdeacon though rebellious, professed the true faith. It was he who plunged them into heresy.

The main points which he insisted on were the following:

(1) Hatred of Rome and the Nestorians;

(2) Antioch is the religious centre of the world;

(3) In Christ only one nature: the divine nature;

(4) The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and not from the Son;

(5) No Purgatory;

(6) Leavened bread to be used for the Eucharist;

(7) The cope and not the chasuble to be used at Mass;

(8) The Gregorian Calendar to be rejected. Lent to begin ten days after the Catholics.

The people, mostly ignorant and weakened by schism, did not oppose great resistance to these innovations. Gregory—called by them PATRIARCHISSA, and venerated as a Saint—died in 1672. The Jacobites still honour the memory of his death.

had been left by the Archdeacon. There were also some letters to the Patriarch of Ninive, wherein books, teachers and Bishops were instantly demanded, so that the Thomas Christians might finally escape the slavery of Portugal and Rome.

2. THE BISHOP OF MEGARA

(*Chandy, or Nale, or Alexander de Campos*; 1663 - 1692). *

The Dutch, who had ousted the Portuguese from Ceylon, were spreading their tentacles over the Malabar Coast. The Syrian Christians, torn by internal dissensions, were now subjected to other worries. The Jesuits, who had seen their flocks slip away from them, witnessed Portugal supplanted by a hostile power, from which they had nothing to expect and everything to fear. They were exiled from Cochin and Cranganore. However, they continued their limited activities in Calicut, and, after a while, they established themselves at Ambalakat.

During the last siege of Cochin by the Dutch, Fra Giuseppe withdrew to Muttam, where he remained till the fall of the city (7 January 1663). Then this man who had come out to Malabar confident of conquering all men and overcoming all obstacles, began to feel that he was alone and could do nothing. The Portuguese mistrusted him, the Indians did not care for him, the Dutch ignored him. He came to the conclusion he could work more in Italy than in the Serra. Hence he thought of consecrating Chandy, Cassanar of Corlongatty, to the Bishopric of the Serra. According to Padre Paolino da S. Bartolomeo, the consecration took place in Caturte on the 31st of January 1663. Bishop Chandy was not noted for his learning; but he was a good man. He was given the title of Bishop of Megara. Fra Giuseppe entrusted the administration of the Serra to him, to the intense chagrin of the anti-Archdeacon

* IND. OR. XNA p. 77, says that Bishop Chandy died in 1676. This is certainly wrong. Fr. BERNARD, T. O. C. D. (op. cit. p. 66) gives Dec. 23, 1687 as the date of Bishop Chandy's death. But it seems that 1692 was probably the year of his death.

party; for they argued, the new Pastor, being dark, would not be respected by the petty Rajas of the country. In fact, he could not even claim the privilege of sitting before them. Further, the Cassanars and the people would not venerate him, on account of his ignorance and lack of experience. These more or less irrelevant remarks have been heard more than once in the slow process of Church Indianization. At any rate they remained without effect on Fra Giuseppe, who was bent on returning home and leaving Malabar under some guidance.

The new Bishop had no Pontifical. Fra Giuseppe wrote to Ambalakat asking the Jesuits to translate it from Latin into Syriac, and to remit it to Bishop Chandy. They graciously complied with his request; and the new Bishop, provided with a new Pontifical, could hold the Ordinations.

Besides the "Pontifical" Fra Giuseppe needed sacred vestments for Bishop Chandy. He coolly asked the Jesuit Rector of Cranganore to send him Don Garcia's pontifical vestments. The Rector complied. The Serra was duly notified of the new Pastor's appointment. But no one came to do him homage, except those who had already submitted to Don Garcia.

Fra Giuseppe, before leaving Malabar for good, was granted an interview by the Dutch Governor of Cochin, to whom he explained how he had been sent by the Pope against the will of Portugal; how, in fact his Mission had been hampered by Portugal. He described the Archdeacon's treachery, and how he could not be trusted. Finally—and this was a most important point—he earnestly recommended Bishop Chandy to the new Masters. He remarked that, if they had taken Cochin, it was largely due to the non co-operation with Portugal of the Thomas Christians. These were good fighters, and the Dutch could count on their help, if they did not interfere with their religious practices, and if they favoured the new Metran.

To make the position of Bishop Chandy more secure, Fra Giuseppe gave him as Vicar General the 75 years old Alexander

Cadavil, who was very learned in Syriac and commanded a considerable following in the Serra.

3. Gregory, the Author of the Jacobite Schism in Malabar (1665).

We shall see in a subsequent chapter how the Jesuits were expelled from Ambalakat, went to Goa and then returned. Soon after their return, hope revived of the Archdeacon's submission; but it was soon to be dashed to the ground. In fact, darker days were in store for the Christians of the Serra.

About this time the rumour was spread that an Armenian, by the name of GREGORY, accompanied by two men, had landed in Calicut. Later on it was learnt that he had been invited by the Archdeacon. In fact Thomas wrote to the Northern churches to give him a grand reception. After a while the Armenian reached Rapolim, where he was awaited by the Archdeacon and various Cassanars. They gave out that Gregory had been sent by Rome, and the Pope's Bulls would shortly be read at Parur. But the way Gregory said Mass soon undeceived the people. He used about half a pound of leavened bread, and consecrated half a bottle of wine. No special vestments. In a quarter of an hour the whole thing was over. The Cassanars, however, to their intense disgust, had to pay for one Mass as much as they were used to pay for seventy. Further, Gregory ordered that no more than four Masses should be said in a year. This was a surprise for the people, who often had Mass said for the dead.

As to the Bulls, he produced a paper written with golden letters, but he did not read it. It was from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

Noticing the people's discontent, the Archdeacon prepared a Roman cassock for Gregory, and persuaded him to use Roman vestments at Mass. He made him also diminish the amount of bread and wine.

The Jesuits both by word and letters, endeavoured to unmask the wolf, who lost much ground. To regain it, he went to Cochin, where he saw the Dutch Governor.

"Where do you come from?" asked the latter, "Not from Rome"—answered the Armenian. "That is good"—said the Governor. And then he went on: "Try to give wives to the Cassanars, to suppress Confession, to get rid of pictures and statues of Saints."

"True"—rejoined the Armenian—"These customs did not exist here in olden times. The Jesuits have introduced them, and they cannot be done away with in six months. But I shall do my best".

"Then you may count on me"—concluded the Governor.

Before the coming of Gregory, the followers of the Archdeacon though rebellious, professed the true faith. It was he who plunged them into heresy.

The main points which he insisted on were the following:

(1) Hatred of Rome and the Nestorians;

(2) Antioch is the religious centre of the world;

(3) In Christ only one nature: the divine nature;

(4) The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and not from the Son;

(5) No Purgatory;

(6) Leavened bread to be used for the Eucharist;

(7) The cope and not the chasuble to be used at Mass;

(8) The Gregorian Calendar to be rejected. Lent to begin ten days after the Catholics.

The people, mostly ignorant and weakened by schism, did not oppose great resistance to these innovations. Gregory—called by them PATRIARCHISSA, and venerated as a Saint—died in 1672. The Jacobites still honour the memory of his death.

4. The Carmelite Fr. Matthew of St. Joseph.

Towards 1670 the situation in the Serra is somewhat as follows:

(a) Bishop Chandy—supported at first by the Carmelites—rules over some 40 Parishes, which have submitted to Rome.

(b) The Archdeacon's party is still very strong. Its adherents continue to look at Antioch as the polar star of their belief.

(c) The Jesuits are still working in the Zamorin's dominions, and have established a Seminary for Syrians at Ambalakad.

(d) Heresy has followed Schism among the partisans of the Archdeacon, mainly through Gregory the Armenian.

Fr. Matthew, the Carmelite, will give us a few more details worth knowing. He has already been mentioned as an important collaborator in the composition of the HORTUS MALABARICUS. Padre BRAZ de AZEVEDO, who wrote a HISTORY of the REBELLION in the SERRA, of which large use has been made in these pages, speaks of him as being violently hostile to the Jesuits. Did he change later? It is probable, if we can judge from his letters. Though sketchy and incomplete, they give most useful information about the religious conditions of the Serra.

The remarks about the Jesuits are most flattering. According to him their influence was still great. The people esteemed the Jesuits, for they knew their language and worked much for the education of their children.

The good Carmelite is far from being complimentary to the people. He had some experience of their litigious propensities. He doubts about the missionary aptitude of the Carmelites and the orthodoxy of their Protege', Bishop Chandy. In one letter

he proposes that Rome should appoint four French Bishops in Malabar; in another he is content with two. His geographical notions about Kerala are quaint, to say the least. But let him speak for himself:

(a) *On the 15th of October 1670 he wrote from Mangate to Fr. General Paul Oliva, S. J.* to whom he offers his homage as an old pupil of the Society. The occasion to write is offered him by the fact that he is working in the Serra, "one of the most glorious and difficult Missions of the Society of Jesus". "The apostolic labourers—your most holy sons—are indefatigable, and work fervently at Ambalakad, where they have a splendid Seminary of Cassanars and Chamazes, to whom they teach Syriac and Latin. Among them are shining examples of sanctity and zeal, Padre Carlo Veglio, the Rector, Padre Salvador Machado and Padre Braz de Azevedo, Bishop elect of the Serra".

(b) *In a letter of the 29th October 1670 to Card. Altieri, Prefect of Propaganda*, he speaks of his doings and of his plans. He says that he has worked a good deal for the Malabars, who "live in the jungle, among forests and rivers, with the wild beasts". He has administered the Sacraments to thousands of them. Further, he gives spiritual assistance—but in secret—to the wives of the Dutch, and even to the Dutch themselves. He has written 22 letters to Rome giving details of his plans, which, if disregarded, there will be but little hope of saving these people "maliciously foolish, proud, miserly and ambitious". First of all "it is already more than 18 years that the Jesuit Fathers are not allowed to set foot in the Serra. They live at Ambalakad, the great and wealthy Seminary of the St. Thomas Christians. But all this is to no purpose. The Fathers may well fulfill their apostolic duty to the edification of all. After their departure, 18 years ago, this Christian

people has suffered much in faith and good customs. It is now filled with pagan and diabolic errors".

To remedy this evil it would be necessary to send French Bishops and Missionaries to the Serra, all subordinate to a Jesuit Prelate. This will safeguard the rights of Portugal. For the present, one Bishop and six Missionaries would suffice. Later on, four Bishops; "for this Christian Community is very vast and spread from Calicut to Ceylon a length of 1400 miles (peculiar miles no doubt......) and numbers 400 towns or fortresses, in some of which there are over 1000 soldiers, besides the four........(*blank*) great commercial centres without churches. For instance the church of Pallul......(*blank*) These two alone need a Bishop".

Again Fr. Matthew insists that for the good government of the Serra "which is entirely Babylonian and ignorant", four Bishops are needed and several Priests, "all French and not otherwise. The Dutch will not hinder them, as they hinder Portuguese subjects".

The good Friar tells Rome that a yearly subsidy of 3000 piastres is necessary besides the Mass wine, for the Vicars of 127 churches and for the Catechists, who have to teach the young......"These people here have neither the qualities nor the talents of the Lebanon Maronites. They have a leaning towards Babylon; they are surrounded by pagans and heretics, moved by self-interest, etc., etc." As to Bishop Chandy, Fr. Matthew accuses him of leaning to the pseudo-patriarch Gregory. "At first I prevented their meeting; but he endeavours to find an occasion to speak with the Armenian, for he is afraid lest a Jesuit should be made Bishop of the Serra. Don Alexander is also inclined to consecrate the Archdeacon. Till now, however, I have succeeded in thwarting him. Notice

that though it is now eight years that Alexander is Bishop, he has yet never visited the Serra.

"I should be glad if my salary were sent to me through the Fathers of the Society, with whom I am on the best of terms, and through whom I send all my letters, this one included".

The quaint simplicity of this correspondence is remarkable. Though the letters are diffuse, it pays reading them, especially for the chance remarks he lets fall now and then. Thus in a letter already quoted to Fr. Oliva, Fr. Matthew says: "Considering my age, which is sixty, and that of the Carmelites who have come to the Misssion so far, I must say that we lack the qualities of true Missionaries and of apostolic men. In fact our vocation is more for the cell than for the lands of the infidels. I am forced to write this as a kind of testament, to set my conscience at rest".

(c) *Again in a letter to Card. Altieri (11 October 1676)* he writes: "The ills of the Serra are nearly incurable, and it is now many years that I am convinced of it. The only remedy is to recall the Jesuits. From the time of Fra Giuseppe *thanks to the Jesuit Fathers*, 40 churches have submitted. On the 29th January 1674 I asked Rome to send four Carmelites, of whom now there remains only one. He, however, is ill disposed towards Bishop Chandy, and does not understand Syriac. His own dialect is not good for this land. *

The Jesuits are the oldest Missionaries in this Christian Community. They have cultivated it with great perseverance, patience, zeal, doctrine and good example for 120 years. At Ambalakat they have more than 40 clerics of Malabar (Cassanars and Chamazes.) They have besides a flourishing house of studies for their

* He alludes to Bartholomew Hannu, a Syrian Carmelite from Aleppo.

own Scholastics, with more than twenty Priests: holy, learned and very zealous Missionaries, who know the languages well. And what causes me greater wonder still, they have a Press in these languages, which has been working now for several years.

Besides acknowledging the apostolic gifts of the Jesuits, one must confess that a great number of Thomas Christians, in fact the chief laymen and Cassanars, love and honour them. The Jesuits go everywhere.

The Dutch do not persecute them anymore. At present there are in the Serra more than hundred Religious, who work with the greatest freedom at Parur, Animakista and Ambalakat. The Archbishop Don Garcia and Padre de Magistris, against whom there was some ill feeling, are dead. Hence justice, reason and the glory of God demand that the Jesuits should continue to cultivate the Serra, as they did before. I therefore propose to Your Eminence that two Jesuits be consecrated, one Archbishop of Angamalai, and the other, his Suffragan, Bishop of Cochin".

In a P. S. Fr. Matthew adds: "If Your Em. has some difficulty about these Bishops, some Bishops—not Jesuits—may be chosen in Europe; but let them make use of the Jesuits as Missionaries in the Serra".

5. FURTHER LETTERS OF FR. MATTHEW (1674 - 1684)

Further Letters of Fr. Matthew to Card. Altieri give us more details about the Carmelites, whom Fr. Matthew had asked Rome to send to Malabar. *

The first is Fr. Bartholomew of the H. Ghost from......He is queer and unsteady. In six months he did not stay in

* Letter quoted above, dated 29-1-1674.

the convent more than a fortnight. Bishop Chandy was not satisfied with him.

Fr. Bartholomew Hanna of Aleppo, was a pupil of Propaganda. But his Syriac is not understood in Malabar. He presses to be allowed to go to Ambalakat to learn the Malabar dialect.

Padre Angelo Francesco, a Piedmontese, arrived in Cochin from Goa in October 1676. He agreed neither with the Bishop, nor with his Vicar General. *

The fourth Carmelite was a Lombard, Padre Angelo by name. At the time of writing, (1680) he was sick.

The last—a Dutchman, by the name of Fr. Celestine—was awaited for with impatience by the Dutch Governor. But he died before reaching Malabar. Fr. Matthew himself lives with Bishop Chandy. The Schismatics of Repolim have submitted. Immediately after this the Bishop expressed the desire to see the Jesuits come again to cultivate the vineyard of Malabar, but under the obedience of Cananate; ** and this to be promised in the presence of the Raja and the Dutch Governor. But the Governor asked the Bishop not to recall the Jesuits. Fr. Matthew, however, thought that this "did not create a serious difficulty, because the Governor, who had always been against the Jesuits, would soon complete his term of office. Besides the Christians want the Jesuits and they will have them. It is enough to see the eagerness with which the principal families send their children to Ambalakat. Hence Propaganda must compel the Jesuits to take up again the Mission of the Serra. If they think it fit to nominate secular Bishops, let them oblige them to make use of the Jesuits as Missionaries, and to favour them in every way. If the Congregation of Propaganda refuses to adopt any of these

* Padre Angelo was Bishop of Verapoly from 1700 to 1712.

** Name unknown. Is it Bishop Chandy......?

plans, let it remember that it will finally expel all these sheep from the Holy Father's fold ".

Fr. Matthew's directness is refreshing, and his insistence upon the immediate recall of the Jesuits must have surprised Card. Altieri, who, from other Religious, was accustomed to receive very different reports.

From another letter of 1684 we learn that the situation in the Serra is more or less unchanged. Some forty churches have made their submission. Bishop Chandy is carrying on under the wings of the Carmelites. The Schismatics are headed by the Archdeacon, who shows no signs of repentance. The Jesuits work at Ambalakat, suspected by the Dutch, but still loved by the great bulk of the people.

Fr. Matthew writes again demanding four Jesuit Bishops, one for Calicut, the second for Ambalakat, the third for Ceylon, the fourth for Tuticorin. Since four years he has left the Serra, and he desires to go to Ceylon, whose Governor is the son of his friend, Henry Uloff.

In a P. S.: he gives the following advice to the General of the Carmelites: "I counsel Our V. R. Fr. General to leave the Mission of Malabar, provided that the Jesuits take it up again. This Mission is a shame for us, and very dangerous to the salvation of our souls, on account of the idleness and the manyfold occasions of sin. Experience has taught us many things. I do not enter into details, because *ad individua jubebat Plato quiescere.*

"Some spend their time in travelling, others in eating, singing, backbiting. If the Missionary does not live in the presence of God, in mortification, penance and fasting he will easily end in the fire of hell. Often they die suddenly and without Confession. *Experto crede Ruperto.* The Jesuits' prison is the open door. For even slight

faults they are expelled from the Society. We on the contrary endeavour to justify what is evil ".

The document was read at Propaganda in January 1686, and Card. Arcolini was of opinion that no answer should be sent for the time being.

6. REACTIONS.

It is not to be wondered at if the strong opinions and forceful generalisations of Fr. Matthew met with opposition. His letters to Propaganda were countered by other letters, and, as it was but natural, things were allowed to drift. Further, he was accused to his own Superiors of causing trouble among his brethren. Already in 1669 Padre Angelo da S. Giuseppe wrote of him to the Definitor General of Carmelites: "Fr. Matthew, though endowed with many gifts, has a viper's tongue. He does not spare even his own Mother—our holy Religion, (i.e. Order)—......therefore the Congregation should be informed about it ".

Again, Fr. J. B. of St. Joseph, Vicar Provincial, wrote in the same year: "I find in Fr. Matthew great indiscretion in judging the doings of others......irrespective of persons and condition......He uses cutting words, quite unbecoming in a Religious. The more indiscreet in correcting, condemning and lowering the deeds of others, the more inclined is he in praising his own. Such freedom of speech has roused much hatred against him......He cannot live under others, or with others...... Community life, I think, is almost impossible to him ". The same Vicar Provincial instituted a canonical process against him, and sent him to Goa in 1669. We are not told, however, whether he was condemned, and we are sure that he was not expelled from the Order, but died a Carmelite in Verapoly in 1691.

His case is not so rare. Cato, the Censor, has many followers, both inside and outside religious communities. They are not popular; the more so that their cutting remarks are

often based on fact. The carping spirit of Fr. Matthew need not invalidate his statements, especially when he praises others. At most we should take him with a pinch of salt.

Note:—Owing to the influence, which Fr. Matthew enjoyed in Malabar, he obtained a tax-free property at Chetiata, three or four miles north east of Cochin and built there a church in honour of O. Lady of Mount Carmel. This was the first property owned by the Carmelites in Malabar. The donor of the land was Prince Irivari Raman.

Bishop Chandy exempted the church from episcopal jurisdiction and he signed the document (4-3-1674) as Alexander, Metropolitan of all Malabar. In 1673 the Carmelites built a fine church and a College at Tattaracheri nine miles north east of Cochin. The tax-free land was given by the Perumpadapil of Cochin. About 400 heathens used to be baptized in this church every year. Cfr. *Ind. Or. Xna*, p. 263.

7. PADRE FRANCISCO BARRETO, S. J. IS NAMED ARCHBISHOH OF CRANGANORE.

Soon after the death of Archbishop Garcia (1659), the fortress of Cranganore fell to the Dutch. They would never have conquered it, but for the treason of PALIAT ACHAN, Minister of Cochin, who had more than once proved faithless to the Portuguese.

"He slipped out of the Fort unobserved, and joined the Dutch, whose Commander was taken to his place, Chennamangalam, where it was agreed that the Dutch should restore the Mutta Tavali Prince to the throne of Cochin. He then disclosed to the Dutch the weak spot in the fortifications. The final engagement took place on 15 January 1662. It was very fierce, and the Commander Urbano Fialho Fereira was cut down after exhibiting prodigies of valour". * Some of the Fathers took

* K. P. Padmanaba Menon, History of Kerala, p. 191.

refuge at Ambalakat, or in the neighbouring villages. The Franciscans were luckier, for two of them obtained to remain in the town, and could officiate their own church, at least for a while. Later on they had to quit, and the Dutch took possession of their church.

Though Fra Giuseppe had appointed Bishop Chandy to govern the Serra, claiming, and in fact holding direct jurisdiction from the Holy See, Portugal still upheld her ancient rites, and in 1662 John IV named P. Francisco Barreto, S. J. Archbishop of Cranganore. In more quiet times he had taught Theology and Philosophy in Goa. In 1642 he went to Rome as Procurator of the Indian Missions.

While in Europe he published a booklet * on the Missions which were manned by the Jesuits of the Malabar Province. From it we gather the following interesting details. According to him Malabar is the coolest part of India, and its climate is very salubrious. The fish is so abundant that thirty or forty can be bought for a farthing. The kinglets are very numerous and almost always at war among themselves. Their wars, however are rather skirmishes than wars. It is enough that a Raja orders his umbrella to be lifted high, for a battle to cease at once. The Zamorin can put in the field 160,000 men against his traditional enemy, the Raja of Cochin, who commands only 140,000. But then he has the support of the Westerners.

The Malayalees are very subtle and quick of understanding. They are masters of dissimulation, and even when very angry they do not raise their voice. There is a proverb among them: "If I pay you a visit, what do you offer me? And if you visit my house, what do you bring me?" For stealing a couple of coconuts a man is condemned to be impaled. To prove her innocence a woman must plunge her hand into boiling oil. Fr. Barreto gives as 150,000 the number of Syrian Christians, and only eight years before the Rebellion he affirms that the

* *Relazivne Delle Missioni e Cristianita che appartengono alla Prov. Del Malavar D. C. D. G.* (Rome, Tournay, Paris; 1645).

people so loved the Jesuits that their only complaint was that they were too few to satisfy the needs of the Serra. The custom was for the Parish Priests to be changed every three years; and the people were very liberal towards them. When a Priest said his first Mass the people brought him so many gifts as to suffice almost for the rest of his life.

Unfortunately the author gives very few dates, and though the booklet was printed in 1645, many of the events related therein belong to a much earlier period. Of Calicut he says that the Jesuits had done good work there, but when the harvest was ready, war broke out between Portugal and the Zamorin, and they were compelled to leave the town. When peace was concluded they returned and rebuilt the church. On the day when it was blessed, the Zamorin desired to enter it riding on an elephant; but the building was too small. "Well"—said he—"build another, and a much larger one, at my expense". Fr. Barreto does not say whether he kept his promise. He only remarks that he was very favourable to the Fathers, and that he often showed a desire to embrace Christianity. In fact he begged the Fathers to write to the Viceroy to help him in this. He seemed to be in earnest, for the Provincial Fr. D'Almeida came expressely to Calicut to see what could be done. But it all came to nothing.

About 15 miles from Cochin there was St. Andrew's where the famous Fr. Fenicio laboured for many years. In fact Fr. Barreto asserts that he was there for forty years.* Within a radius of 20 miles from St. Andrew's there were five churches, and two missionaries used to work there before the advent of the Dutch.

Then begins Travancore, where there were about 40,000 new Christians, scattered along the coast for nearly 150 miles. Most of the petty Rajas favoured the Christians, who dwelt

* We know that Fr. Fenicio worked in Calicut for many years. This may, perhaps, be reconciled with Fr. Barreto's statement if we suppose that, though in Calicut, Fr. Fenicio, was never officially relieved of his parish of St. Andrew's.

in little hamlets, and earned their living either as fishermen or as cultivators. The churches were numerous and well kept. Very famous was that of Cottar, dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier. Even pagans, when they had to take an oath in court, swore by the Saint of Cottar. Before the fall of Cochin there worked in Travancore ten or twelve Fathers. Of the Fishery Coast Fr. Barreto asserts that it was sandy and barren along the sea and for about six miles inland. Then he describes the fishing of pearls, which took place in March and lasted for some three weeks. Five or six hundred boats, each manned by fifteen or twenty fishermen, set out to sea, till they reached a depth of 7 to 10 fathoms. The divers tied a stone to their leg, and, each one provided with a bag, jumped into to sea. Those who remained in the boat held a rope, by which, at a given signal, they helped the divers to come to the surface. One day's gains are paid as a tribute to the Naiack of Madura. The fishermen are protected by the Portuguese, to whom they pay a yearly tribute of 30,000 scudi. They are very devout and liberal in building churches. They hear Mass every morning and their feasts are the grandest and the noisiest in India.

About Madura Fr. Barreto describes the poineering work of Frs De Nobili and Vico. Of the Naiack he says that he could put on the field some 80,000 men, his horses being all from Arabia, and of the best that could be bought. Travancore was his tributary, whilst he was nominally under Narasingha. Madura was then the very centre of idolatry and learning—wide famed for its poets, philosophers and physicians. In the frenzy of their religious fanaticism some threw themselves under the idol's car, to be crushed to death; others—to gain merit or money—had iron hooks driven into their backs and were swung into the air, without a groan, though the blood streamed from their wounds.

Of the climate of Ceylon Fr. Barreto asserts it is delightful. The island enjoys two summers and two winters, the winter being the rainy season. He describes the rich coconut gardens, the jack fruits, the cynnamom, the areca nut. Of the elephants

he says that they used to be sold at 300 pieces of eight for every half cubit of height. Of the rebellions in the Island—fostered and led by the King of Kandy—of the doings of the Dutch and the consequent losses to the Missions, the Father has much to say; nothing, however, that has not been related already in the first chapter of this work.

Then he proceeds to give a brief account of the Coromandel and Bengal, and especially of the Hugly (Ugulim) College, which was ruined by the Moghuls. Ten soldiers were captured together with Father Farigna and led to Dacca. There they were kept in prison for a long time, threatened with torments, and finally released.

A Portuguese made himself King of Pegu; but he was defeated, and about 4,000 of his soldier were taken prisoners to Ava, where the Fathers visited and comforted them.

The Malabar Province was spread as far as Malacca and the Moluccas. Fr. Barreto relates how Malacca had been taken by Alfonso de Albuquerque, and how the Fathers established themselves there. It was besieged by the King of Sumatra and the Dutch, and then relieved by Don Martin Alfonso de Melo. Besieged again in 1627, it was liberated by Nunho Alvarez Botelho. Finally it fell to the Dutch on 13 Febr. 1641. Before it was taken, the Ambassador Francis de Souza and many soldiers were made prisoners, and threatened with death unless they became Mahomedans. Eighty of them were beheaded, among whom three Capuchins, two Carmelites and two young pages. The cousin of De Souza, Piro Lopez, was trampled to death by elephants. De Souza was kept in a cage for three years, till he finally regained his freedom.

In the Moluccas, the Colleges of Amboina and Ternate were lost, when the Dutch conquered their islands. Thus ends this interesting report on the Malabar Province, published in 1645.

After his return to India, Fr. Barreto became Visitor of the Missions and Provincial of Malabar (1655-8). He came into conflict with the Commissary Apostolic and was forbidden to set foot in the Serra. It was about this time that he received his nomination as Archbishop of the Serra, and then of Cochin. The cross was heavy indeed, but God in his mercy took him to himself, for he died in Goa (23 Oct. 1663.) * Meanwhile Bishop Chandy carried on, and after a long delay

8. P. BRAZ DE AZEVEDO, S. J.

Who was Provincial in the South in 1673, and who wrote the *History of the Malabar Schism*, was nominated Archbishop of Cranganore. He did not accept.

9. P. MANOEL DE SOUSA.

P. Manoel de Souza of the Oratory (1684) was the next to be offered the See of Cranganore by Portugal. But he too refused, and Portugal turned again to the Society in order to find a Pastor for the Serra. Within a few years two great Missionaries were asked to shoulder the burden. They were P. Andre Freyre and St. John de Britto. We shall speak of them now, and first of

10. PADRE ANDRE FREYRE, S. J.

If there was a man trained in suffering, it was he. For many years he had worked in the Mission of Madura. In the ANNUAL from Mysore, written by P. Duarte d'Almeida, S. J. (1668 - 9) we read that P. Andre and P. Manoel de Britto were imprisoned in Madura, during one of the persecutions. It happened that a Mysore Christian from Cancanahalli, came to know of it. He spoke to the Mysore Ambassador at the Court of Madura about the ill treatment to which the two innocent Fathers were subjected. The Ambassador spoke to the Raja, and said it was strange that Madura should imprison the Ministers of God, while Mysore treated them with great deference. After some time the Fathers were liberated.

* Cfr, Mitras, II, p. 55.

Three years later P. Andre was at Ambalakad, seeing through the Press the great Tamil Catechism of P. De Nobili. In July 1674 he left Ambalakad, and together with the young Missionary John de Britto, he set out on foot for his beloved Mission of Madura.

In 1676 he writes a letter where he describes the origin of the Christian Community of VETTAVALAM, some 9 miles from Attipakam, on the way to Gingi. He says how about sixty Christians, who had been baptized in Tiruchirapalli or Madura, came to Vettavalam, North of Tanjore. There, deprived of the comforts of religion they were subjected to persecution by the gentiles. Hence they came to see P. Freyre, who decided to go and live among them. In order to avoid the anger of the Hindus, he settled among the rocks, a little distance from the town. Soon the news of the Sannyassi spread, and from morning till night the hermitage was surrounded by curious enquirers. Curiosity soon yielded to reverence, reverence to affection. Some kissed his feet, others solicited his blessing; and profiting by those dispositions, he began to teach them the way to salvation. Forty were soon baptized, and others continued to come to the Father for instruction. In 1678 P. Andre was again imprisoned by the Mahrattas, but one of their captains was moved to compassion and obtained his release.

One day Bishop Chandy received a visit from a pseudo-Sannyassi, who was no other than the horse-peon of P. Freyre. The rascal spoke to the Bishop about the sad condition of the Madura Mission. Many Brahmins desired to be converted, but they would not be baptized by the Jesuits, for the Jesuits were Pranguis (i. e. Portuguese or Foreigners). Even a Prince, in order to marry a Christian girl, wanted baptism, but nothing could be done, the Jesuits being in the way. The Bishop guessed the motives which led the strange Sannyassi to speak disparagingly of the Madura Missionaries, and was not interested in the tales of the Tamilian. Besides, he found difficulties enough in the Serra with his own people and with the Dutch, to seek further trouble in Tamilland.

But the Sannyassi roused the interest of the Carmelites. From the time they had set foot in Malabar they had ever been prejudiced against the Jesuits. Further, the missionary methods which the latter, following in the footsteps of P. De Nobili, pursued among the Tamilians, in Mysore and in the Carnatic, were not pleasing to the Portuguese and were distasteful to the Carmelites.

Most eminent among latter was *Padre Pedro Paulo*, heir to the Duchy of St. Elias, and son of a sister of Pope Innocent XI. He had landed in Malabar in 1678. He was young, zealous, but quite inexperienced. He listened eagerly to the smooth words of the Sannyassi, and decided that a marvellous field of apostolate was offered by God to the nephew of his Vicar upon earth. Bishop Chandy, who was not overeager to keep the fiery Carmelite in his house, encouraged him to go to Tamilland with P. Freyre's peon,—alias most devout Christian Sannyassi. P. Pedro Paulo started for Camban, where he arrived on the 14th December 1679. But, dressed as he was in the Carmelite habit, the Catechist, who was accustomed to deal with Fathers wearing the Brahmin garb, would have nothing to do with him. Later on, Padri Rodrigo d'Abreu and Andre Freyre tried to persuade him that he had been deceived, that there was no Prince eager to marry a Christian maiden, that his Western ways would compromise conversions, and that he had better return to Malabar. He did so, though he always suspected the Jesuits of having tricked him. He was all the more angry that he had come to the Madura Mission with the intention of visiting it and in fact he had letters to that effect from Propaganda. Now, not only he could not visit the Mission, and thus have an opportunity of helping the Missionaries with his ripe experience; but he, the heir to the Duchy of St. Elias, was made to understand that he had been fooled by a clever rogue. Later on, in June 1686, he will write a letter full of complaints to Fr. John de Britto, who had been appointed Superior of the Mission. The latter answered that it was only through his letter that he had come to know the facts, and that

he was ready to offer him all the satisfaction he might wish. Yet the Friar was not satisfied, but sent his complaints to Propaganda. But he was not alone to write, for P. Antonio de Silveiro Soarez, Governador of Cochin, acquainted the Cardinals with the Friar's doings. Ignorant of the language, dressed in European garb, accompanied by two Cassanars, under the protection of the Dutch, he had entered the Missions, wishing to judge what he did not understand, and to reform what Bishops and experienced Missionaries had approved of. He roused the suspicions of Rajas, and was, if not the cause, at least the occasion, of a serious persecution.

Padre Pedro Paulo, after having baptized about 300 people in Malabar, returned to Europe to attend the General Chapter of his Order, which was held in 1689. In the same year Progaganda established the Carmelite Mission of the Moghul, and P. Pedro Paulo was its first Commissary Apostolic. The Portuguese would not hear of it, for, as usual, they thought Propaganda had overlooked their rights. So P. Pedro Paulo could not travel to India via Lisbon. He arranged his journey through the Ukraine, the Caspian Sea, and Persia. The journey lasted three years. In 1696 he was made Bishop of Ancyra and Vicar Apostolic. From Surat he addressed a Pastoral Letter to the Missionaries, but he could not reach the field of his labours, for he died in the Capuchin Monastery at Surat on the 4th January 1700.

Similarly the veteran Missionary P. Freyre, broken by labours and persecutions did not enter the Serra as its Archbishop. He died at Mampolim before the Bulls of nomination reached Goa.*

The next to be appointed to the See of Cranganore was.

11. ST. JOHN DE BRITTO, S. J.

We cannot let this opportunity pass without saying a word about this great Missionary, who sealed with his blood his great

* Cfr. L. BESSE, S. J. *La Mission du Maduré*, pp. 178-9 and *INDIA ORXNA* pp. 52-3 and *MITRAS*, II, p. 55.

love for Christ and for India. Born of a noble Portuguese family, he was brought up at Court. Having joined the Society, he obtained the privilege of coming to India. He reached Goa after a six months voyage, in September, 1673. The next year the Provincial for Malabar, P. Braz de Azevedo, called Fr. de Britto to Ambalakad, where he completed his third year of Probation, which every Jesuit has to go through after his studies.

Towards the close of 1674 he entered the Madura Mission together with the veteran P. Freyre. In the previous Volume we have described the beginnings of the Mission, by P. De Nobili, S.J., the peculiar methods followed there, and the splendid results. Even such a prejudiced witness as P. Pedro Paulo had to own that the Madura Christians were good and well instructed. Fr. De Britto's first labours were at Tattuvanchori, in the Tanjore District. But he met with great difficulties, for the whole countryside was ravaged by the wars between Siwaji, the Mahratta, and Ekoji. The people saw their huts burned and their crops destroyed. War was followed by floods, famine and pestilence. Robbers made everything unsafe.

In 1682 P. Freyre invited Fr. De Britto to Topo, a small place on the Fishery Coast, which had become the Provincial's residence after the fall of Cochin. Among the things to be discussed there, was the attitude to be adopted by the Jesuits towards the Carmelites. The Junta—as was called the Council for Church affairs in Goa—had commanded the Portuguese Bishops to oppose the new comers who had entered the Eastern Missions without the consent of Portugal. The Jesuit Provincial and his Consultors were of opinion that the Junta's order should be withdrawn, and P. Freyre suggested that Fr. De Britto should be sent to Goa to plead for the repeal of the order. Others thought that the voyage would be useless, for the matter could be settled only between Rome and Lisbon. So Fr. De Britto returned to his Mission.

The ANNUAL for 1683 was prepared by Fr. de Britto himself. He first desribes the intolerable position of Tanjore and Jinji,

whose inhabitants were oppressed by their rulers. They were robbed of four fifths of their produce, and famine stalked the land. He says "Here our foes are so numerous and powerful that at first it seemed impossible for us to spread our holy Religion. But success proved once more how easy it is for God to do what seems impossible to men". Yet persecution was in the offing. While working at Katoor, he was informed that the ruler of the place had declared dishonourable the Law of the Pranguis. The Christians should be expelled from their villages and boycotted. "Yet"—continues the letter—"our Christians remained steadfast. They asked me how they should conduct themselves. I recalled to them the sayings of Holy Writ: Man must reach heaven, whether it be through honour or ignominy. Here on earth persecution is the lot of God's children......Finally I advised them to leave their homes and go and settle in a district where they could serve God with greater freedom".

One of the reasons why the Christians were persecuted was that it was said they showed scanty respect to cows, and used to sell them for slaughter.

In 1685 Fr. de Britto was appointed Superior of the Mission. Really the Provincial for Malabar, P. Rodriguez, wanted him Rector at Ambalakad; but the Father pleaded he was not fit to rule a large College, and would do better in the Mission.

In a letter of P. Telles addressed to Fr. de Britto's brother in Portugal, we read: "Fr. de Britto's activity and zeal are worthy of admiration. To save souls and to spread God's Kingdom he braves all dangers. For the Lord he has been made prisoner more than once, and has been condemned to the most refined torments".

In 1686 Fr. de Britto entered the Marava country, where no Missionary had set foot since the persecution of 1679. From May to July he baptized 2070 persons and administered the Sacraments to all the Christians. On the 17th July he was arrested with two Catechists and four neophites by Kumara

Pillai's soldiers. On the 18th they were beaten, and Fr. de Britto was tied to two trees in such a manner that his body was most cruelly bent. He passed the night tied hand and foot, and the next day he was led to a pond, lifted up on a swinging pole and let fall into the water several times. One of the Catechists was so frightened and weakened by blows, that he invoked Siva. The other was left for dead. On the 20th the Martyrs were removed to Caliarcovil and thrown into a most filthy prison. On the 29th the Father was led to a rock, stripped, beaten, trampled under foot and left naked on the burning stones under the terrible Indian sun. The Catechist Siluvey was subjected to the same torments. On the 30th Fr. de Britto wrote to his Provincial, P. Rodriguez, that he really hoped to be killed for the faith. But the hour had not yet come. They were taken to Ramnad, and kept in prison for 9 days. Then the Raja, after having cross-questioned the Father, set him free and forbade him to enter the Marava country again.

The imprudent behaviour of P. Pedro Paulo was one of the causes of this persecution. He, however, had safely retired to Negapatam Fort, while the Christians were in dire peril of their lives.

After his terrible ordeal Fr. de Britto went to Topo, where the Provincial was staying. Just then the news arrived of Fr. Paes' death, while on his voyage to Europe as Procurator. It was decided that Fr. de Britto should take his place. He reached Lisbon in 1688.

His mother was still living, and the Missionary, after settling the most pressing business, went to visit her. Then he went to Court. The King was most impressed by the virtue of the Father, and desired him to remain in Lisbon to attend to the training of the heir to the throne. Fr. de Britto hesitated, and then placed the matter in the hands of the General of the Society, P. Thirsus Gonzalez. The latter wrote insisting that Fr. de Britto should return to India. But the King pointed out that the Father, besides attending to the education of the Heir

apparent, would be a member of the Royal Board for the Missions, where his experience and advice would do much for the glory of God. The General, however, was adamant, and asked Fr. de Britto to proceed to India. The King insisted again, and the Missionary placed the affair in the hands of Fr. Provincial and his Consultors, who were of opinion that the King should be satisfied. The General was approached again, and the answer was negative. So Fr. de Britto left for Goa. But even then Don Pedro of Portugal tried to have him back. In this connection Fr. Fuess, the Queen's Confessor, wrote to Fr. Gonzalez, who answered as follows: "I would gladly accord to the Kings what he wishes, but, after mature consideration of all the circumstances, I must hold it is more conducive to the glory of God and the welfare of souls, and better for the Father himself if he remained in India. The Holy Ghost has destined him as another St. Paul, for the conversion of the heathen and led him back from his Motherland to Malabar. This vineyard has been entrusted to him by God as his field of labour. I hope the King and Queen will reconcile themselves to the thought that Fr. de Britto should remain there. Moreover I do not wish that Fr. de Britto or any other Father of our Order should be appointed tutor to the Infanto. This as I very well know, brings many dangers with it, and out of it would arise many disadvantages to our Order" (30-12-1690).

In February 1691 Fr. de Britto left Goa for Cochin. On the 23rd the ship drew near the port, but the Father could not land, for the Dutch did not allow any Religious, except the Carmelites, to enter Cochin. Thus they sailed up the river to Ambalakad where their brethren were awaiting them.

While in Goa Fr. de Britto was offered the See of Cranganore. Bishop Chandy was very old. P. M. de Souza of the Or. had declined the honour. But God wanted Fr. de Britto elsewhere to reward his virtue with the supreme test of love. So the honour was refused.

From Ambalakad the Father went to Talai, where he met his Provincial P. Freyre, to whom he rendered an account of his mission to Europe. From Talai he went to Pondicherry to accompany a sick man and to thank the Founder of the French settlement, Monsieur Martin, for the services he had rendered to the Mission. He then started visiting the various mission stations, for he had been appointed Visitor. He reentered the Marava in May 1691. The country was at war with Madura and the persecution of the Christians was the order of the day. Fr. de Britto established himself at Karundancudi, in a forest, on the border of Madura with the Marava. In 8 months he baptized 8,000 catechumens. This extraordinary movement of conversions roused the anger of the pagans.

In September 1692 Fr. de Britto writes to his brother Fernao: "Many thousands have been converted and among them also friends and relatives of the Raja. Our foes do not cease to persecute us, but the Raja and his ministers lend no ear to their complaints. The Raja merely says that should I preach in his territory, he would have me beheaded. I am now seeking an audience with him to find out under what decree I stand".

The danger to the Father's life became still greater when Prince Tadevadeven (Thadavathevar) was baptized in January 1693. Of course, he repudiated all his wives, except the first. Kadalay, the youngest of them, was a niece of the Raja of Marava. She went to Court and bitterly complained of the dishonour the Prince had brought on her. She demanded justice against the foreign Sannyassi who had perverted her husband through sorcery and witchcraft. Two days later Fr. de Britto was arrested. At Anumandamoudi the martyrdom began. On the 11th January he entered Ramnad, where he was imprisoned with some of his followers. On the 28th the Raja Ranganadeven condemned the Father to be exiled, but in reality to die. Not daring to execute the sentence himself, he sent him to his brother's place, Oriour. The Martyr arrived there on the 31st. From his prison, he sent news to the Fathers

who were most anxious about him. His letter to Fr. Laynez is as follows: "My dear Father, through Raganappan, my Catechist, thou hast learnt of what has happened in my prison up to my departure for Ramnadpuram. On the 28th January I was obliged to appear before a tribunal. I was told I was condemned to death. I was brought to the spot, where I was to die, and all was prepared when the Raja, fearing an uprising, gave the order to separate me from my dear children, the other Confessors of Jesus Christ, in order to hand me over to his brother Udayarthevar. He charged him to execute me without delay. On the 31st January I reached the palace of Udayarthevar. The journey was full of hardships. On the same day Udayarthevar sent for me. We spoke at length on religion. Then I was brought back to prison, where I find myself still, and in constant expectation of death, which I shall endure for God. The hope of obtaining this happiness led me twice to India. True it is, to secure such happiness has cost me much, but the rewards which I hope from God are worth all these, and even greater, pains. The crime of which I am accused is none other than that I preach the true religion of God, and that, therefore the idols are no longer worshipped. What an honour to suffer death for such a crime. It fills me with joy and consolation in the Lord. Soldiers guard me closely; hence I can write no more. God be with you, Father. I beg your blessing, and recommend myself to your Holy Masses. From the prison of Oriour, 3rd February 1693.

The letter was written with charcoal, for there was no ink. He wrote also to Padre da Costa and to Monsieur Martin of Pondicherry.

The next day Fr. de Britto was taken near the river Pambaru, not far from the fort. A great crowd had hastened to witness the tragedy. Mons. Martin writes: "The Rev. Father walked joyously to the scene of his triumph, and on arriving there and only a few moments before his death, he directed one of the Catechists who had accompanied him, to come to Pondicherry, and inform the Rev. Fr. Tachard S. J. and myself that his course was over. As a separate message for me, I was assured that he would not forget me in the future life, where he hoped to be received by God into glory".

The executioners are ready. The Father prays a little, then he goes up to them and tells them: "Now, my brothers, do with me as you please". With the scimitar they make a great gash in his throat, then, after tying a chord to his beard, and fastening it round his body, they fetch a big hatchet, and sever his head. The hands and feet were hacked off, and the head and trunk were impaled and set up on the spot where the Martyr had offered his last prayer. It was the 4th of February 1693. One hundred and sixty years later, Fr. John de Britto was beatified by Pius IX, and Pope Pius XII canonized him on 21 June 1947.

12. PADRE FRANCISCO DOS REIS MARTELLO, CONG. OR.

Padre Francisco dos Reis Martello, Cong. Or. was offered the See of the Serra, but he refused. Then.

13. DOM FR. JERONYMO DE S. THIAGO.

Dom Fr. Jeronymo de S. Thiago, Lecturer of Mathematics in Coimbra and later on Benedictine Abbot in Lisbon, was appointed Archbishop of the Serra by Innocent XI in 1688. At first he accepted, but then, having, perhaps understood the nature of the cross that had to be carried by the Pastor of Cranganore, refused. He died in Lisbon in 1720. *

14. DOM DIOGO DE ANNUNCIASAO JUSTINIANO.

Dom Diogo de Annunciasao Justiniano Cong. S. Jo. Ev. was elected Archbishop by Dom Pedro II and confirmed by Innocent XII in 1694. They say that he was consecrated in 1703, but then, being sickly, he never left Portugal. He died in 1713.

15. DOM JOAO RIBEIRO, S. J. (1701-16 ?).

Bishop Chandy died about the year 1692. His rule over the Serra was little less than a disaster. Now he leaned on the

* *Mitras*, II, p. 55.

Carmelites, whose creature he was, now on the Jesuits. Sometimes he coaxed the schismatic party, sometimes he condemned it. Towards the end he worked for the succession of his nephew, thus alienating the Carmelites and not pleasing the Jesuits. Portugal had ineffectually tried to put up her nominees. Cochin, bereft of her Pastor was the scene of intrigue and calumny; the Serra was seething with schism and sedition. It was in these circumstances that Joao Ribeiro who had been Professor and Rector at Ambalakad, accepted the See of Angamale and Cranganore. In Calicut he had distinguished himself by drawing up a treaty between the Portuguese and the Zamorin (q. v.) He was a man much respected both in the Society and outside.

Though Clement XI had confirmed his appointment by the Crown of Portugal in 1701, he was not consecrated before the end of July 1703. Then the Carmelite Bishop Angelo, who had succeeded Bishop Chandy, and represented Propaganda, loyally warned the faithful that his jurisdiction over them ceased, and that they should obey the new Pastor. This, of course, did not please all. A strong party was formed under seven Cassanars, who met in the smaller church of Caturty on the 20th June 1704. There they swore in the name of Christ, * of his Holy Mother and of the XII Apostles to remain under the Carmelites, who had helped them in their tribulations. This was not to be for ever, but only till the Pope, being informed of everything, should deign to lend an ear to their complaints.

* CONVENTIO ET JURAMENTUM FACTUM A CHRISTIANIS S. THOMAE OB ADVENTUM ARCHIEPISCOPI JOANNIS RIBEIRO, Anno a Nat. Xti 1704, et anno Collam 879, die 20 Junii, Carturti, in Ecclesia Parva, nos omnes deputati ecclesiarum quae sitae sunt a Puttotta versus meridiem in unum congregati, coram Dom. Archidiacono, statuimus et scripsimus hoc negotium, nemoe permanere ita, quousque nostrae quaerimoniae rationem audiens, Summus Pontifex decernat ac indulgeat, quod sicut anteactis temporibus usque in praesens, Episcopus ex Ord. Carm. ejusdemque Ordinis PP, in nostris molestiis ac acerbitatibus consolati nos sunt, et nostrum promoverunt profectum, ita deinceps agere pergant. (Deinde refractarios conventionis hujus et juramenti excommunicando, ita clausolam extremam imponunt:) In cujus rei testes advocamus D. N. J. C. Beat. Virg. et App XII. Abraham Sac. Georgius Sac. Thomas Sac. Georgius alter Sac. Alexander Sac. Jacobus Sac. Joseph Sac. (Quae tandem acta attestatur. Verapoly die 20 November 1704 Ang. Franc. a S. Ther. Ep. Metopollitanus). Ex BULL. PORT. App. I. Tom. I.

Meanwhile they will have nothing to do with the Jesuit Bishop.

They further propose that the Serra be divided into two Dioceses, North and South, to be ruled by Father Innocentius together with the Schismatic Thomas and the actual Bishop Angelo. Thus the 28 separated churches will be reunited with the 71 which were never separated, or were so only for a short time. Seventeen churches are used indifferently by Catholics and Schismatics.

The documents were sent to Fr. Augustine of St. Eleazarus who was residing at Bunderabbas. He would see to it that they reached Rome. But he wrote back that unfortunately he had broken his leg and could not travel.

This was not a happy beginning for Dom Joao. Another disappointment was Rome's delay in sending him the Pallium. However, that came after some years. In the meantime Dom Joao lost no time, and began to toil and labour for the good of his flock, and for the reunion of the Schismatics. In this, however, he met with strong opposition from the Dutch. As long as he confined himself to the churches situated in the dominion of the Zamorin, he was safe from Dutch intolerance; but no sooner did he come southward than he got into difficulties. The Dutch had obtained from the Holy See that no Portuguese Priest should be allowed to work in the Company's conquered lands and here was a Portuguese Bishop, and a Jesuit to boot, who pretended to have jurisdiction there.

On 17 July 1704 the Dutch Governor promulgated a Decree against a "certain" Roman Priest Joao Ribeiro, a Portuguese and a Paulist, who was usurping episcopal functions among the Malabar Christians. This was against the will of the Governor and the agreements entered into with various Rajas, i. e. that no Bishop should be admitted in Malabar, except Bishop Angelo. Hence Joao Ribeiro should be strictly forbidden to exercise any jurisdiction in Malabar, and those who help him, or shelter him, should be severely punished.

The good Bishop, however, did not yield. He wrote to the Holy See [1] who begged Portugal to insist with the Dutch not to prevent the Archbishop from exercising his jurisdiction. [2] From a letter of Fr. Tachard, S. J., one of the founders of the Carnatic Mission, we learn that Dom Joao was well conversant with both Syriac and Malayalam. [3] From another letter of Fr. Hanxleden (q.v.) who for four years was Secretary to the Archbishop, we get a glimpse of the Prelate's life in Malabar. He had no fixed abode, but had to live now in one church, now in another. At times even his life was in danger from the Schismatics. In a letter dated 24 September 1714, the Archbishop writes to the Viceroy about the state of his vineyard. He says he is old and sickly. His eyesight is failing him; and most of these miseries are due to the innumerable troubles of the Diocese. He resists as well as he can the cavillous Schismatics and especially the opposition of the Carmelites to his jurisdiction and to the rights of the Padroado. Without stopping to think whether it is lawful or not they make use of heretics and even pagan Rajas to foster their machinations. [4] The old man died at Ambalakad 24 January 1716 [5].

Note: This is rather against the statement of Raulinus, who affirms that the good Bishop succeeded in carrying on till 1720, when he died......" whether this be attributed to the most prudent zeal of this great man, and to his diligence in businsss, or to the remarkable care of the Carmelites in procuring and keeping the peace".

In February the Viceroy asked *the Goa Chapter* to appoint a Governador to the Serra in order to obviate possible disturbances [6]. Five years later was appointed to the See of Cranganore

1. Libellus supplex Archiep. Crangan. ad S. Congreg. EE. Cardinalium De Prop. Fide, pro obtinendo remedio adversus mala Christianitati Malabaricae imminentia - (44 pp.) Mangalore 19. XI. 1704.
2. Brief "*Sollicititi*" of Clem. XI; 15-1-1707;
3. Mitras, II. p. 47.
4. Mitras, II, p. 48.
5. Raulin says he lived up to 1720. Fra Paolino denies it in INDIA OR. XNA p. 67.
6. Mitras, Ib.

16. DOM MANOEL CARVALHO PIMENTEL, S. J. (1721-52)

not to be mixed up with Padre Fernando of the same name, a great church builder and Missionary in the Madura Mission. Dom Manoel sailed from Lisbon in 1698. He worked in various parts of Malabar and especially at Ambalakad. He completed Fr. Hanxleden's *Vocabolarium Malabarico-Lusitanum*, from the letter T onwards. He was appointed to the Serra by the King Joao V, and was consecrated in Goa, 20 February 1722. He died at Puttenchera on the 6th of March 1752. Though he had much to suffer both from the Schismatics and the Propagandists, he was greatly loved and esteemed in Malabar. The people called him *Budhimetran* or Wise Bishop, on account of his prudence and tact. [7] The next Archbishop was

17. DOM JOAO DA SERRA (JOAO LUIZ VASCONCELLOS,) S. J. (1753-1758).

He had been Rector at Ambalakad, which he had built anew, and Provincial of Malabar in 1738. He was consecrated in Calicut by the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Clemente.

18. DOM SALVADOR DOS REIS, S. J. (1758-1777)

He was Provincial in the South in 1750, when the Province had lost most of its income owing to the Mahratta incursions. He was appointed Coadjutor to Dom Joao da Serra by Pope Benedict XIV in July 1756, and was consecrated at Anjengo by Bishop Dom Clemente (February 5, 1758). [8] The storm against the Society of Jesus had burst in Portugal and in the Portuguese Colonies. We shall see the noble stand made by Dom Salvador at the time. Twenty-four years before he was made Bishop, he had worked in, and had been Superior of the Madura Mission. At Maleyadipatti he counted many conversions, though his consolations were tempered by the disturbed state of the country, due to the wars. Houses were pillaged, crops destroyed, women raped, men

7. Mitras, p. 48 and INDIA OR. XNA p. 67.
8. Mitras, Ib.

slaughtered.[9] Owing to his great influence and tact he succeeded in getting an audience from the King of Madura, an honour never granted to the Missionaries since the days of Tirumalai Nayaker.[10] He died at a ripe old age (7-4-1777). Padre Paolino calls him *Vir Sanctimoniae Vitae Praeclarus.* He lies buried at Puttenchera[11].

19. PADRE PEDRO FIGUEIREDO

a Goan of the Cong. of the Oratory was appointed Governador at the death of Dom Salvador. He reached Calicut, but could go no further, on account of disturbances created by the Propagandists. In 1780 followed Dom Jose da Soledad, as Governador, who in 1787 became bishop of Cochin. He was succeeded by

20. DOM JOSE CARIATIL (1785-6)

a native of Cranganore, who had studied in Rome, at Propaganda. He lived many years in Portugal and Queen Maria presented him for the Serra. Pope Pius VI confirmed him in 1782. He reached Goa in 1786, but died in the same year[12]. Then followed as Governadors P. Timotheo Xavier,[13] and Cassanar *Thomas Pareamekal* (1786-92). In 1790 Tippu destroyed the Episcopal residence of Puttenchera and the Governador had to live in various places.

In 1787 the Christians of Cranganore asked the King to name Archbishop either Thomas, or Abraham de Taxil or Thomas de Platota of the Syrian Rite. They asked also that twelve Canons should be appointed in the Cathedral, that proper stipends be paid to the Vicars and a decent endowment be made for the Seminary.

9. L. Besse, S. J. La Miss. du Madure', p. 136.
10. Ib. p. 207.
11. INDIA OR. XNA, p. 68.
12. Ib. p. 68.
13. P. Timotheo Xavier, S. J. belonged to the Mission of Mysore, where he worked with P. Pietro Licchetta. The latter speaks of him in a famous letter, which will be quoted at length in a subsequent chapter.

In a letter of the Bishop of Cochin the above mentioned Pareamakel is accused of plotting against the Padroado, and the Viceroy writes to the Cochin Raja asking him to see that his Officials do not trouble the Bishop of Cochin.

"They are put up by a Pareamakel, who is disappointed because he has not been chosen to the See of Cranganore. The King refuses to appoint to such an exalted office a man who is full of vanity and pride, who works against Religion and who will rebel both against Portugal and Cochin"[14].

21. DOM JOSE CAETANO DE SILVA COUTINHO (1800.)

Dom Jose Caetano de Silva Coutinho was named Archbishop of the Serra, after an interval of 8 years. But nothing came of it, and in 1805 he was appointed Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro.

Thus we reach the end of the XVIII Century, the limit fixed for the 2nd Vol. of this History. It my be remarked that from 1659—the year of Dom Garcia's death—till 1800 only six Bishops ruled the Serra. Ten more were appointed to it, but either declined the honour, or died before taking possession of their See. Of these sixteen Prelates, eight were Jesuits, of whom only four were actual Archbishops. These four ruled for 72 years; 27 or 28 more are divided between Fra Giuseppe and Bishop Chandy. For the remaining 40 years the See was either vacant or under Governadores. Those 140 years are marked by intrigue, schism and confusion. Yet it must not be forgotten that the silent work of conversion went on, and that, neither the Jesuits nor the Carmelites ever tired of reclaiming the Schismatics to the bosom of the Church.

14. Dom Jose Cariatil was perhaps the first Indian to cross the sea in order to pursue his studies in Europe. Apparently he made the voyage twice. The second journey is described by Thomas Pareamakel - his companion - in the book VARTHAMANA PUSTAKAM, which is much praised by the learned in Malayalam. (See Art. on THE MALABAR CHRISTIANS by P. J. Thomas in THE NEW REVIEW, Calcutta; May, 1935.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE SEE OF COCHIN

CONTENTS

N. B.: The Sources are quoted each in its place.

1. The First Seven Bishops of Cochin.

We shall not repeat here what has been written in the first volume about the relations between the Bishops of Cochin and the Jesuits. We recall to mind that the first Bishop of Cochin was *Frey George Themudo, O. P.*, and the second

Frey Henrique de Tavora e Brito. Under him was built the church of O. Lady of the snows in Tuticorin (1582) with a residence for the Missionaries, a Seminary meant for 30 Indians and a Hospital [1]. The third Bishop of Cochin was *Frey Matheus de Medina* and the fourth

1. Mitras, II, p. 68.

Frey Andre de S. Maria, O. S. F. Of the latter's fights about the jurisdiction on the Fishery Coast we have spoken at length elsewhere [2].

During the Synod of Diamper, he showed great interest in its doings, but preferred to remain in his Cathedral Town, rather than dance attendance to the famous Augustinian de Menezes. There is, however, in Raulinus a letter of his to the Synod, which we have not given in the first Volume, and which may be of some interest. He speaks to the Malayalees of the great mercy of God, who, without any merits of their own, has called them to the truth by sending an Apostle to evangelize them.

But the envy and jealousy of Satan has led them—through ministers hailing from Chaldea—into the error of Nestorius, whom Ephesus had solemnly condemned. Of the Malayalees one can say what St. Paul said of the Ephesians: *Scio quoniam intrabunt apud vos post discessionem meam lupi rapaces, non parcentibus gregi*—and "they caught you unawares, for by your sincerity and candour you did not suspect their ruses. These people did not seek you, they sought your *fanams*. Most of them were not even clerics, but mere laymen. *Quid igitur commune potest esse Malabariae cum Babylone?* For money's love they taught you that the doctrine of Peter was not the same as that which the Apostle Thomas had taught you. Surely they could have said that the doctrine of Peter was not the same as that of the Babylonians. Remember that the doctrine of Peter is the same as the doctrine of Christ, that Christ has founded the Church on the rock of Peter, that he told Peter *Pasce agnos meos.* Remember what we say in the Creed: *Credo in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.* This is Christ's fold; and He wants it to be one under one Pastor. It is not Christ's sheep who does not belong to this fold. Remember that if other Churches may fail in the faith, the Roman Church cannot fail.

2. *Jesuits in Malabar,* I, pp. 314 - 331.

"Be thakful to the Lord, who has sent the Shepherd of Goa to you. He does not seek your things, but you. He is truly a man according to God's heart. See how much he has undertaken and endured for your sake. Till now there may have been some excuse for you, because you had to believe your teachers. Henceforth you will be inexcusable.

Deus vobis perfectam sui cognitionem conferat, ut vester in Domino Frater peroptat. From Cochin, 18 June 1599.

To this noble letter the Council made answer as follows:

"Your letter has brought us great joy. The doctrine which it contains is the same as the doctrine professed by the Synod, taught by the Archbishop and by the Missionaries. And so we are confirmed in our faith and obedience to the Pope. Our doctrine had been obscured but now *tandem in lucem emersimus.* To this darkness was due our great opposition (*magnopere molesti et infesti fuimus*), of which we are sorry. But now we have been enlightened. Our only regret is that the Archbishop is leaving us. But we are awaiting our Pastor from the Holy See. Meanwhile, do be kind unto us. To those Priests who come to Cochin, and who are provided with faculties, give permission to say Mass (at least the Latin Mass translated into Syriac). This up to now was not allowed, owing to the Schism. But if you grant it, the Unity of the Church will appear more clearly etc"[3].

In the years 1600 - 1604 there was a persecution in Travancore. More than 20,000 Christians were dispersed and many churches destroyed. The Jesuit Rector of Coulam, Padre Nicolao d' Espinola, endeavoured to calm the anger of the Raja. By and by the Christians were allowed to return and the churches were rebuilt. In fact the Raja himself contributed to the cost[4]. The fifth Bishop was *Frey Sebastiao de S. Pedro*[5]. *Frey Luis de Brito e Menezes* was the sixth, of whom nothing

3. J. F. Raulin. Hist. Eccl. Malab. (Roma 1745) pp. 276 - 281.
4. Mitras II, p. 70.
5. *Jesuits in Malabar*, I, pp. 332 etc.

special need be said. *Frey Miguel da Cruz Rangel* (1635 - 1646), a Dominican, was the seventh Bishop. He was a man according to God's heart. Fra Paolino affirms that he "purged the Diocese of Cochin from innumerable abuses and crimes". The Raja of Cochin had for him the greatest regard and agreed to compensate the Church, which had been robbed by his own men. He visited his vast Diocese. He helped the poor, comforted the priests and insisted with the Portuguese Officials that they should be just and humane. In the old church of the Dominicans in Lisbon there is still a portrait of Dom Miguel, with the inscription: *Pater eram pauperum, oculus fui caeco et pes claudo.*

In a circular written from Tuticorin in 1639 he exhorts the faithful to prayer and penance especially on account of the war the Dutch were waging against Portugal in Ceylon. Though he was at variance for some time with the Jesuit Provincial Padre de Azevedo about the affairs on the Fishery Coast, yet he soon came to an understanding and approved of the Provincial's arrangements[6]. After his death *Frey Antonio de Serpa* was named Bishop of Cochin, but he did not accept. The See remained vacant till 1694.

2. Successors of Dom Miguel Rangel.

During the vacancy, the Diocese was ruled by the Chapter, represented mainly by the Canons *Diogo Lourenso* and *Pascal Rego.* For some time (1653 ?) a Government Junta endeavoured to govern, but in vain. The Canons were too strong. When Diogo died, *Dom Manoel Menezes de Souza*, Archbishop of Goa, tried to assert his jurisdiction over Cochin. He therefore chose the Jesuit *Padre Amaro de Almeida* to administer the Diocese. But the Chapter, headed by that miserable old man Canon *Rego*, swore opposition to the Jesuit. Rego was over 80, but it is no exaggeration to say that in him *malitia supplebat aetatem.* He was helped in his devious intrigues by one of his sons, whom, though illegitimate, he was not ashamed to acknowledge

6. *Jesuits in Malabar*, I, p. 335.

publicly as his own. They managed to get the Chapter to delegate all its powers to one *Dom Rafael de Figuerdo Salgado.*

Padre Amaro was not much frightened by these unworthy Priests. They, however, got the Dutch on their side, and an order to leave Cochin was served on Padre Amaro. Further they succeeded in painting him as tactless and overbearing to the very Archbishop, who had appointed him. The Primate believed them, deprived the Jesuit of his office and appointed *Salvador Dinis*, the Vicar of the church of St. Peter, near Quilon, in his place (1682).

In a future chapter we shall speak more at length of the Vicar Apostolic *Dom Thomas de Castro* who resided in Mangalore. He too enters the scene now, for, having been nominated by Rome Vicar Apostolic of Cochin as well as of other places, he felt that both the Primate of Goa and the Chapter of Cochin were infringing his rights. An opportunity to interfere was offered by Bishop Chandy himself, who had promised the faithful help of the Thomas Christians to the Dutch, if the latter would secure the appointment of his nephew *Matthew* as his Coadjutor. Since Matthew lacked the necessary qualifications, the Carmelites opposed the choice, thereby incurring the wrath of the Dutch, who threatened to deport them to Persia. They were not frightened. They chose as Coadjutor a Cochinite, the above mentioned *Rafael de Figueredo Salgado.* But since Chandy had long refused to consecrate him, they made arrangements with Dom Thomas de Castro, who was then in Calicut, and Rafael was consecrated there in 1677.

Matthew opposed the newly appointed Prelate in every way, and it is said that he tried even to poison the Carmelites who had brought about his consecration. Later on, however, he thought it prudent to agree to the Carmelites' choice and he too delegated his powers—whatever they were—to Dom Rafael. And so the Vicar Apostolic, being prevented by the Dutch from going to Cochin, could make his influence felt there through another man.

When the Dutch conquered Cochin, they obliged the Catholics—under threat of depriving them of their possessions—to acknowledge for their Pastor the Bishop of the Serra—i. e. Bishop Chandy; to have nothing to do with Portuguese or Goan Prelates, and to receive as Priests those who were chosen by the Bishop of the Serra, and approved of by the Dutch authorities.

It is true that till 1682, that is to say nearly twenty years after the fall of the city, the Chapter governed the Diocese; but they hid themselves behind Bishop Chandy, and managed to carry on under the shadow of the native Prelate. Now Bishop Chandy was extremely old, and schismatical tendencies, ever alive in Malabar in those days, could well be exploited by the Dutch. They did not like Bishop Salgado, for he was of Portuguese extraction. Further, he had been appointed without their consent. But they deemed it more prudent to dissimulate. And so Dom Rafael took possession of the See of Cochin, with the object, first, of adding weight to the authority of the Vicar Apostolic De Castro, and of enabling him to have a finger in the affairs of Cochin; second, of curtailing the encroachments of Goa on the Chapter of Cochin; third of preventing the Schismatics from doing in Cochin what they were doing in the Serra. In order to administer the part of the Diocese about Quilon, he chose as Vicar de Vara a Franciscan, *Fr. James of Jesus.* In Quilon itself he deputed *Fr. Amaro of St. Elias* a Carmelite. Now, all the churches which were under the Franciscans easily submitted to the new dispensation. The Jesuits resisted, on the plea that Bishop de Castro lacked jurisdiction. There were, as usual in those days, excommunications and counter-excommunications, till Goa sent a new representative, a Franciscan, *Padre de Monte Alvernia*, who, contrary to the policy of Fr. James, turned against Dom Rafael, in favour of Salvador Dinis mentioned above.

The Franciscan churches had to veer round, and yield obedience to their former enemies, with what edification of the faithful one may easily imagine.

The Jesuit *Padre Francisco de Oliveira* entered the lists in favour of Salvador Dinis, and it seems his language regarding Propaganda and the Vicar Apostolic, Dom Rafael, was lacking respect and diplomacy. The Carmelites of Verapoly sent their report to Rome on the 29th September 1684; and it is from there that we have taken the substance of this narrative.

The other version is that all the Ecclesiastics of Cochin—with the exception of two or three malcontents—had accepted *Dom Lourenso* who was provided with letters patent from Goa. In fact, his authority had been acknowledged even by Bishop Chandy. Also the Jesuit Padre Amaro de Almeyda had ruled the Diocese *pacifice* for several months. Then there came the Propaganda Bishop de Castro, who wrongly claimed authority over Cochin. The See was indeed vacant, but it was not without its legitimate authority, as he maintained, for the Chapter was the proper authority. The Dutch expelled Bishop de Castro, who, however, holding Bishop Chandy incapable of administering the Serra, consecrated Dom Rafael. Dom Rafael, in his turn, had recourse to Canon Rego, who certainly lacked all morals to lend him moral support, but, on that account, was all the more fit to support him by chicanery and intrigue. This gentleman managed to obtain from the Dutch the removal of Padre Amaro, and further, so misrepresented his work at Goa, that Goa substituted to him Fr. Dinis.

Meanwhile the Carmelites (so continues the Report), by generous granting of marriage dispensations, by recommending ignorant young man for holy Orders and by a adroit distribution of bribes, detached several churches from the lawful authority, and managed to have them submitted to Bishop Salgado.

4. Unholy Tactics.

Now, the nephew of Pope Innocent XI, Fra Pedro Paulo of St. Francis, O. C. D., went himself to Mangalore—the seat of Bishop de Castro—in order to get him to delegate his presumed rights over the See of Cochin, to Dom Rafael. Indeed

Dom Rafael had already usurped his authority in Cochin; but the Carmelites, fearing his position to be unsafe, bethought themselves of Dom Thomas de Castro. Yet they suspected that not everything was quite straight with the rights of Dom Thomas. Hence Padre Pedro Paulo proceeded to Goa, and solicited Archbishop *Menezes de Souza* to grant the jurisdiction to himself. He, being the Pope's nephew, and enjoying a certain influence with the Dutch, seemed the right kind of person to handle the affairs of the South. Yet, somehow, his intrigues made him suspected to the Archbishop, who granted nothing.

Padre Pedro Paulo had obtained from his uncle, the Pope, the faculties of Visitor of the Mission of Pandi in 1686, and—as we have seen—had gone to Manapad, Tuticorin, Negapatam, giving scandal to the faithful, because he did not conform to Brahmin customs, and making Christianity hateful to the heathens. With honey on his lips, he sowed discord everywhere. In his letters the Jesuits are ill treated. Especially Padre Francisco de Oliveira is the object of his spite. As to the role played by Dom Rafael, it is far from edifying.

5. Nicolao Antonio's Gossip.

One of Dom Rafael's friends—a certain Clerigo *Nicolao Antonio*—went to see the Jesuit Fr. Christopher *Semedo* and told him, under the strictest secrecy, that Dom Rafael had sent letters to Rome by three channels, wherein he accused the Jesuits to hamper the conversion of the Serra. He had determined to excommunicate these infamous Jesuits, but had forborne, because he knew they would not submit. Hence he begged of the Cardinals to excommunicate them directly. Nicolao Antonio had seen the letters with his own eyes. In fact he knew that they had been written by the Clerigo *Avellar*, son of that holy man, Canon Rego. A copy was in the hands of the Carmelite Frey Angelo to whom said Nicolao: "Signor Padre, how can you be a party to the sending of these letters to Rome, when you know that they are full of calumnies?". The Padre replied: "Let them see to it, for it is not my affair".

Clerigo Nicolao told Fr. Christopher that, while Dom Rafael was working for the reduction of Catturcadi from Schism, he had prepared a document wherein he threatened the Jesuits with excommunication should they administer the Sacraments to the Catturcadians.

A Clerigo had been deputed to take the letter to Ambalakad, and the Dutch Governor had been asked to afford him protection. But protection was refused. All these disgraceful details—and many more—are found in a letter of the 19th December 1683 written by Fr. Semedo to the Goa Provincial, Padre *Gaspar Affonso*, in order that he should inform the Visitor Padre *Alessandro Ceceri*. Was Fr. Semedo deceived? or was Dom Rafael playing a double game? for there are some letters of his, where he poses as a great friend of the Society of Jesus.

In fact, the 8th December 1683—barely eleven days before Fr. Semedo wrote to the Provincial—Dom Rafael writes to the very same Fr. Semedo, Rector of Ambalakad, granting the power to administer the Sacraments in the Serra to him, to his successors and to all the Fathers approved by the Rector.

Surely this does not agree with the news brought by the most obliging Clerigo Nicolao. The same day Dom Rafael denies to have ever said that the Jesuits were in favour of the Archdeacon and Bishop Chandy. He has never believed it. But, of course, sacristy rumours were as busy as ever. Now, if the history of the Church is grand and inspiring, the history of the sacristy, both in India and elsewhere, can be petty, and mean.

Four years later, on the 4th November 1687, Dom Rafael wrote to Fr. Freyre to congratulate him on his appointment to the Archbishopric of the Serra; and he thanked him for the good understanding which had ever existed between himself and the Society. Among the various calumnies which were then circulating against the Jesuits, they were accused of having tried to get Dom Rafael sent to Manila, thus depriving

the Serra of its Pastor. It was also said that they had done their best to hamper the return of the Schismatics into the Church.

Fathers Luis Fernandez and Charles Cohanny begged of Dom Rafael to give the lie to such iniquitous rumours. He answered by word of mouth that it was all false. But he refused to commit himself in writing without consulting the Carmelites of Verapoly. On the 1st of September 1683, after having spoken with them, he said that it was expedient to wait for an answer from Propaganda.

Finally three months later, after much reflection, he testified that they were indeed calumnies invented by the enemies of the Jesuits. However, many became dissatisfied with Bishop Salgado, and among them several Carmelites. Accusations went to Rome against him: that he sold dispensations, suffered Priests to live in concubinage, received run-away clerics and monks, sold the Mass wine sent by Propaganda, kept back Mass stipends, spread calumnies against the Carmelites, and so on. In 1692 he went so far as even to excommunicate George a S. Johanna, a Portuguese Franciscan, who was then Vicar General of Bishop Chandy. Rome commissioned Custodius de Pinho (q.v.) Vicar Apostolic of the Great Moghul to put an end to this perpetual wrangling. But death intervened. Bishop Chandy died and so did Bishop Salgado, after being deposed (15 October 1695).

6. Trouble About Calicut.

In 1676 *Frey Antonio de S. Dyonisio* was appointed Bishop of Cochin, in spite of the fact that Salgado was still living. Again, in 1688 Pope Innocent XI confirmed *Frey Pedro da Silva* Bishop of Cochin. Evidently the Holy See had not deprived Portugal of her rights, nor had the Carmelites *carte blanche* in Malabar. Later on, on the 4th January 1693 Pope Innocent XII confirmed *Frey Pedro Pachecho*, O.P., Bishop of Cochin. He had been for many years Missionary in Africa. From Cochin he was called to preside over the administration of the

Archbishopric of Goa, and from there he came down to visit his Diocese in 1699. Soon after he let loose a terrible storm against the Jesuits.

From the year 1652 to the Suppression of the Society of Jesus the troubles of the Jesuits in Malabar knew no bounds. The Schism of the Serra, the misunderstandings with the Carmelites; the loss of Cochin, the Dutch persecutions, the exile from the Serra, were, no doubt, the heaviest. But financial difficulties, poverty, dearth of subjects, misunderstandings with the Jesuits at Goa, though less spectacular, were no less trying. To this must be added, the subtle persecutions of some of the members of the Chapter of Cochin, during the long vacancy which followed upon the death of Bishop Rangel, and then the battle with the new Bishop, *Pedro Pachecho.*

His character is described in a letter of Padre *Antonio de Barros* to Rev. Fr. General, dated 29th September 1702. "One may fear all things from this Prelate, not only because he is a Dominican,* but also on account of his violent temper.

"He has not been afraid to raise his hands against the Inquisitor of the Faith (his brother in Religion), publicly, at the Viceroy's Court. He has written (and signed) some libellous pamphlets in Goa against the Primate of the East. He has delivered from jail a certain Dominican, who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, and has helped him to escape. By his words aud writings he has laboured to destroy the authority of the Viceroy. To the King of Portugal, who pressed him to go and take possession of his See, he wrote a letter which shows what a man he is. For this misdeed the King deprived him of the allowance which is usually assigned to Bishops for alms, and threatened to deprive him of all his possessions in India, unless he left immediately for his Diocese. In a word,

* This is but an echo of the dissensions, theological and otherwise which existed for ages between Dominicans and Jesuits. Now, happily, they have died away. The writer had the good fortune of living with Dominicans for many months in very trying circumstances. He admired their humility, patience and assiduous study. In recent years they have again come back to India, where they have been much tried. May God protect them.

he is a man of violent temper, fearless and feared by all, worse than a dog and a serpent. I have portrayed the character of this man that Your Paternity may have an idea of the individual we have to fight against, and what a redoubtable foe he is".

So far Padre de Barros; and to be sure, he does not mince matters.

The trouble started with *Calicut.*

In a later chapter will be given the Treaty concluded by Padre *Joao Ribeiro* (later on Archbishop of the Serra) with the Zamorin. The church of Calicut, which had been destroyed by the Zamorin was rebuilt, and the Father in charge was liberally maintained by the Zamorin himself. By the Bull of Paul V (1616), Calicut and Tanur had been assigned to Cranganore. Now Padre Ribeiro S. J. had been succeeded in Calicut by another Jesuit, Padre *Miranda.* Soon after Padre *de Barros* informed Fr. General that Bishop Pachecho had expelled Padre Miranda from Calicut "replacing him with a very ignorant cleric"; and he did this without breathing a word to the Provincial. "It is true"—adds Padre Barros—"that Padre Miranda had given occasion to the Bishop's indignation by asserting that Calicut and Tanur did not belong to Cochin, but to Cranganore and Angamale".

The Bishop wrote a complaint to the Provincial. The latter says: "I knew that Padre Miranda was right"; but *pro bono pacis* Padre Barros decided to send the Father elsewhere. "But before the change could be effected, an incident took place, which broke the peace".

We shall relate it here, for it gives an insight into the difficulties which confronted the Missionaries of those days, when they came into contact with Europeans. Writes Padre Barros: "Padre Miranda gave offence to a Frenchman, who was in Calicut at the head of a French Firm. Padre Miranda, not wishing to be misrepresented, published and distributed a manifesto, where he asserted that he had not pronounced any

ecclesiastical censure against the Frenchman, lest he should appeal to the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic, who administered Angamale, from which Calicut depended. When he heard this, the Bishop of Cochin, who *per fas et nefas* wants that Calicut should belong to him, was furious, anathematized all those who acknowledged the authority of Padre Miranda instead of that of the secular Priest nominated by himself. The news took some time to reach Topo, which is 70 leagues distant from Calicut (and where the Provincial resided). But when I came to know of it, on the advice of my Consultors, I wrote to Padre Miranda not to give up the church to the secular priest, and not to leave Calicut.

"If he had already done so, he should go back and take up again his jurisdiction as legitimate pastor, because (1) the Bishop had no jurisdiction there, and (2) even if he had it, he had no power to send away a Parish Priest of the Society".

Of course, the *Canon Law* nowadays decides otherwise; but the XVII Century was not the XIX, and the privilege of the Jesuits had been acknowledged by the competent authority several times already. In fact, continues Padre Barros: "It is the exclusive privilege of the Provincials, which they hold from the Portuguese King, not indeed as King, but as Grand Master of the Order of Christ. This, of course, has been settled many a time, and even recently in a dispute between the Primate and the Fathers of Goa".

There was another reason which justified the Provincial's resistance to Bishop Pachecho's pretensions. It was that the Calicut Residence belonged to the Society, for it had been given to the Society. "Finally"—writes the Provincial—"since Calicut is not merely a Parish, but also a house of the Society, and a *Collegium inchoatum* attached to the College of Cochin, I could not in conscience allow that Ours should be deprived of this residence".

Technically the Provincial was right, just as Padre Laerzio had been right in the famous quarrels with Frey Andre of

Cochin, with regard to the jurisdiction on the Fishery Coast. But as the Jesuits had to yield on the East Coast, so eventually they will have to yield on the West, for justice often sides with the strong, at least this side of the grave.

7. Trouble About The Paravers.

The Calicut dispute was the prelude to a larger trouble. We read in the same letter: "In the interval there arose another quarrel between the Bishop and the Paravers of the Fishery Coast. At first it was a trifle, then a great conflagration broke out.

"The Paravers now are almost in schism, and in full rebellion against the Bishop, because, without prudence and reflection he has put their leaders under the interdict, forbidding them to enter the church and to attend Mass. The rest feel that they themselves are hit in their leaders, and so they all avoid the church".

It would be interesting to know the root of the trouble, but the documents at our disposal do not throw any light on the matter. Padre Barros tells us that "he shuddered at the news, the more so that the Coast is under the Dutch and their Ministers, who seize every opportunity to pervert these Paravers, who were once upon a time the beloved children of St. Francis Xavier. That is why I wrote to the Bishop letter upon letter, beseeching him to be more kind, lest these sheep should become the prey of the Dutch. But he does not relent, More, he has not been ashamed to write the following to me; "*Parum interest quod Paraver fiant haeretici, quia cum ex iis solum parvuli salventur, ipsi etiam salvabuntur, etiamsi illorum parentes haeretici evadant.*

"This is the kind of Prelate we have, and because he imagines that we are responsible for the obstinacy of the Paravers, he cries out that he will never cease to make war upon the Jesuits till they are lowered to the rank of simple Priests if they wish to continue to work in Travancore and on the Fishery Coast."

The Provincial thought that the motives behind the Bishop's policy with regard to the Jesuits were the incidents at Calicut and with the Paravers. But these supplied only the occasion. The motives lay deeper. It was the wider question of the juridical position of the Religious in the Mission field with regard to the Bishops on one side, and their Superiors on the other.

Who was the real ruler of the Mission? What was the extent of the Bishop's authority? Could he tolerate the authority *exclusive* (as Padre Barros called it) of Provincials and religious Superiors over Parish Priests, who—though they were Religious—ruled over Parishes for which the Bishops were responsible? Now the Canon Law has made matters more clear, and, with mutual good will, the work goes on more smoothly.

Padre Barros continues: "In this extremity I have sent Padre Joao da Costa to the Bishop, with a most humble letter, imploring him to make peace. The Father writes that the Bishop shows signs of relenting, but he insists that I should sign certain conditions".

The conditions are not specified. Padre Luis Gonzalez, Superior in Travancore, in a letter of the 5th October 1705 calls them "absurd". Nothing more. Padre Ch. Semedo—the successor of Padre Barros—wrote (15 October 1706): "Some other time did I complain about the proceedings of Dom Pedro Pachecho, Bishop of Cochin. He has just left for Goa. We hope he will not come back. In fact he has never visited his Diocese. I have warned the Viceroy and the Primate beforehand, lest he should do us harm. They have answered very politely. I hope no one will believe him without having heard me first. Last year we were asking Your (Fr. General's) permission to leave the churches in these parts, in order to escape from the Bishop's tyranny. Now that he is gone, that is unnecessary".

Things went on like this for several years. In 1710 the Viceprovincial—Padre Jose Pereyra—succeeded in reestablishing peace. The Bishop demanded of the Fathers to acknowledge as his Vicar General, at least for a fortnight, an Indian Priest of his choice, who was living on the Coast, and to make the Christians accept him. Padre Pereyra was a litte man, full of kindness and common sense. By his persuasiveness he gained the confiidence of the leaders and with timely little gifts he succeeded to make them acceed to the Bishop's requests. Thus the Prelate turned in favour of the Jesuits and granted them the widest powers. The storm had lasted seven years. *

Though strict justice was in favour of the Jesuits, a little *savoir faire* and more humility and charity would have saved them no end of trouble and would have contributed more to God's glory and to the good of souls. One last thing about Bishop Pachecho: Owing to his complaints and the complaints of Dom Joao Ribeiro, S. J. Pope Clement XI restricted the authority conferred by Innocent XII on the Carmelite Vicars Apostolic. They were not allowed to exercise jurisdiction except in those places where the Portuguese Prelates could not exercise theirs. Bishop Pachecho died in Goa in 1714, 80 years old.

8. Jesuit Bishops in Cochin.

Before Bishop Pachecho left for Goa, he appointed Governador of his Diocese the much calumniated *Padre Amaro*

* That Bishop Pachecho was wanting in tact appears also from the opposition he showed to the Primate in the matter of the Ven. Fr. Vaz's Mission in Ceylon. The King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy as follows: "Among other things (the Archbishop) reports the good news that has come from Ceylon, where the King of Kandy permits Fr. J. Vaz to preach the Gospel publicly, and shows himself well disposed to the Portuguese. The same Archbishop states that the Bishop of Cochin claims to govern that Mission, because the said island belongs to his jurisdiction. A matter so important both for spiritual and temporal interests, ought, it seems to me to be handled with great prudence, and care, and tact, qualities which experience has given to the Archbishop in a higher degree than to the Bishop. I have therefore caused the Bishop to be informed that he should allow the Archbishop to continue to direct the Mission which he began, and the Archbishop to be informed that he should continue to try to augment the trust and good will of the King of Kandy".

The dispute about jurisdiction continued for sometime. In the end the rights of Cochin were acknowledged, and the companions of Fr. Vaz proceeded to Ceylon with faculties from Bishop Pachecho, who by a letter of the 10th February 1696, appointed Fr. Vaz his Vicar General in Ceylon.

Cfr. *Life of Fr. Vaz*, by Fr. Perera, S. J. pp. 145-9.

d'Almeyda, S. J. thus showing that if he knew how to fight against the Jesuits, he knew also how to appreciate them. In 1717 the Goa Chapter named Governador *Frey Francisco dos Martyres*. John V chose him Bishop of Cochin, but he died before his appointment was confirmed by the Pope[8]. In 1720 King John V suggested *Padre de Vasconcellos, S. J.* for the See of Cohin. The nomination was confirmed by Rome, and he took possession of his See in 1722. The King insisted with the Government of Goa that they should do their best to induce the Hindu Rajas and the Dutch in Malabar not to worry the Bishop[9].

In 1742 the Jesuit Bishop was called to govern the city of Goa. Probably in 1738 *Padre Carlo Michele Bertoldi, S. J.* was made Pro-Governador of Cochin[10]. Here we shall digress a little to speak of this great Missionary. For over 35 years he had worked at *Aur*, South of Trichinopoly. In the years 1708-10 his Mission was devastated by a horrible famine. The *Annual Letter* says that for a handful of rice men would sell their wives. There were cases of mothers devouring their children. In 1711 the famine ceased and the District was visited by that great Missionary, *Bishop Laynez, S. J.* of Mylapore, who in a few months gave confirmation to 22,000 Christians[11]. In 1712 Padre Bertoldi endeavoured to gain the favour of Chinna Tondaman Raja of Kolatur. Against all expectations the Raja accepted the presents sent to him by the Father. Yet but a little time afterwards his minister advised him to strike the Christians. A persecution was threatening when God's hand laid low the wicked minister with a stroke of apoplexy, and the storm was averted.

The same year a noble woman belonging to the house of Aryalur was baptized together with her little daughters[12]. Every year there were many baptisms in the church of Aur, and the

8. *Mitras*, II, p. 106
9. Ib. p. 81.
10. Ib. p. 106.
11. *L. Besse S. J.* La Mission du Madure', p. 25.
12. Ib. p. 97.

good Father attributed his success to Our Lady, who was honoured in a special manner in his church. However the ministers of Chinna Tondaman often threatened Aur with destruction. In 1715 they tried to imprison the father, but were foiled in their attempt. In 1716 they destroyed the wall surrounding the compound. The Father remained firm, and that very year he registered 1130 baptisms. In 1729 a powerful man, a Mudeli by caste, imprisoned Ignacy, the Catechist of Aur, and threatened to mutilate him. The Catechist did not lose courage. The Mudeli, furious, burnt down part of the church. But then some influential pagans pleaded for the Catechist, and he escaped unhurt. To the West of Trichinopoly, at Koppu, the Mudeli saw a new church. He ordered it to be pulled down; a little girl lost her life; two neophytes had their ears cut; a statue of St. Barbara was taken away.

Padre Bertoldi, through a certain Ananda Rao, appealed to the King. Peace was restored and the Christians could breathe again[13]. In 1730 Padre Bertoldi was invited by King Kattateven, whom he had comforted in his troubles, to pay him a visit in his capital, Ramnad. A palanquin was sent to fetch the Father, whom the King himself came to meet with special marks of honour. In the presence of the court the Father spoke with such fervour of Our Lord that all were filled with admiration. In the end the Raja gave to the Father the title of *Prophet*. Then he graciously accepted the little presents the Father had brought him, and assigned a sum of money for the entertainment of the Missionary and his suite. A fine place was given to the Father in a *chattram* where he could say Mass every day, and sing with his Catechists the praises of the Lord. One day some dancing girls came to entertain Padre Bertoldi. He reprimanded them most severely and they ran away in shame. The Raja desired to keep the Father with him. He even offered to build a church in the fortress. But the Father knew how uncertain would be the life of the Christians in such surroundings, and declined the offer. After some time Padre Bertoldi obtained

13. Ib. pp. 99-100.

permission to return. The King gave him rich presents, praised our holy Religion, and gave permission to preach it freely in his dominions[14]. During his visit to the Raja Padre Bertoldi made the acquaintance of a royal Princess, daughter of a former persecutor of the Christians, who desired to be instructed in the faith. As a matter of fact, she was baptized two years later, and she remained ever faithful to Christ[15]. Many more things could be related of this great Missionary, who, towards the end of his life, was made Visitor of the Missions of Madura and of the Carnatic. Then he had to leave the Mission field proper to betake himself to Cochin, and steer as best he could among the whirlpools of the Malabar town.

In 1745 *Dom Clemente Jose Colaso Leitao, S. J.* became Bishop of Cochin. His residence, however, was in Anjengo, and so was his Cathedral Church, for the Dutch would not allow a Portuguese Prelate in the Capital. From the death of Pedro Pachecho till 1748 Portugal had paid no stipend to the Bishop, who carried on with great difficulty[16]. Now with Jesuit Bishops both in Cochin and in the Serra, the lot of the Jesuits was happier. But it was not to last. In 1759 the Society was suppressed in Goa and in Cochin. Elsewhere we shall relate the threats made against the two Jesuit Bishops by the ministers of Pombal, and how they braved the tempest. From 1660 to his death they worried Dom Clemente, they spared no expenses in order to catch him and bring him to Goa, but they were unsuccessful. The protection which his own denied him he found with the English and the Indian Princes[17]. Fra Paolino mentions a letter in Malayalam written by the Bishop to the Raja of Travancore, where he recommends himself and the Christians to his generosity, In another, written in the same languages, the Bishop demands the Raja's help against the Schismatics[18].

14. Ib. pp. 242-6;
15. Ib. p. 248.
16. *Mitras*, II, p. 82.
17. *India Or. Xna*, p. 124.
18. Ib.

There is an interesting Pastoral where Dom Clemente condemns as fraudulent some miracles alleged to have been performed by the Infant Jesus and Our Lady at Pullichere. In another Pastoral letter of 1752 he refers to the martyrdom of *Devasagayam Pillay* (q.v.), and[19] orders a *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches in thanksgiving for the fortitude granted by the Lord to his Servant. Dom Clemente died in Collam in 1775 and is buried there in the church called *Mudacra*[20].

The last Bishop we are concerned with in this volume is *Frey Jose de Soledade O. C. D.*, who came to India with Frey Manoel de S. Catharina. The latter had been made Bishop of Cochin, but he remained in Goa and Frey José took his place. There are many ordinances by him, directed both to the Clergy and to the Laity. He was severe, but well meaning, and he tried to uproot many abuses and to raise the moral standard of his flock. Among his various Circulars we may mention one, where he threatens with excommunication those Catholics who dare sell slaves to Protestants, or who get money from the Protestants to buy slaves with[21]. In another he contests the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Verapoly[22]. Owing to his ardent temper and to the plots of a certain Friar, *Eugenio de Madre de Deus*, the Bishop knew no peace. By order of the King he resigned in 1799. He went to Goa, and from Goa he proceeded to Portugal. During his Episcopate he saw Cochin fall into English hands (1795).

APPENDIX

1. *The Decree "Sacrosancti Apostolatus Officii" of Pope Alexander VII (18-1-1658) and the Decree of Propaganda "Ad Melius Et Facilius" (22-7-1658).*

The previous Chapter on *The See of Cochin* shows that the conditions of the Catholic Church in India were not healthy.

19. *Mitras*, II, p. 84.
20. *India Or. Xna*, p. 124.
21. *Mitras*, p. 90.
22. Ib. p. 95.

Complaints of many abuses reached Rome, and Pope Alexander VII issued a Decree for Goa and the neighbouring islands, which was soon extended to the whole of India by the Congregation of Propaganda. Since it gives an insight into the state of religion under the Portuguese, we shall give here its main points.

(a) *Behaviour of the Clergy towards the Faithful.*

This is touched upon in articles 1-5, 8, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19.

The first article insists that the Priests should not compel the poor to work for their churches, unless they pay them just wages. In case they should refuse, Priests are forbidden to fine them. Similarly those who do not attend Catechism should not be fined. If the custom exists, the fines should be very moderate. The third article deprecates the use of the stick, or of indecent words, chiefly with respectable people and women.

The schools should be open to all, though, in order to avoid fighting, the low castes should be separated from the rest. This article is supplemented in the decree, where the establishment of schools is urged everywhere; the Priests themselves, or their native assistants should teach.

The eighth article warns the Priests to abstain from politics.

The twelfth article absolutely forbids that the low castes and the ignorant should be excluded from Holy Communion, and the next commands the visitation of the sick, and the bringing of the Holy Viaticum even to the poor, however miserable the huts where they lived.

The Priests are forbidden (art. 16) to beg money from their parishioners except on the occasion of some festival, and then all the money should be spent, and if some remains, it should be distributed to the poor.

Similarly, to avoid all suspicion of avarice, the confraternity funds ought to be administered by laymen. (17).

Priests henceforth must attend gratis the funerals of the poor, so that they are not compelled to beg in order to bury their relatives. (19).

(b) *Behaviour towards the Indian Clergy.* The Vicar Capitular is urged to see to it that a number of Indigenous Priests be deputed to hear confessions, so that the people be not forced to approach only the Religious or the Europeans (10). Similarly the Indian secular Clergy ought to be exercised in preaching the word of God. (9). The abuse had taken root to hear Confessions through an interpreter; or the Priests read a list of sins, and the penitent made a sign to show whether he was guilty or not. This was absolutely forbidden. Only those who knew the language were to be allowed to hear Confessions, and the Vicars were obliged each to have an Indian Chaplain, to preach in the vernacular and to hear Confessions. Further, Indian Priests were to be allowed to celebrate in the various Churches, and were to be treated most courteously.

(c) *The Religious* were told to open the gates of their Orders to the Neophytes, provided they had true religious vocation (6). They were commanded not to prevent the Seculars—chiefly the natives—from exercising the sacred ministry. (7). The Religious who did Parish work outside the Convent were at times to be recalled, so that their spirit might not suffer harm. (21).

(d) *Conversions.* No Baptism by force, and without previous instruction.

(e) *The Heathen* were not to be allowed by the Priests to publicly exercise their pagan rites, since that was

forbidden in Goa. Much less were the Priests allowed to give any permission for money. This chiefly regarded the cremation of the dead. (18.) Also, for no monetary gain whatever were the Priests to allow the heathen to do *Puja* in the Church. (20)

2. *The Complaints of Rama Varmer Raja of Travancore.* In *India* OR. XNA we find a letter addressed to the Bishop of Verapoly, Friar Charles of St. Conrad, by the Raja of Travancore. He complains that the Priests working under the Bishop of Cochin were oppressing his people from Collam to Mannakudi, by exacting money against the ancient custom. The Bishop is invited to examine the matter, to remove the culprits and to substitute his own Priests.

Fra Paolino answered that it was the Bishop of Cochin's business to act in the matter, and since the Bishop was in Goa, letters had to be addressed to him there. The Priests in question, however, promised the Raja's Officials that his subjects would not be vexed any more.

Fra Paolino gives the letter to show that the Bishop of Verapoly did not interfere with the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cochin. We give it to show how justified were the Jesuits when they feared the excessive cupidity of some Priests. See for inst. Padre Licchetta's letter, (*9. V.*).

CHAPTER V.

THE CARMELITE VICARS APOSTOLIC.

The title does not mean that all the Vicars Apostolic were Carmelites. Most of them were. Two were not, but were chosen by the Carmelities.

The matter of this chapter does not directly concern the Jesuits. It is important, however, for it deals with far reaching events in the History of the Catholic Church in Malabar.

The APPENDIX has not been embodied in the Chapter, for many appreciations and statements contained therein are not shared by the Author. On the other hand, it would have been unhistorical to leave them out altogether. Let the reader take them with a pinch of salt ever mindful that what was perhaps justifiable in the XVIII Century could not be admitted in the XX.

CONTENTS

APPENDIX.

1. *The Amsterdam Decree.*
2. *Dutch Governors of Cochin.*
3. *The Letters of the Popes to the Raja of Travancore.*
4. *The Carmelite Padre Vincenzo's Description of the Thomas Christians.*
5. *His remarks on the Christians snbject to the Portuguese.*
6. *Fra Paolino's description of the Latin Christians.*
7. *An XVIII Century's Controversy on the Indigenous Clergy.*
8. *On the sending of young Levites to Rome.*
9. *Fra Giuseppe's Epitaph and main works (indispensable to Writers on Malabar Church History).*

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

Since the Carmelite *Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo's* works are often quoted in this Volume, and his opinions play a very important part in this Chapter, we think it is necessary to say a few words on his life. *

FRA PAOLINO (Philip Wesdin) was born at Hoff in Lower Austria, 27 April 1748. Having joined the Carmelites early in his youth, he was sent to Malabar in 1774, where he was appointed Apostolic Visitor.

He was well versed both in Malayalam and Sanscrit. His tact and scholarship made such a deep impression in Malabar that the Maharaja of Travancore desired him as his own tutor.

He wrote several Malayalam poems, which are of such excellence that Mr. Ullur Parameswara Iyer calls him the greatest Malayalam Scholar of the XVIII Century. In 1789 he was recalled to Rome, to give an account of the state of the Catholic Church in India. He became Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of Propaganda Fide in Rome, where he published many learned books.

He was the first European to publish a Sanscrit Grammar (1790)

* The present writer regrets that he has been unable to consult the *VITA DI PAOLINO DA S. BARTOLOMEO* by E. TERZA in *ATTI del R. ISTITUTO VENETO DI SCIENZE, LETTERE ed ARTI*; Tomo VI. Serie VI.

The full title of this famous work is SIDHARUBAM seu GRAMMATICA SAMSCRADAMICA *cui accedit Dissertatio historico-critica in linguam samscradamicam, vulgo SAMSCRET dictam, in qua hujus linguae existentia, origo, praestantia, antiquitas, extensio, maternitas ostenditur, libri aliqui in ea exarati critice recensentur et simul aliquae antiquissimae Gentilium orationes liturgicae paucis attinguntur et explicantur, auctorensu Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo; Romae 1790.*

In 1804 Fra Paolino published the *VIACARANA, seu locupletissima Samscradamicae linguae Institutio.*

Max Muller speaks of him as follows: " He wrote several essays on the antiquities, mythology and religion of India. He made much use of the papers left by the Jesuit *HANXLIDEN* (q. v.), who, to judge from the quotations given by Fra Paolino, must have had a very profound knowledge of Sanscrit. Though Fra Paolino's Grammar has been subjected to sharp criticism, and though at the present time (i. e. in 1876) it is not used any more, it is fair to remember that the first Grammar of any language is incomparably more difficult to write than all the subsequent Grammars."*

Fra Paolino copied and brought to Rome the AMARASINHA or Sanscrit Dictionary. He himself says of it: " Of this Dictionary I have at hand three copies: *THE FIRST* is old and is written by a certain Brahman in very minute Sanscrit-Malayalam script, on palm leaves, called *PANA.*

THE SECOND has been copied by myself from an old Codex, belonging to a Francis Texeira, a native well versed in the language.

THE THIRD—more precious than its weight in gold—was originally written in verses and copied out by the Rev. Fr. John Hanxleden, S. J. who was thoroughly conversant with Sanscrit".

In 1792 the learned Friar published in Rome the SYSTEMA BRAHMANICUM...ex *monumentis indicis Musaei Borgiani.*

In 1792 appeared the EXAMEN HISTORICO—CRITICUM *codicum indicorum bibliothecae S. C. de Propaganda. (Romae, 1792).*

In 1793 were published the *MUSAEI BORGIANI VELITRIS CODICES MSS Malabarici ILLUSTRATI.*

INDIA ORIENTALIS CHRISTIANA, an important work for the history of the Missions in India, and of which extensive use has been made in the present work, came out in 1794 and in 1796 the

* Cfr. *LA SCIENCE DU LANGUAGE*—Trans. from the English; Paris 1879.

VIAGGIO ALLE INDIE ORIENTALI. This was published in Rome, Halle (Germany) and Paris. Fra Paolino vies with Bernier and Della Valle in wealth of information, accuracy of details and shrewdness of observations and remarks.

From 1798 to 1800, while Rome was in the hands of the French Republicans, Fra Paolino remained in Vienna. Upon his return to Rome, he became Prefect of Studies at the Propaganda College, where he died on the 7th January 1806. In the present chapter we shall quote abundantly from the

NOTITIA TOPOGRAPHICA, CIVILIS, POLITICA, RELIGIOSA Missionis Malabaricae ad finem saeculi XVIII, auctore R. P. PAULINO a S. BARTHOLOMAEO, O. C. D., nunc primum edita ac notis illustrata a R. P. AMBROSIO a S. THERESIA, O. C. D. (Roma, 34 apud Curiam Gen. Corso d'Italia, 38-1938)

The authentic Report is in the Archives of the S. C. a PROPAGANDA FIDE—Acta C. a. 1790—Vol. 160, ff. 327-339—lingua latina.

A second copy is to be found in the same Archives among the SCRITTURE RIFERITE Indie Or. Vol. 40. ff 375-405.

On the beginnings of the Carmelite Mission in Malabar Cfr.

ANALECTA Ord. Carm. Disc. Vol. XI. Oct-Dec. 1936. Fasc. IV. Article by P. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, "*Initium Missionis Carm. Disc. in Serra Malabarica.*" Naturally the books by Fra Giuseppe a S. Maria (mentioned elsewhere) should be consulted as well as

P. ILDEFONSO della Presentazione, O. C. D. RELAZIONE dello Missioni de Coccino, Travancore etc. (1632-1740) and the *Viaggis* all Indie Or del P. Fr Vincenzo. etc. of which mention has been made in the first vol. p. 7.

1. *Of Fra Giuseppe Da Santa Maria,* O. C. D. much has been said in the previous chapters. Since he is the Founder of the Carmelite Mission in Malabar, we shall add a few more details about his life. He was born at Caprarola in the Papal States, 21 Febr. 1623. Being still young he lost his parents, but his brother sent him to Rome, where he studied in the Roman Seminary. After a while Gerolamo Sebastiani—for this was his name in his world-joined the Carmelites, and took his vows in the Convent of O. Lady della Scala in 1641. From Rome he

went to Graz, were he studied Philosophy and Theology, and was noted for his virtue and ability. He was about 34 years old when he first went to India. He worked strenuosly for a short time and then sailed back to Europe[1]. After reporting to Rome about the state of the Church in Malabar, Fra Giuseppe was offered the episcopal dignity and then it was decided that he should return to India "to bring to a successful conclusion the work he had so well begun"[2]. Further he was given "faculties" to establish a new Chapter at Angamale, and to do away with the hereditary succession of the Archdeacon's dignity[3].

According to Fr Matthew, O. C. D. it was Fra Giuseppe himself who angled for the mitre. This is denied by the ANALECTA on the strength of several documents. We think that both statements can be reconciled. The Cardinals acted on the information supplied by Fra Giuseppe, who certainly advised the appointment of a Bishop. That he should have been chosen was but natural, nor need the worthy Friar be suspected of ambition. The appointment, however, was to be kept secret. Fra Giuseppe was to wear no episcopal insignia, nor was he to use episcopal ceremonies. He was consecrated in the Pope's private chapel, Dec. 15, 1659. By a papal Brief he was appointed Commissary Apostolic for the whole Serra, and Administrator of the same, whether Archbishop Garcia lived or not.[4] Another Brief empowered him to choose and consecrate a Bishop or Vicar Apostolic for the Serra [5], till "the Apostolic See will provide otherwise". The people of Angamale are again exhorted to obey the Commissary Apostolic and the Archbishop, and the same is commanded "by virtue of holy obedience to obey Fra Giuseppe in all things the latter might com-

(1) Cfr ANALECTA, which quotes PRIMA SPEDIZIONE by Fra Giuseppe pp. 136-7, and Fra Vincenzo's VIAGGIO, pp. 213-15
(2) Cfr ANALECTA, which quote a Decree of Prop. Nov. 1659.
(3) Id. Ib.
(4) Cfr Brief IJUNCTI NOBIS; Jus Pont, Vol. I pp. 314-17.

mand him for the execution of the papal orders". [6] No doubt the faculties given to Fra Giuseppe were very ample. But what of the rights of others? Archbishop Garcia could not be affected, for he was dead. But what about the Jesuits who had been working in the Serra for over 80 years? Were they to be supplanted? And for what fault? And without any regular inquiry? And without giving them a chance to defend themselves? And what of the rights of Portugal? The King had given money to the Serra, many churches had been restored by his generosity; he had paid — irregularly, it is true, but faithfully enough - for the maintenance of the Priests and for the training of the Seminarists. Was all this to be forgotten? No such intentions could be ascribed to the Holy See. The evil, according to Rome, was desperate, and there was no time to lose in interminable diplomatic correspondence. Hence the unseemly hurry, the great secrecy, the arrangement that Fra Giuseppe should travel to India, not via Lisbon, but via Syria and Persia. On the other hand the Holy See trusted the tact and prudence of its own Commissary. He would safeguard the honour of God as well as the rights of others. The Jesuits later on would be of a different opinion.

Fra Giuseppe reached Cochin on the 14 May 1661. We shall not repeat here what has been related elsewhere. It may be remarked, however, that if to the Diocese of Cochin and to the Serra the Carmelites were superimposed, with no well defined territory of their own, with no clear mission, whether they were to do away with the Jesuits, or whether they were to work side by side, historical circumstances were mainly responsible, chief of whichwas the fall of Cochin, which for a long time made it so

(6) Cfr Brief MAGNA ACCESSIONE, dated 20-1-1660. Cfr also the Briefs PRO COMMISSA NOBIS (24-12-1659), REMEANTE AD ISTAS PARTES (20-1-1660) and GRATUM NOBIS (20-1-60. In the last the people of the Serra are warned that Ahatalla (see present vol. p 32) has never been sent to India by the Pope. He has deceived them in order to lead them in to his errors. (Cfr BULLARIUM PATRONATUS PORTUGALLIAE.)

difficult for Portuguese Priests to work in their anciet territories, It was then providential that other labourers entered into the vineyard, though it brought much heartburning, friction and recriminations. The more so that the new labourers were inexperienced, ignorant of the language, and more disposed to appeal to their Briefs than to consider ancient rights and historical associations. On the 20th Jan. 1664, Fra Giuseppe sailed from Goa and in due time reached Rome. In 1666-7 he was Apostolic Visitor to the Aegean Islands. He then became Bishop of Bisignano and subsequently of Citta' di Castello, where he died, 15 Oct, 1689. *

2. *Parambil Chandi* (*1663-1592?*) was the successor of Fra Giuseppe. His achievements are dealt with elsewhere. He used to sign himself METROPOLITIAN OF ALL INDIA, and, following the custom of the ancient Babylonian Prelates—GATE OF ALL INDIA. When old he was given [7]

3. *Don Rafael de Figueredo Salgado* (*1677 - 1695*) as Coadjutor. We have spoken of him in the previous Chapter. He was buried at Palliporto or Tekenpallipuram. Fra Paolino ends the short biography of this man with the words: *Ex paucis his lineis patet indorum ambitionem in sectandis honoribus et dignitatibus infinitam esse; cui publicam pacem et religionem facile sacrificant* [8]. How these strong words could be justified is explained in the IV chapter. Here it may be remarked that the Carmelites had been scarcely twenty years in Malabar when they began to experience the very same troubles and persecutions to which the Jesuits had been subjected for so long. The fault, we believe, lay neither with the Jesuits nor with the Carmelites, but with some ambitious priests, who misled the people, roused their passions and exploited their exaggerated nationalism, and their strange leaning to Armenian and Syrian Prelates.

* In the Appendix (No 9) we transcribe from the "Analecta" Fra Giuseppe's Epitaph and the titles of his main works.

7. IND. OR. XNA, p. 77.

8. Ib. pp. 78-9.

Here is a summary of two letters written by Frey *Bartholomew Hanna,* C. D., a Syrian from Aleppo, who had accompanied the Carmelites to Malabar. Since he knew Syriac, they thought he would be of great help in the reconciliation of the Schismatics. But his dialect differed from that used in Malabar, and he had to go to Ambalakad, the Jesuit Seminary in order to familiarize himself with Malayalam.

On the 5th Dec. 1685 he wrote from Rapolim to the Jesuit Provincial, Manoel Rodriguez, describing a meeting which had taken place there. The enemies of the Carmelites were so strong that they nearly succeeded in driving them out of the Serra. Four Carmelites were present. They heard the praises of the Jesuits, who—it was asserted—had worked so much for the people. And what had the Carmelites done? They had deceived the people. They were thieves, liars, deceivers (*sic.*) These insults were hurled on the poor Friars, who had refused to agree to certain proposals and to withdraw certain expressions. At three in the morning they left Rapolim very quietly and went back to Verapoly.

We need not take very seriously the uncouth behaviour of these excitable people. Yet, had Rome heard of it, she would perhaps have modified her views on Jesuit incompetence and mismanagement in the affairs of the Serra.

The second letter is dated 15th Dec. Fr. Hanna asserts that the meeting at Rapolim was the fourth one, and the whole Serra had agreed to be there. Judgement was pronounced on the Carmelites. They—as the Jesuits in olden times—were accused of keeping the money which was due to the Bishop and to the Priest Hanna. They sided now with the Bishop, now with the Archdeacon. "One cannot now mention the Carmelites in public. There is a growing conviction everywhere that for the Serra only the Jesuits will do". Fr. Matthew was of the same opinion.

4. *Fr. Angelus Francis a S. Theresia (1700-12).* Pope Innocent XII had, through the Emperor Leopold, negotiated

with Holland and obtained that some Carmelites might work in Malabar, provided they were not Portuguese; they had to avoid towns and forts and had to conform to the Dutch Company's laws[9].

Fr. Angelus Francis of the Piedmontese Province, was made Vicar Apostolic and consecrated by a Simeon, a Syrian Bishop [10]. He received from the Dutch Governor Abraham Vink, for himself and for his successors, the honour and right of entering the episcopal town, after consecration, in the Governor's carriage accompanied by 5,000 Christians, and of being received with military honours. Although now and then some Dutch Governors showed themselves unfriendly to Catholics, on the whole they put no obstacles in their way. But opposition — as was but natural — started from the Portuguese.

Pedro Pacheco, the Dominican Bishop of Cochin complained to the Holy See that by granting jurisdiction to the Carmelities the rights of Portugal had been violated. With him were united the Archbishop of Goa, Agostino de Annuntiasao, and the newly appointed Archbishop of Cranganore, the Jesuit Joao Ribeiro. Confusion reigned everywhere; the Catholics were divided and the reunion with the Schismatics was made impossible. Upon the appointment of Bishop Ribeiro, Bishop Angelo—as has been remarked already—told his people that his jurisdiction had ceased, and that now they had to obey the Archbishop of Cranganore. Some Cassanars refused and appealed to Rome.

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9. See Note I at the end of the Chapter. (Appendix.)

10. *Mar Simeon* was Bishop of Aden, when, at the instigation of the Nestorians, he was imprisoned by the Turks. With the help of a Capuchin he managed to escape, and found refuge in Surat. From Surat he sailed to Malabar where he consecrated Fr. Angelus Bishop (22-V-1701). After some time he went to Pondicherry, where he lived with the Capuchins. On the 16th August he fell into a well and was drowned. He was buried in the Church of St. Mary of the Angels in Pondicherry. (Cfr. *V. A. Pascal: The Latin and Syrian Hierarchies of Malabar* 1937, pp. 94, 95.)

Whether Rome understood the situation we do not know. Fra Paolino asserts the owing to Dutch opposition. the rights of Cochin and Cranganore had to be curtailed and on the 13th March 1709 Clement XI extended the jurisdiction of Bishop Angelus over Cochin and Cranganore. *The Mitras*, however, say just the contrary [11].

Bishop Angelus died in 1712 and was succeeded by

5. *Fr. John Baptist*, who was Vicar Apostolic till his death in 1750 [12]. It was under his regime that the Carmelite Fr. Dominic a S. Cruce established the Mission of Mahe' in 1725.

6. *Other Carmelite Bishops* were *Innocent of St. Leopold* (1734), who resigned; *Florentius of Jesus Nazarene* who was consecrated at Carwar (20th Apr. 1746). *Fra Paolino* calls him "a man strong and harsh, a good administrator, the hammer of the schismatics, the terror of malign priests, unconquered both by the dangers of war and the calamities of the times". He was visited by *Rama Varma*, Raja of Travancore, when he conquered Malabar (1761), and he made a very honorific reference to him in a public speech. He built the Seminary of Verapoly, a Catechumenate and a chapel and house at Muttanchera. He died in 1773, and during the funeral an unseemly quarrel broke out between Syrian and Latin Priests, which was the origin of serious trouble. It is from this that the Syrians endeavoured to find a pretext to secede, and to worry the Missionaries in every way [13]. The Bavarian *Bishop Francis De Sales* of *O. Lady of Dolours*, landed in Malabar in 1775. After various quarrels with the Missionaries, he resigned and died on Mount Carmel in 1787. In 1780 *Fr. John Mary* of St. Thomas was appointed, but died in Madras before his consecration. In 1784 *Fr. Aloysius Mary of Jesus* was chosen Bishop. He was consecrated in 1785 in Pondicherry. It was under him

11. See *Mitras*, p. 81. Cpr. also Fr. Hanxleden's letter in a subsequent Chapter.
12. See Mackenzie, Op. Cit. pp. 29-31; Raulinus, pp. 445-448.
13. INDIA OR. XNA. p. 81.

that various Priests of the Syrian rite, having gathered together a great crowd in the church of St. George at Angamale, swore that they would never submit to a foreign Bishop The *Coonen Cross* incident is repeated. Then it was against the Jesuits, now it is against the Carmelites. The leader then was *Thomas de Campo*, now it is *Thomas Paremakel* [14]. In those days the Jesuits were accused of having poisoned Ahatalla, now the unfortunate Carmelites are accused of having poisoned Bishop *Cariatil* [15], of having expelled the Syro-Chaldean *Mar Simon*, and of having imprisoned various Priests. The accusations are brought before the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore, and a regular trial is set up.

7. *Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo*, was Visitor in Malabar during these troublous times. He had brought a letter from the Pope addressed to the Raja of Travancore [16], which he himself presented at Trivandrum in June 1780. The Raja was so pleased that, besides ordering the firing of 11 guns in honour of the Pope, exempted the fields and coconut groves belonging to the Carmelite Mission from taxation. The Raja's benevolence was turned to account, for, in the quarrel with the separatist Priests *Fra Paolino's* able defence was appreciated, and the separatists were fined 12,000 Roman scudi [17]. When Fra Paolino returned to Rome he presented to the Pope a letter of the Raja of Travancore; further, in 1790, he wrote a Report to the Propaganda which gives a clear idea of the conditions of the Church in Malabar at this time. Speaking of

(a) *Church Organization*, he says that in Malabar there are over 300,000 Christians. They live partly under the Archbishop of Cranganore and the Bishop of Cochin, and partly under the Carmelites. The Schismatics are ruled by *Mar Thomas*. Both Cranganore and Cochin are in the hands of the Dutch. Hence

14. Ib. pp. 81-2. About Thomas Pareamakel see present vol. p. 92-93.
15. About Bishop Cariatil, see present vol. p. 92-93.
16. See Appendix No. 3.
17. See INDIA OR XNA, pp. 222-3.

the Archbishop of Cranganore lives at Puchota, or at Putenchera, or in some other Parish under the Rajas of Travancore or of Cochin. Similarly the Bishop of Cochin lives at Anjengo. Cochin comprises over 100 Churches. In Travancore there are some 12 Goan Priests, and the same number on the Fishery Coast. There are also 4 ex-Jesuits "but should they die, the Church in the Serra will surely be extinguished". In the Archdiocese of the Serra there are 84 Syro Chaldean Churches and 16 Latin ones. The number of Priests—clerics included—is about 300. The right of nomination to these two Dioceses belongs to Portugal, but the Sees are often vacant. Under the Vicar Ap. (Carmelite) there are 24 Latin Churches and 64 Syrian. The Latin Priests are 34, the Syrians 120. The Schismatics have 32 Churches and 80 Priests. Mar Thomas lives at Neronam.

(b) *Civil Conditions.* "*Tippu Sultan* of Mysore, has persecuted the Church in Mysore, in Kanara, in Malabar. He has razed to the ground the Catholic Churches, he has exiled the Priests, he has bound the Christians in chains; sometimes, after having tied them to the feet of elephants, he commanded that they should be rolled on the ground. Many were forcibly circumcised, others recruited for the army. The reason for all this was that in the last war with the English, some Canarin Priests, subject to Goa, had sold rice to the English and had shown them the way. The Mahommedans, of course, accused them to Tippu, who took his revenge [18]. That this was not entirely false, Fra Paolino thinks probable, for he himself was shown a paper by an Englishman, where it was averred that these imprudent Priests had favoured the English.

"After the French—who were Tippu's Allies-asked him to admit Catholic Priests into his dominions, he was less opposed to our religion". Here the worthy Friar advises Rome to send some Priests to Mysore, learned in Astronomy and Medicine, who will gain access to the Court, and will help to re-establish Catholicism. He adds that he despairs of Portuguese efforts in reorganising these Missions. They promise much, they create a good deal of confusion, but they do nothing to help religion. He then refers the reader to the Report of the ex-Jesuit Padre Pavone (which, so far, we have not found). With regard to the *Raja of Cochin* Fra *Paolino* says that he is very friendly to the Vicars Apostolic, but he complains about the conversion work carried on by the same.

"The *Raja of Travancore* is kind and humane. While the Raja of Cochin is allied with the Dutch, Travancore sides with the English, and is therefore against Tippu. He is a great friend of the Carmelites. The Governor General of the *Dutch Company* resides in Cochin. He is a German, and like most German Governors, he is free from Protestant fanaticism. He protects the Carmelites and their Christians. Since, however, the various conventions made between the Fathers and the Dutch are interpreted according to the Governor's pleasure, there will be trouble unless the Bishops take care to win his good graces. The Bishops will do well to keep this in mind and Rome might some times write to the Governors, for they are very pleased to receive a letter from the Pope. They will do nothing for the love of religion, but they will do a good deal from self-love, from friendship, or to gain honour. Both Dutch and English care much for persons, nothing for religion [19].

(c) *Conversions.* Every Missionary is convinced that the best thing he can bring to the people among whom he works, is the call of Christ. Hence all his

18. On the Persecutions of Tippu we shall write elsewhere.

19. See *Notitia*, pp. 9-11.

endeavours to remove superstition, to combat vice, to enlighten the mind, to strengthen the heart. He is often misunderstood, but, if he is true to his vocation, he does not mind it, provided Christ be known and followed. From Ambalakad the Jesuits worked quietly and unobtrusively at the evangelisation of the people, and every year they brought to Christ's fold some 400 persons. The Carmelites did the same. Knowing, however, that the Indian Princes did not favour conversions they had to proceed warily.

The seceding Syrians accused them of converting the people, and in 1784 Cembaga Raman, the Minister of the Raja of Travancore started a great persecution. Fra Paolino asserts that 20,000 Christians fled to the mountains and 300 of them were tormented most cruelly in the Fort of Patmanaboram. He himself witnessed the cruelty of the soldiers. He tried all possible means to calm the storm, and he succeeded, though the goods of which the Christians had been deprived by the Diwan, were never returned to them [20].

In 1787 the seceding Syrians stole from the Archives of Verapoly the lists of annual conversions and brought them to the Secretary of the Raja of Travancore, who flourished them in the face of Fra Paolino, as if they were conclusive proof of the Father's bad faith. Fra Paolino defended the Missionaries as best he could. Finally the Diwan, Padmanaba Cembaga Rama Pillay, turned smiling to the Secretary and told him: "Why all this excitement? After all the difference between Christianity and Hinduism is not great, and many of the new converts come back to us". The argument was wrong; but it was hardly the place to start a theological disputation. Another storm was averted, and the Christians could live in peace [21].

20. Ib. p. 18.
21. INDIA OR. XNA. pp. 89-90.

Since the main object of the first Carmelite Mission to Malabar was to bring about the reconciliation of the Schismatics to the Church, the Carmelites never lost sight of it. Here, however, is the result of Fra Paolino's experience "I often spoke of conversion to Mar Thomas; but I never found in him a good and sincere will to take the step. Both he and his predecessors showed a certain desire to return to the Church only when they noticed trouble or dissension among Catholics. Then they could fish in troubled waters, and perhaps draw to themselves one of the contending parties. Besides, they seem to be more anxious about getting a mitre than about the true faith" [22].

(*d*) *The Missionaries.* From the Decree of the 1st April 1698 [23] it is clear that the Dutch allowed only Italian, Belgian or German Missionaries. Their duty was to preach the word of God, to hear Confessions, to instruct the faithful and the Catechumens in Christian Doctrine, to see that the Priests fulfilled their duties, to attend the major feasts and see that no quarrels broke out among the people, to visit the churches, to take care that the property of the churches was well administered, to bring back the Schismatics to the true faith, to put down litigation, to free the Christians from the unjust vexations of pagan officials, to extirpate superstitions, pagan customs and plays, to punish men and women living in sin and to help them to mend their ways, to attend the sick, to see that Christians did their Easter duties, to give good example to all, to visit the churches in order to promote everywhere order and discipline, and finally to govern the Christians in peace and tranquillity. The people often thought that the Missionaries received plenty of money from Propaganda, to carry on their work. They

22. See *Notitia*, p. 24.
23. See Appendix.

were mistaken, as they were at the time of the Jesuits. Fra Paolino informs us that the lands, the benefices the Mass stipends and the grants from Propaganda to maintain four Missionaries amounted to Rs. 1161/- per annum. Their yearly expenses were Rs. 1947/- Their debts amounted to Rs. 4722/-[24].

APPENDIX

1. The Amsterdam Decree. Whereas it is known that the Batavian Society of the East Indies on the Malabar Coast possesses various territories, towns and patrols, and whereas some Discalced Carmelites, under one Bishop, have already been found in these from the earliest times of its occupation; and whereas the Society had already conceded and consented to this and other immunities and liberties: wherefore, by the present Decree, the Prefect and the Senate of Cochin are ordered and directed to give and concede to the Discalced Carmelites and one of these Bishops the same privileges immunities and liberties as before, even as Don Alexander de Campo (Bishop of Megara) and D. Joseph Sebastiani (Bishop of Hierapolis and Vicar Apostolic) were enjoying them before, provided the aforesaid Fathers do not fix or assume or conserve their sees and habitations in the abovesaid towns and patrols and on this condition that those Religious be Belgians, Germans or Italians, and moreover, their intercourse and their public conduct are acceptable to the Society and they are amenable to the civil and municipal laws of the self-same Society like other colonists and local inhabitants. Thus decreed at Amsterdam in the XVII Senate of the Directors of the Batavian Society of the East Indies the 1st April, 1698.

2. Dutch Governors of Cochin. 1663 Pieter de Bitter and Charles Valkenburg, having beaten the Portuguese, conquered Cochin. The Franciscans were allowed to remain. Many Catholics moved from Cochin to the Island of Vaypin.

1663 Ludolff Colster.
1666 Ysbrand Goske.
1668 Lucas Van der Dussen.
1669 Hendrik Adrian van Rheede, the friend of Fr. Mathew of St. Joseph, C. D. d. at Surat Dec. 15, 1691.
1677 Jacob Lobs.
1678 Martin Huysman.

24. See *Notitia*, pp. 18-9.

1684 Gelmer Vosburg, opposed to the Catholics.
1687 Isaak Van Dielen, who favoured the Carmelites.
1694 Adrian van Immen.
1697 Magnus Wighelmann.
1701 Abraham Vink, who granted all the honours, mentioned above, to Bishop Angelo a S. Theresia.
1704 Willem Moerman.
1708 Adam van der Duyn.
1709 Barend Ketel—the friend of P. Hanxleden, S. J.
1716 Johannes Hertenberg, opposed to the Carmelites.
1723 Jacob de Jong.
1731 Adrian Maten.
1734 Julius Valentyn Hein V. Gollenesse.
1742 Reinicus Siersma.
1747 Coryn Stevens.
1752 Fredrik Cunes.
1757 Gaspar de Jong.
1761 Godefridus Weirman.
1767 N. Senf, favourable to the Catholics.
1773 Adrianus Moens, to whom Clement XIV addressed a Brief, recommending the Catholic Missions. The same Pope wrote also to Rama Varmer (2—7—1774) the Raja of Travancore.
1782 Johannes Gerard. Van Angelbeek, who favoured the Catholics.

3. Pope's, Letters to the Raja of Travancore. There are two, one of Pope Clement XIV dated 2—7—1774, the other of Pope Pius VI dated 24—2—1790. Both are given in *India Or. Christiana*, pp. 264-6. The Raja is thanked for the benevolence he shows to the Carmelites. The Popes beg of him to extend his protection to the Christianss, both Latin and Syrian, assuring him of the Christians' loyalty. They end by praying to God that He may deign to give the Raja His grace and His light.

4. Padre Vincenzo's Description of the Christians of St. Thomas. He says that among the Malayalees they are the best, for the faith seems to perfect their natural qualities. Though divided in social matters into two chief groups—the Nordists and the Sudists—they are at one in matters of faith. They are shrewd, well spoken, somewhat prolix, diplomatic, ceremonious. They are well built, they never cut their hair, but they adorn it

with a cross of gold or silver, or with the scapular. Though always well armed, murders are unknown among them. On going to church they leave their guns or spears in the porch outside. The Princes in whose dominions the Christians are numerous, are feared. In criminal cases the Christians depend on the Rajas, in civil cases, on the Bishop. Testaments are not made in writing, but by word of mouth. They are scrupulously observed.

The Christians come next after the Brahmins. If a Gentile hits a Christian, he must make it up by bringing to the church a silver or a gold hand, as an offering. They do not touch members of inferior castes. The Bishop among them is like a Prince. Their ordinary Mass—which is in Syriac—lasts over one hour; solemn Mass, more than three. The best families dedicate their children to the Priesthood, not only for the gain which they derive from it, but also because the Priests are much respected. Should a Gentile kill a Priest, the Christians will never rest till they have killed the Raja in revenge. In every church there is a copy of the Bible, covered with silver and gold. Their fasts are many and very severe. Their churches are comfortable; some splendid; all wealthy. They keep some Nayar slaves, who have been offered by their parents. The churches enjoy the privilege of immunity. At times there are banquets in the churches. Like every body else in Malabar, they are constantly chewing betel, except during Lent; and this is for them a very great mortification. Like Nayars and Noblemen, they may ride on elephants. Their women are very modest.

5. *Padre Vincenzo's remarks on the Christians subject to the Portuguese.* He says (p. 190) that they are of three kinds. The first, called *Regnicoli*, are soldiers from Portugal. The second are *Misticii*, born from Portuguese soldiers and Indian women. The third are *Slaves* converted to the faith. The first—with the exception of the nobility—are the dregs of Portugal, restless, often guilty of some crime, or exiled. The second are badly brought up, most effeminate and sensual. The third are rude, fierce, unable to do any skilled work. In a climate all a-fire, the inclination to evil grows strong in everyone. Some deem it necessary. The hatred, aversion and enmity with which they fight one another for the least reason, surpass all belief. Their lasciviousness is very great. Men and women live in constant laziness, passing the greater part of the day almost naked, without regard or respect to difference of sex. They are always chewing betel, which is a very hot leaf, mixed with cardamom and areca. They smoke a good deal. All this sets their inside—which is already heated by the climate—on fire. From these general causes one can sufficiently understand the condition of these people. The Friar concludes with the words: "I do not enter into particulars lest I should offend the reader's modesty".

6. *Fra Paolino's Description of the Latin Christians.* About 30,000 of them are to be found in the territory of the Dutch Company, in Cochin, and within a radius of 6 leagues, excepting those who live in Travancore. What has been asserted by some Frenchmen and by English heretics is false; namely that these and other new Latin Christians have been gathered from the lowest castes. In fact some of them are Brahmins and many are Nayars, which is a high caste. But the greatest number are artisans, namely Cegos, and Thyians, who cultivate the coconut grove. They observe the laws of the country in civil matters; moreover they are under the protection of the Dutch. Hence they are a very powerful and respectable community. They live together in villages and towns, under their own officials and headmen; two of these, called captains, are the highest, and they represent the people with the Rajas or with the Dutch, they settle disputes, they plead for justice, they protest against unjust taxation or other forms of oppression. This is another reason why so many Gentiles are converted to the faith.

See *Notitia* p. 17.

7. *An XVIII Century Controversy on the Indigenous Clergy.* Urbano Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation of *Propaganda*, in a book entitled *An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion Throughout the World. Written for the Use of Pope Innocent XI—Now First Translated from an Authentic Italian Ms Never Published (London, 1715)* gives four main reasons for the training of an indigenous Clergy;

(1) The Natives know the language better than the Europeans;

(2) In time of persecution they remain in the land, while the Europeans have to leave;

(3) This was the practice of the Apostles;

(4) Less expensive.

Fra Paolino answers that these reasons are more theoretical than practical. As to the *Language*; undoubtedly they know it better than the Europeans; but are they zealous and diligent in preaching?

"With regard to *Persecutions*; the indigenous Clergy are more afraid for their relations, houses and goods; hence more easily do they run the danger of giving up the faith and connive with the persecutor; or if, having given up their worldly possessions, they wish to keep the faith, they are the first to run away, as I and others have observed. It should also be remembered that almost always Gentiles and Mahomedans persecute most fircely the indigenous Clergy In fact it is asked, why should they abandon the religion of their forefathers? Are they not subject to Gentile Rajas or Mohamedan Princes? Hence by what authority, by whose permission have they turned Christian? Bad Catholics are the very first to accuse them, and moved by envy or revenge, they are the first to betray them. Finally they are by nature light-headed and inconstant".

As to the *Expenses;* the Sacred Congregation must spend more for them than for the Missionaries, as is clear from a careful examination of accounts.

" That the *Apostles* preached the Gospel and spread the faith in this manner is sure. But Church History teaches that in ancient times many foreigners were ordained in various kingdoms, nor were the preachers always indigenous and national, but Bishops and Priests were sent to various places to plant and establish the faith. Hence I hold that Mgr. Cerri's thesis is to be tempered and moderated in this way, that a national Clergy should be established and kept up in those countries which are well formed, nourished and strengthened in the faith, which from ancient times have had their own Bishops and Priests, of their own rite, and where the people is ruled and governed by royal or public authority. Now this cannot be said of Malabar. For it is true that the Malabars always had their own indigenous Priests, but they never had a national Bishop. For, from the most ancient times their Bishops, both Nestorian and Jacobite, were foreigners, and so were the Latin Bishops, as it is evident from History; secondly the Malayalees have been converted from Nestorianism to Catholicism; thirdly they live among heathen and Mahomedans, and are subject to them, nor are they supported by public or royal authority unless they bribe it; fourthly they are not yet sufficiently strong in the faith, nor is the schism extinct yet; fifthly because the people has never contributed sufficient funds to maintain the Bishop, nor in all probability will they do so in future. In fine because this thesis seems to favour too much independence, freedom, party spirit and factions. Hence my opinion is that the Missionaries should be kept and united with the natives, nor should ever the Catholic Religion be solely entrusted to the Indians. Nothing is harsher than the lowly, when he rises very high ".

See *Notitia* pp. 12-14

8. *On the sending of young Levites to Rome.* This is what Fra Paolino writes on the subject: "These young students have the temperament and character proper to their land and climate; hence they have the Indian virtues and defects. They go to Rome, they see with their own eyes, they hear, they learn the vices and moral corruption of Europe. The doctrines and various opinions which they are not capable of judging aright they learn and remember. They return to their country, and these very theories and vices which they have learned in Europe, they bring back and relate to their compatriots. With a loud voice they say that they have seen and heard worse things in Rome than in India, and of course they are believed. To this add the ambition, the desire to be above the rest, the love of independence from which are derived the factions, rebellions, tumults, the weakening of religion and ecclesiastical discipline, as we have seen, and can still be seen in India. Eminent men are of opinion that...the greatest prudence is necessary in choosing these young men, that they have to be seriously tried in Seminaries and Colleges, and that they should neither be ordained Priests nor be entrusted with the care of souls, or with teaching work, before they are thirty years of age...Neither Rome, nor India brings forth men naturally good, but this is achieved by good teachers, right education, love of virtue, a discrete age, free from passions. Let these conditions be observed and the Sacred Congregation can have better students in India just as the French Missionaries have, who send them neither to Rome, nor to Paris. Besides, it will cost far less ".

See *Notitia*, p. 14.

" No one denies, however, that some may be usefully sent to Rome, if they are humble, obedient, eminent in learning and knowledge. Not those, however, who, no sooner they have shaken off the dust of the schools, than they wish to domineer, oppose the Vicars Apostolic, foment discord among the Priests and tumults among the populace; they break their promises, they do not keep the oaths they have taken in Rome, and they spread calumnies even against the Sacred Congregation ".

See *Notitia*, p. 21.

9. *Fra Giuseppe's Epitaph and main works.*

D. O. M.
VEN. EP. JOSEPH A S. MARIA DE SEBASTIANIS
BIS AD MALABARES, AD ARCHIPELAGUM SEMEL
DELEGATUS APOSTOLICUS
HIEROPOL., BISIANEN. et DEMUM CIVITATIS CASTELLANAE
EPISCOPUS VIGILANTISSIMUS

HIC DORMIT.
QUI DUM PERMANERET IN VIGILIIS MULTIS
HOC PRAE HUMILITATE SIBI MONIMENTUM
P A R A V I T.

FOLIUM
DE REFORMATI CARMELI SILVA
PER ORBEM A VENTIS RAPTUM,
OVIUMQUE PABULUM UBIQUE NOXIUM
ET SUB HOC TANDEM LAPIDE CLAUSUM
PEDES HOMINUM
CONCULCATE

We add here also a list of his works, chiefly those which relate to the History of the Church in Malabar.

1. *Processus informativus* fabricatus ab Adm. R. P. fr. Josepho a s. Maria Carm. Disc., et Commiss. Ap., contra Thoman de Campo Archidiaconum Serrae, ob schisma haereticale perpetratum in sua intrusione, scriptus a P. Vincentio a S. Catherina Sen., C. D., Secretario dicti P. Josephi,

Explicit..." haec omnia peracta die 23 nov. 1657, Coccini in domo Vicarii Eccl. S. Thomae". 31 ff. ms.; 26, 5 : 20 cm., ling. lat, A. P. Scritt. rif. Asia; India Or.; Vol. 232, ff. 115-145.

2. *Breve Racconto* di tutto l'operato dal P. fr. Gioseppe di , s. Maria, Carm. Sc. con i compagni nella sua commissione sopra lo scisma ereticale de' Xni di S. Thome nella Serra...29 ff. ms; 26, 5 : 19 cm; in ling. it. sine data, A. P. Scritt. rif., Asia Ind. Or., Vol. 233, ff. 111—139.

Est relatio, quam fecit P. Joseph Roman reversus mense febr. 1659, S. Congregationi de Propag. F. de rebus gestis in executione commissionis sibi a. 1656 iniunctae ad Serram Malabaricam.

3. "*Racconto* di quanto passo' nella prima Agionta che si fece d'alcune Chiese della Christianita della Serra in quella di Rapolim alli 19 maggio 1657.

"*Racconto* di quanto passo' nella Giunta di Mutuano, e S. Theme.
"*Racconto* di quanto passo' nei trattati che si fecero in Mangati fra il popolo, Archidiacono, e li PP. Matteo di S. Gioseppe, Vincenzo Maria di S. Cat. di Siena, P. Emanuele Vas, P. Cristoforo de Miranda, sopra la riduttione del medesimo Archidiacono, et aggiustamento di questa Christianita, , .

20 ff. ms.; 31 : 22cm.; ling. ital.; AP.—Scritt. rif., Asia, Indie Or., vol. 233, f. 254v—273v.

Agitur in his quoque relationibus, factis a P. Josepho a S. Maria, post eius primum reditum in Urbem ex Indiis (1659), de Supradicta commissione quoad reducendos Christianos schismaticos Serrae Malabaricae; est summa eorum, quae amplius narrantur in ejusdem P. Josephi opere edito; *Prima speditione all' Indie Or.*, lib. II, c. 3, 7, 10.

4. "*Breve racconto* di tutto l' operato da Mons. Fr. Gioseppe di S. Maria, Vescovo di Hierapoli, et Administratore Apostolico d'Angamali, e da' PP. Fr. Marcello di S. Yvone, Fr. Giov. Taddeo da S. Brigida, e Fr. Gottifredo di S. Andrea, Carm. Scalzi suoi compagni nella seconda commissione in detto Arcivescovado".

25 ff. ms., in ling. ital.; 31 : 22 cm.; AP.—Scritt. rif., Asia, Indie Or., vol. 233, f. 182-207.

Est relatio quam porrexit Pa. Joseph secunda vice Roman reversus a. 1665, S. Congregationi de Propag F. de sua expeditione in Malabariam, et continetur amplius in suo opere; *Seconda Speditione*, etc.

5. "*Breve racconto* di quanto in Goa e successo a Mons. di Hierapoli Fra Giuseppe di S. Maria".
8 ff. ms.; 28 : 21, 5 cm.; ling. ital.;
AP.—Scritt. rif. Asia, Indie Or., vol. 233, f. 208—215;
Est relatio de iis, quae D. Fr. Joseph a S. Maria, post suam ex Malabaribus expulsionem Goae operatus est, illuc vocatus a Vice-Rege ad sedandas discordias in Capitulo cathedrali, a. 1663-4. Diffusius continetur in eiusdem P. Josephi opere edito: *Seconda Speditione*, lib. III.

6. *Prima Speditione* / All'Indie / Orientali / Del P. Fr. Giuseppe di Santa Maria, / Carmelitano Scalzo, / Delegato Apostolico / Ne' Regni de' Malavari. / Ordinata da Nostro Signore / Alessandro / Settimo. / In Roma, / Nella Stamperia di Filippo M. Mancini. — *MDCLXVI.* / Con licenza de' superiori. / A spese de' Signori D. Giuseppe, e Sebastiano Sebastiani, / Da Caprarola, Nipoti dell' Autore. /
1 vol. i. 8°; 5 ffnc 275 pp. 2 ffnc.
Auctor narrat omnes vicissitudines expeditionis suae in terras Malabarium, omnia quae peregit in ordine ad reducendam Christianitatem schismaticam ad unionem cum Ecclesia Romana; ac describit terras et oppida, quae vidit in suo itinere.

7. "*Visita Apostolica* dell' Isole dell' Arcipelago e del Mar' Ionio. Fatta dall Ill.mo e Rev. mo Mons. Sebastiani, Fr. Giuseppe di S. Maria, Vescovo di Hierapoli, cominciata nel mese di december del 1666, e finita nel mese d' Aprile del 1667".
162 ffn. ms.; 31 : 22 cm.; ling. ital. et latin.

AP.—Visite dell'Arcipelago, vol. 32; f 4^r — 166^r.
Continet omnia Acta, Documenta, ordinationes factas, ac relationes de visitatione Apostolica peracta in Ecclesiis Maris Aegaei, ac Zacynthi et Cephaloniae, per D. P. Josephum a S. Maria, a. 1666-7.

8. *Breve Racconto* / Della / Vita, / Missione, e Morte Gloriosa Del ven. P. M. F. / Francesco / Donati / Romano / Dell'Ordine Dei Predicatori. / Descritto da Monsignor Sebastiani / Fr. Giuseppe di S. Maria / Vescovo di Bisignano. / In Roma / Nella Stamperia di Filippo Mancini. 1669. / Con licenza de' Superiori. /
1 vol. 1. 8°; 115 pp; 33 ffnc.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JACOBITES (1665-1808).

CONTENTS.

APPENDIX

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10. *The Social and Socio-Ecclesiastical Customs* of the Syrian Christians in India by V. Rev. *Fr. Placid, T. O. C. D.* (*The Eastern Churches Quarterly*—Vol, VII, N, 4—1947).

1. Origins.

To trace the origin of the Malabar Jacobites we must go back to the great Christological discussions of the V century. The subtle Greeks, the intelligent Syrians, the practical Latins, were confronted with the mystery of Christ. Who was He? That a divine element had streamed into Him, all admitted. But how, in what manner, did it happen? The orthodox answer given to Nestorius by St. Cyril of Alexandria and solemnly proclaimed at Chalcedon was that in the Second Person of the Trinity (the Word) were united two natures, the divine and the human.

Nestorius would not admit that the Word had become Flesh. He maintained that Christ was not God. He was God's Ambassador, God's Prophet, God's Temple—the highest of all Prophets, the most holy of all men—but finally only a prophet, only a man.

Though the error was stigmatized at Ephesus, it did not die there.

Nestorius disappeared from the scene, but his followers made Edessa, in Syria, the centre of their activities.

Already in 424, at the Synod of Markabta, the Chaldaean Bishops had declared themselves independent of "*The Western Fathers*", the *Catholicos* of Seleucia—Ctesiphon had assumed the title of Patriarch, and "The Easterners"—so ran the Decree—"shall not complain of the Patriarch to the Western Patriarchs; every case that cannot be settled by him shall await the tribunal of Christ".

This, of course, meant schism; it meant the separation of the Chaldaeans from the West; it meant that for them the Primacy had shifted from Rome to Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

The Nestorians found a good ground in this land; but in 457 they were exiled by Byzantium, and their leader, Bar Soma, went to Persia. He became Bishop of Nisibis, and spread Nestorianism in Persia and elsewhere.

Zeno—the Byzantine Emperor—closed the School of Edessa and banished the remaining Nestorians from the Roman Empire. The few, who accepted Ephesus, were called Melchites, or

followers of the King's party. Being ever suspected by the Persians, they took refuge in the mountains of Azerbajan.

The Nestorians suffered little or no persecution at the hands of the Persian Kings. They never accepted Ephesus and invoked—as they do even now—as Saints, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus and Nestorius. St. Cyril of Alexandria, the champion of Mary's divine motherhood, was to them as black as "the darkness of Egypt".

In Malabar also—prior to the fateful date 1599—the trio Theodore, Diodore and Nestorius will be publicly invoked as Saints in the Liturgy.

Many Armenians, however, accepted neither Cyril nor Nestorius; or rather, being misled by some unguarded expressions of Cyril, admitted that the human nature in Christ was absorbed by the divinity. The Copts maintained that the humanity and the divinity in Christ formed one composite nature. Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, accepted this error (Monophysism). The error declined under Justinian, but it was revived by a man called *Jacobus Zanzalus* who laboured to propagate it till his death (578). Zanzalus is better known as *Baradaeus* or "the ragged man". It is from him that the Jacobites take their name.

Among the various Patriarchs of Antioch (the Orthodox residing in Damascus, the Maronite in the Monastery of Kanobeen, the Roman at Aleppo), the Jacobite Patriarch had settled at Amida (Diarbeker on the Tigris), but lived most of the time in the Monastery of St. Ananias, Mar Mardin.

In honour of the great Ignatius of Antioch, all the Jacobite Patriarchs since the XVI Century bear the name of Ignatius.

We have mentioned above how Thomas de Campos in his endeavours to gain independence from Archbishop Garcias, wrote to the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria at Cairo, and to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, asking each one of them to send an Archbishop to the Serra. Ahatalla came, and we know how tragically his mission ended.

It is not clear which of the Patriarchs sent him; but since he betrayed Nestorian leanings, he probably came from Babylon.

It is said that at one time the Jacobite Patriarch claimed jurisdiction over 103 Bishops, and 20 Metropolitan Sees. In the course of times the Sees dwindled to 5; namely Diarbeker, Mossul, Maadan, Aleppo and Jerusalem.

From one of these came *Gregory* in 1665, and, as we have related, it is to Gregory that the Jacobites of Malabar owe their origin. Gregory ordained Mar *Thomas I*, who consummated the schism, in collaboration with *Ittythoman*.

Mar Thomas died on the 12th Medam 1670, two days before Mar Gregory.

He was succeeded by his nephew, Mar *Thomas II*, who ruled till 3rd Medam 1686.

2. The Immediate Successors of the Archdeacon Mar Thomas.

Ten years before the death of *Mar Thomas II* a Jacobite named *Andreas Alvaeus* arrived in Malabar. He showed a Brief, which he asserted he had obtained from the Pope and did not find great difficulty in gathering some followers. He was a drunkard and was drowned in a river. For a long time the simple people used to honour his memory by offering cocks and hens at his grave.

In January 1685 the Marphianus (Suffragan?...) *Basilius* came to India from the Monastery of St. Matthew, near Mosul. Basilius died at Kottamangalam ten days after his arrival.

He was accompanied by Bishop *Johannes*, well provided with papal (?...) Briefs. Thomas, however, would have nothing to do with him; in fact, he opposed him most determinedly. But Thomas died in 1686, while Johannes lived on and became a famous Syriac poet. He died at Mulanturuttu in 1694.

The successor of Thomas II was his nephew *Thomas III*, a layman. He resided at Pattona Parur, Rapolim, Neronam Kottayam. In order to rule alone in Malabar he tried his best to get recognition both from Ignatius, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and from the Pope of Rome.

In 1704 a certain *Gabriel* arrived in Calicut. He professed himself a Catholic and even sent a Profession of Faith to Rome. Thus he hoped to gain the Thomas Christians to his party. His hailing from Antioch would be recommendation enough for the Schismatics. He succeeded in pleasing nobody. Rome rejected his Profession of Faith and Propaganda sent him the formula edited by Pope Urban VIII. The Carmelite Bishop Angelus was instructed to keep his eyes wide open, and not to allow himself to be deceived by fine words.

Later on Gabriel will show his Nestorian leanings.

Visscher in his *Letters from Malabar* thus speaks of Mar Gabriel: "Mar Gabriel, a white man, and sent hither from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance, and dresses nearly in the same fashion as the Jewish priests of old, wearing a cap fashioned like a turban and a long white beard. He is courteous and God-fearing and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp. Round his neck he wears a golden crucifix.

"He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from animal food. He holds the Nestorian doctrine respecting the union of the two natures in our Saviour's person.

"*Mar Thomas*, the other Bishop, is a native of Malabar. He is dull and slow of understanding. He lives in great state; and when he came into the city to visit the Commandeur, he was attended by a number of soldiers bearing swords and shields, in imitation of the Princes of Malabar. He wears on his head a silken cowle, embroidered with crosses, in form much resembling that of the Carmelites. He is a weakminded rhodomontader, and boasted greatly to us of being a Eutichian in his creed, accusing the rival Bishop of heresy. According to his own account, he has 45 churches under his authority, the remainder adhering to Bishop Gabriel".

Thomas was much annoyed by the proceedings of Gabriel and protested in a letter, which he addressed to "the Primate of the Royal Syrian Priesthood...to Mar Ignatius Patriarch, triumphing with the triumph of the Apostles...President of the illustrious throne of Antioch, the IV Patriarchate...Steward of

the house of God, Head of the Catholic Church...diligently feeding the flock of the Eastern Pastures...

"Professing obedience to Your high authority...I ask of You, my Lord, the peace of O. Lord Jesus Christ...May the same be with You.

"I am utterly unworthy to write this letter...but I wrote solely on account of the great distress of the Syrian believers, well worthy of praise now dwelling in Hindoo...that You would be pleased to send us a Patriarch and a Marphianus, and two elders, such as are learned and qualified in the reading of the H. Scriptures. For these Hindoos are like sheep having no shepherd; they have scarcely the understanding to discern between good and evil; but dwelling among heathens, infidels and idolaters, are sunk in the deep gulf of sin; neither have they any certain dwelling.

"O my Lord, put forth thy right hand and bring us up from this gulf of sin.

"There came some time ago into our country Mar Gregory, a Patriarch of Jerusalem; and after him came the renowned Basil, a Catholicos of the East, and with him Mar Junius (Johannes ?...), a Metropolitan.

"After their death we were as sheep without a shepherd.

"Then came a certain one, who said he was Metropolitan of Nineve, and that Mar Elias, the Catholicos, had sent him. His name was *Gabriel*, and his faith in Christ was this, that there are two natures and two persons. Scandal. He spoke much against Mary, the Mother of God.

"Wherefore we believe him not. But a certain excommunicated Elder, named Matthew, went over to him, and believed him. Whereupon arose much confusion among us.

"After this I went to the Viceroy at the Fort of Cochin, and related to him these circumstances. Then said he to me: Send a letter through me to your spiritual Fathers, and I will deliver it to Mar Ignatius of Antioch.

"Wherefore I look unto you for the said Bishops and for the cause of God. Send us the Missionaries with all speed. So be it. Amen.

"This letter is written from the Church of Candenatte called O. Lady, Virgin, Mother of God. In the cup (?...) of Our Lord, in the year 1709".

Assemani gives another letter, written from Pharabur Pattona, on the 25th day of the month Elul (September) 1720.

When the first letter reached Amsterdam, the Dutch handed it to Dr. Charles Schaaf, lecturer of Oriental languages at Leyden. He translated it and then he entered into correspondence with Mar Thomas.

Thomas will speak of him as "an Orientalist of repute, a learned man and a proved philosopher, our dearest and most beloved companion... We have written to him in order that the matter may be made known to Antioch, that you (the Patriarch of Antioch) through the mercy of God may write one letter to the honourable Commandant who dwells in Cochin, which town is subject to the King of all India, and another letter to us; that it may bring help to us against our enemies and the infidel kings for ever: and that above all you will with the utmost care supplicate King Comphocius, who greatly honours the Dutch and is very illustrious among kings. This King gives justice in accordance with equity and receives the petitions of the poor and greatly honours all his nation.

"And all these honour Antioch and despise Rome; and they are right. Amen.

"My Lord, fiery Ignatius, take action without delay and diligently look after all this business, forgetting no part of it, through the living God. Amen ... The Gate of all India" The Elder Matthew, who had abandoned Thomas, and had joined Gabriel wrote also to Amsterdam, praising Gabriel, who had remained impartial between the Thomas party and the Portuguese, in order to detach the Syrians from the Portuguese or Western alliance. Therefore, if the Dutch (*domini nostri illustres et benedicti*) were to give timely help to Gabriel, all the

Syrians would join together and the deceitful Feringhi would not be in India for ever."

He ends by asserting that all this has been written by the hand of Matthew, a Syrian Priest, miserable and humble and vile.

Gabriel wrote to Amsterdam as well (15-3-1720), asking Scnaaf to send him a New Testament. He complains that of the 42 churches who had sided with him, 20, owing to the endeavours of the Jesuits, had gone back to Rome. He makes the Nestorian Profession of Faith. Eight years before, however, he had written to Rome from Changanacherry (5-10-1712), making an orthodox Profession of Faith, and protesting that he would not move a step without the advice of the Carmelites.

Meanwhile the Protestants had gained a foothold is Tranquebar. In 1725 they sought to join hands with Thomas, and sent him a New Testament in Tamil.

In 1728 Thomas writes to the Dutch Company (Comphocius?) and to the Governor General in Batavia, accusing both the Jesuits and the Carmelites of stirring up the native Princes against the Dutch, and begging of them to rid Malabar of these pests.

A useless attempt was made Valerius Nicolai, a Dutchman, to effect a reconciliation between Thomas and Gabriel and one year later (1730), when Gabriel was on his deathbed, he invited Thomas to come and make peace. He refused.

3. DARK YEARS.

It is difficult to establish the year of Thomas's death. His sister's son—another Thomas—was declared his successor. Since he knew he was not validly consecrated, he turned to a certain Ezekiel, a Cochin Jew, who produced an Asiatic Bishop named John, who was ready to consecrate Thomas. But Thomas doubted whether John was a Bishop at all.

Fra Paolino says (*India or. xna, p. 111*) that David, the son of Ezechiel, told him that John was a Jew and not a Christian at all. In the schismatic churches he burned crosses, images of saints and even of Our Blessed Lord. He allowed

priests to marry, he appropriated to himself the silver plate of several churches and he drank to excess.

On the other hand the *Dutch Records in Fort St. George* (pp. 450 etc.) testify that John wrote to the Dutch authorities saying that upon coming on this coast he found the ignorance of the Syrian Christians to be gross, and their way of life beastly. He asked the Company for money in order to introduce more Syrian Priests and teachers into Malabar. The money was granted with the hope that the differences between John and Thomas would soon cease. The hope was also expressed that the coming of Priests from Antioch would prove a good obstruction to the Roman Catholics.

On the 22nd Oct. 1748 the Records have the following entry: "Letters from the Syrian Bishop Ioannis asking protection against the Catholics." Later on this Ioannis was arrested by the Raja of Cochin for having robbed the moneys of three or four churches.

Some fifteen years before this, some Jacobites turned to the Tranquebar Protestants. In 1733 a certain Cahna Nabdeh damaschihha, Cassanar of Nailacombi. travels there and makes overtures to them. If we could get rid of the Jesuits and of the Carmelites—he tells them—all will be well. "Really the differences between Nestorians and Jacobites are trifles. The first use *Patira* or unleavened bread; the latter use *Phamira* or leavened bread. About the rest the people know nothing at all. We Priests use the Syrian Missal—and he had brought one with him; but the laity are innocent of Syriac. They say a few prayers in that language; but they hardly know what they are saying. The Catchism—and it is very little indeed—is all in Malayalam. Formerly Priests married; now some do, others do not. You Protestants are good, no doubt, but you never fast, and you do not say Mass, and for you Mary, the Virgin, means nothing at all. Besides, why do you not ordain the Tamilians? With us, most of the Priests are Malayalees. It would be fine if we could unite, but I doubt whether it can ever be done. We were tired with Gabriel. It is not easy to say what he believed. About 25 churches were for him, and 22 for Thomas. But do get us another man from Syria".

And a new man did indeed come from Babylon and reached Surat. Both Jesuits and Carmelites forgot their enmity to unite against him, and catch him and send him to Goa. It is not known whether they succeeded or not.

In 1737 Mar Thomas went to Cochin to ask the help of Governor Gollenesse against the Catholics, and especially against Jesuits and Carmelites. The Governor told him that force would not do; that in religion it was persuasion that carried the day, and hinted that a little more zeal would not do his priests any harm.

But a strong party was growing against Thomas, who turned for protection to the Raja of Cochin. He obtained protection, but he could not hinder his enemies from seeking a new Bishop from Babylon. They refused obedience to Thomas because he was not a Bishop at all.

This really explains the eagerness with which the Mar Thomases desired consecration. It was not so much their great belief in the Apostolic succession that made them turn to Syria, or Egypt or even to Rome to get a Bishop who would consecrate them. It was the fact that the party or parties opposite to them would not obey them unless they could prove to be Bishops.

And how could they do that? George Milne Rae in his work on *The Syrian Church in India* asserts that "most of the foreign Prelates that came to Malabar were mere adventurers and not a few of them unscrupulous men, altogether unworthy of the position to which they aspired. It came to pass that when the whole case of succession was sifted in the Courts of Travancore, no evidence of authorisation in favour of any of the Bishops was forthcoming until we come down to those who reconsecrated Mar Thomas VI.

"The net result of 200 years' connection with the Jacobite See of Antioch is that one Metran was consecrated by delegation of the Patriarch, and another consecrated directly by the

Patriarch himself. All the rest were—as far as documentary, or other legal evidence is concerned—without authority; and there is no proof that they were Bishops at all".

Towards the year 1750 Mar Thomas arranged with the Dutch at Cochin to pay them Rs. 4000 if they would bring over from Antioch some Bishops to consecrate him. And so in April 1751 three Bishops, Basil, Gregory and John landed in Cochin. Their credentials were signed by Ignatius XXVIII, who was Patriarch of Antioch from 1733 to 1783.

A quarrel then arose between Thomas and the foreign Bishops about the paying of their passage money. They bluntly refused to consecrate Thomas unless he paid, and the Dutch Governor threatened to deport all to Batavia unless some one of them paid the 4000 rupees.

Anquetil du Perron (*Zend - Avesta*, 161) relates that among the numerous followers of the Bishops Basil, Gregory and John, was a Chorepiscopus named George Nametalla, who was supposed to manage the affairs of the party. He describes him as a man about 34 years of age, lean, tall, clever and witty. He could speak Portuguese and understood Latin and Ethiopian. His native tongue was Arabic. He was married, and the real purpose of his visit to Malabar was business. His exalted office was merely a pretence the better to cover his commercial transactions. They arranged together a visit to Bishop Basil Shekerella at Kandanate. The little town had been burned down by the Travancoreans during a recent war, and so had Diamper, not very distant. Both were rising again.

Basil was surrounded by Deacons. He got up and embraced the visitors. He wore a golden cross on his breast, but he blessed them with a amall copper cross. On his head he had a small black capuce. He lived on the Christians, who yet preferred him to the Latins, who spent so much on them. The church was near by, and they went up to it through a broken down verandah. The Cassanars lived in a small dark room. The room of the Bishop was larger, and was lit up by two small windows. The Prelate sat on the bed. From a string were hanging some trousers and shirts. There were a few dutys

books. He showed them his bull — a parchment 25 feet (???) long and six inches broad.

It bore the Patriarch's name and seal, and the names of five Bishops. Basil's signature was repeated three times. The thing was adorned with painted flowers. He said it had cost him 20 rupees.

He spoke sparingly. He appeared to be an ignorant monk, whom poverty had compelled to travel abroad. He often fasted and lived a life of solitude and silence.

George and Anquetil ate some dry fish and eggs. They heard Mass in a tumble down church. On the altar no lights. There was the cross, however. The Acolytes wore a yellow tunic with a red stole over the left shoulder. They carried candles. Of the congregation, some were standing, others squatting on the ground. The Cassanars were standing round a kind of pulpit. They sang; but there were no music notes in their books. The liturgy had been written out in a monastery at Mardin. They said it was that of St. James of Jerusalem. The words of consecration were: *Quum Se Praeparavit Ad Mortem Subeundam Voluntariam Pro Nobis Peccatoribus Sine Peccato, Cepit Panem Manibus Sacris Postquam Laudavit, Benedixit Et Sanctificavit, Fregit Et Dedit Suis Abostolis Sanctis Et Dixit: Sumite Et Comedite: Hoc Est Corpus Meum Quod Pro Vobis Et Pro Multis Frangitur Et Datur in Remissionem Peccatorum in Vitam Aeternam. Amen. Similiter* etc. George wrote out the profession of faith and handed it over to Anquetil. It ran as follows: *Nos Syrus Jacobita orthodoxus Christianus verus jure laudatus, credimus et confitemur secundum fidem trium sanctorum Conciliorum, Nicaeni, Constantinopolitani, Ephesini Christum Deum Nostrum Deum perfectum et Filium hominis perfectum esse sicut nos, excepto peccato, in unitate admirabili et mirifica sine separatione et sine mixtione, unam personam et unam naturam incarnatam veri Dei Incarnati.* (1 Jan. old style, 12 Jan, new style).

Next day Anquetil stayed with Elias, the son of Ezechiel, and waited in vain for a Manuscript which George had promised

him, and which he had already paid for. Later on he was informed that the Manuscript had been left at Antioch.

4. MAR DIONYSIUS.

Mar Basilius died in 1765 and was buried in the church of Candanada. After an unseemly fight Mar Gregory and Mar John consecrated Thomas a Campo in 1772 at Neranam. He took the name of Mar Dionysius, and ruled till 1808. He saw the setting of Dutch power and the rising of the English in Malabar.

The nineteen years preceding his election had been years of constant strife and disorder. Many churches were ruined and the people impoverished. The Raja of Travancore stopped the fighting and imposed a fine of Rs. 12,000 on the disobedient.

Dionysius saw to it that all the power came gradually into his hands. The foreign Prelates Gregory and John were only his advisers. Gregory retired to Mulanturuttu, where he consecrated Cyril, the chief opponent of Dionysius. He then went to Cochin, and in the presence of the Raja gave him all his authority.

But the Raja abandoned Cyril, who was imprisoned by Dionysius. Eventually he escaped and founded the small see of Anyur or Tholyur, which exists to this day.

Bishop John was deprived of his pay by Dionysius, and died at Kayenkulam in 1794. Dionysius was a strong and just ruler. In his spare moments he is said to have written *The Life of David* in Malayalam. Similarly a Catechumen—Kumari Nayar—wrote the *Arruvadnaladi* and Jaco Mapula composed a controversial work, directed mainly against the heathens. It was called *Dushiparva*, and those who dared read it in puplic were fined. There is a letter of great importance which Dionysius addressed to Pope Pius VI, and which was taken to Rome by Dr. Cariatil, of whom we have spoken above. The letter is as follows:

"When I took change, I understood from the Jacobites who came during the rule of my predecessors, as well as from the learned priests of the Roman Catholic Church, that I had not true ordination and that the priesthood I had received at the

hands of my predecessors was not valid, and so, humbly hearkening to their admonition, in 1772 I received anew in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Neranam, all the holy orders from the tonsure to the Episcopal Consecration, from the Jacobite Metropolitan, Mar Gregory. Further, I was convinced from the learned priests of the Catholic Church, as well as from the books of the Sacred Councils, that the creed I have received is not orthodox and also that no one can be saved without the Catholic Faith, which from the days of Our Lord to the present day remains spotless and immaculate. Through the medium of the abovesaid priests, I made earnest prayers to Don Salvador dos Reis, Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganor, and to Fray Florentine of Jesus, the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, asking them to receive me, together with my people into the communion of the Catholic Church and to absolve us from the ex-communication which had befallen us in the days of our fathers. And further, I asked them that in case they could not receive me, they would kindly send my request to the Apostolic See of Rome, but they refused to give attention to my prayer. So I sent for Father Joseph Cariatil, of our nationality, a student of the Propaganda College, and with tears in my eyes and with deep sorrow I revealed my mind to him and put the salvation of my soul into his hands, and he promised me, saying, 'I will go to Rome a second time for you, even at the risk of may life on the way.' With him therefore I sent eight other persons from among the Syrian people, of whom some are priests and others secular, to represent me before the Apostolic See and to inform the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda of my petition. So far as it lies within my power, I with my people swear before the Omnipotent God and promise to embrace and believe with our whole strength what the Catholic Church embraces and believes." 1

Pope Pius VI upon receiving the above letter consulted Bishop Aloysius Mary, O. C. D., who was on the spot, and could gauge the motives which had brought Mar Dionysius to address the Holy See on such an important matter. Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo was entrusted with the delicate mission of visiting

Mar Dionysius. The visit took place on Dec. 22, 1785, is and thus described by Fra Paolino:

"When I entered his chamber, I saw an old man seated among his *catanar* priests with a long white beard, holding in his hand a silver crozier curved at the top in the Greek style, wearing a Pontifical cope, on his head a round mitre, such as the oriental bishops wear, bearing a cross worked on it Phrygian fashion, from which a white veil flowed from head to shoulders. I tried him in a long discourse. I found him shrewd enough, talking grandly of his house and dignity, putting by the matter of his conversion for some other occasion, and striving that his nephew may succeed him. I knew the beast by his horns and having left it, hastened on my journey".

Others have judged Fra Paolino rather severely, and have said that had he been more sympathetic the final issue might have been totally different. Perhaps it is so; but the documents at onr disposal are too scanty to permit us to judge. To show that Mar Dionysius was is earnest Mackenzie tells us that on June 21, 1799, when he visited the Catholic church of Thathampally, he signed a document pledging himself to abide by the decrees of the Synod of Diamper. Well, it may be he signed, but it is certain he did not keep them.

There is a letter dated May 7th 1787 from the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly to Propaganda where it is stated that Mar Dionysius was willing to submit to Rome, on condition that he was recognised as Metropolitan of all the Syrian Christians of Malabar, both his own and all those in communion with Rome. Further, his submission could be postponed, but the appointment of his nephew as his successor had to be made sure.

About this time Foster says that there were 32 churches under Dionysius; and the ex-Jesuit Fr Pavone told Wrede that 84 yielded obedience to Pareamekal and 14 only to the Carmelites.

5. Manners and Customs

Up to the coming of the English the Syrian Christians were least affected by the contact with the West. After the

breaking away from their allegiance to Rome there arose among them the division of *Puttankuru*, or Christians who rejected the Synod of Diamper, and *Pazhayakuru*, or Christians who adhered to Rome.

The Jacobites considered their Bishop, or *Metran*, as their spiritual head, to whom they owed obedience in many civil matters as well. The *Metrans* did not marry, and lived on contributions from their churches. They used to be buried in their robes, in a sitting posture.

After the Metrans came the *Rambans*, who were chosen by priests and people in advance to fill the episcopal chair. The Canons of the Western Cathedrals are perhaps their nearest counterpart.

The Priests are called *Cattanars* and the Deacons *Chamazes*. Their office is often hereditary, following according to the *Marumakattayam* system. (See first Volume).

The *Malpans* are teachers in Seminaries, where the Cattanars are being trained.

Before ordination they may marry. Widowers, however, may not remarry, nor are they allowed to marry widows. They live on contributions from their churches, marriage or funeral fees and the like. Their ordinary dress consisted of white trousers and a kind of long white shirt and a flap hanging behind, supposed to be in the form of a cross. Four *Kaikkars*, or church wardens, are elected by the parishioners. They constitute with the Priest a kind of administrative and disciplinary body, which used to exercise considerable authority in religious and social matters.

The patron saint of each church is honoured with a special solemnity, and the priests' income largely depends on the offerings of that feast. Lent used to be kept very strictly, from the Sunday before Ash Wednesday — i.e. for fifty days. During that time no meat, fish, milk, ghee and toddy was allowed, and no sexual intercourse even in lawful marriage.

The Southerners (*Tekkumbhagar*) and the Northeners (*Vadakkumbhagar*) do not intermarry. The latter seem to be

the oldest Christians, the former the new immigrants, who in ancient times settled in the South street of Cranganore.

The pagan feasts Onam and Vishu used to be kept by the Syrian Christians, though in recent years they asserted such feasts had only a national significance.

Gouveas tells us that the Christian churches used to be built after the fashion of the Hindu pagodas, and documents kept in certain Christian families show that Christians were trustees of certain Hindu temples and were invited for their festivals.

Not only the faithful, but sometime also pagan Rajas used to contribute to the maintenance of the churches.

These churches were ugly buildings with no pretensions to architecture. The roofs were usually flat, and the facades whitewashed. The chancel was higher than the nave, from which it is separated by a curtain during the Canon of the Mass. There are two rooms right and left of the chancel. Now there are three altars in the churches; formerly there used to be only one. Priests and men of influence used to be buried in the nave of the church. Unmarried priests sometimes live in a gallery at the west end of the church.

In the open air, at a certain distance from the church, there is usually a stone cross. Crosses, similar to the cross on St. Thomas's Mount (Madras) are common both in churches and in private houses. Western influences have introduced images and statues which were never found before in the Syrian churches.

Umbrellas, musical (or unmusical) instruments, torches, pop guns and so forth are used both in Christian and Hindu processions. Elephants are led in procession, to add solemnity to the display. Bishops and priests have often to forbid borrowing and lending processional paraphernalia from and to Hindu temples. An exact imitation of the Hindu *Prasad* is seen in the offerings made by the people to the church, and returned by the church to the people, of eatables, money, fowls, sweets etc. In older times the priests used to sit in the sanctuary and

eat the fruits and plantains that are offered in fulfilment of vows.

On Maundy Thursday, after supper, the head of the family distributes to the family unleavened bread dipped in coconut milk and jaggery.

Among the Jacobites (and even among the Syrian Catholics) the parishioners choose the candidates to the priesthood, and send letters patent to the Metran, implicity promising that, if they are ordained, they will maintain them.

The *Jathakarma*, or feeding of the new born with gold, honey and *Vayampu*, is still observed by the wealthy, both Jacobites and Syrian Catholics. Immediately after birth the words *Maran Iso M'siha* (Our Lord Jesus, the Messias) and the child's name are wispered into its ear.

After some months the rite of *Annaprasam*, or feeding the child with boiled rice, used to be kept. The child's hair used to be cropped quite close, and, like the Brahmins, only a small tuft (*Kuduma*) was left. A Council of Goa legislated in vain against the custom. Like the Brahmin children, Syrian Christian children wear ornaments made of panther toes (*Pulinakam*) and mongoose teeth (*Kiripallu*). They are superstitious amulets.

The *Poonool*, or sacred thread, worn by Brahmins is blessed at the baptism of a male child and put on it. It is then removed, and it is given to the child again when he attains boyhood.

The ceremony known as *Ariyiliruthu*, or writing with the finger the first letters of the alphabet in rice, is performed when the children first go to school.

Though many of the old marriage customs have fallen into disuse, some are kept even now, and reflect Hindu usages. The bride gives a dowry — usually in the shape of ornaments to the bridegroom, of which ten per cent goes to the church. The partner's choice is usually arranged by the parents. The couple have little to say in the matter. A banquet is held, usually in the house of the bride to be, as the arrrngements are completed,

and a few selected men of the other party are ceremoniously invited. Often the contract is made by the parents before the sanctuary lamp and in the presence of the priest. It used to be written and signed on a fresh palm leaf.

During the night previous to the marriage it is necessary that the couple should bathe. Before the bath the bridegroom has to be ceremoniously shaved by a barber, whose presence is considered indispensable. Songs commemorating the origin and privileges of the Syrian Christians are sung before aud after the bath. As a mark of fecundity, the nails of toes and fingers of the bride and bridegroom must be painted with the juice of the shrub *Mailanchi*. Then a close female relative has to greet the couple and give them sweets. Next morning, after receiving the blessing of the *Asan* or teacher (often a Brahmin), the parties go to church. In the church the boy ties the *Thali* or *Minnu* — which is blessed by the priest — round the neck of the bride. The cross, made of 21 small gold balls, distinguishes the Christian from the Hindu *Thali*.

After the death of the husband or of the wife, the *Thali* goes to the church. Next, the boy presents the girl with a veil. In former times the bridegroom's sister used to take both *Thali*, veil and sweets in solemn procession to the church, to be blessed by the priest. They came with great solemnity, either on palanquins, or on elephants, accompanied by Indian musicians and shouting *Nadavali*, *Kurava* etc. The *Muthukkuda* or royal umbrella was especially used by the Syrian Christians on these occasions. Upon reaching home, the boy's mother received them holding paddy and water in one hand and a lighted lamp in the other. Among the Sudists, even to this day, the mother places her hands on the heads of the couple and blesses them.

At the banquet, a low caste Hindu, called *Panan*, comes forward and sings the origin and privileges of the Christians.

The third or fourth day after the marriage the ceremony of "shutting and opening" or *Adachuthura* takes place. The

bridegroom and his friends are shut up in a room. The mother-in-law calls him out to take his bath. But his friends refuse to open unless she promises to give him a cow, gold, and other presents.

The festivities during the first three or four days take place in the house of the bride or in that of the bridegroom. Then the couple leave, goes to the other house and remains there till the next Sunday. Before that the presenting of clothes on the part of the maternal uncle takes place. Then the couple go round a lighted lamp and recite some prayers. Dances and action songs (*Margamkali*) used to be performed. Now they have fallen into disuse and the festivities end in a day or two.

The Syrian Christians usually dress like the Hindus. The *Mundu* is fastened round the waist and reaches down to the heels. A towel is thrown over the shoulders. Only a few wear coat and trousers. Women generally wear a close fitting jacket; a piece of cloth tied round the waist reaches down to the ankles. A fan-like appendix is arranged at the back. Some have now begun to use sarees. When going to church they cover themselves with a white muslim scarf, leaving the face visible. They use special ornaments for the ears, and bore and stretch the lobes to an abnormal extent. This practice, however, is falling into disuse. In former times they painted the eyelids black.

In the country the houses used to be built in the centre of a "compound" according to the Malabar Hindu style.

The floor is smeared with cowdung, which in India is supposed to possess medicinal properties. The women do not appear before strangers. They do not eat with their husbands. Children never sit in the presence of the father. The father is supreme. Only men of the same caste or social status are admitted to eat with the family.

In the morning they take boiled rice with rice-water (*Canji*) and curry. At noon and in the evening they eat rice and curry. They take their meals squatting on the ground. On certain feasts celebrated in memory of the dead, sweets

are served before rice. At the end curds, molasses and plantains are given.

Like the Brahmins, the Christians follow the patriarchal system. The matriarchal system is common among Nayars.

No food is prepared in a house where a death has occurred. Paid low caste people do the public mourning. After the burial a feast is held at which only vegetable food is taken. The priest blesses a tender coconut, drinks a little, and then shares the liquid with the mourners.

Owing to death pollution is incurred, which lasts seven days. On the eighth day the *Pulakuli* feast is held (*Pula* Pollution; *Kuli* Bath). This feast has been abolished among the Sudists. On the anniversary of the death. the *Shradha* ceremony is held. at which fish and flesh meat are allowed. Evidently these feasts are remnants of pagan ceremonies. Usually at these feasts a number of poor people are fed. The priests are offered clothes and money.

In former times the rules of untouchability were enforced very strictly. Low castes could not enter the houses of Christians. These had to bathe if they happened to go near an untouchable.

La Croze (*Christianisme Aux Indes, 1723*) writes: "In order to preserve their nobility the Christians never touch a person of inferior caste, not even a Nair. In the roads or streets they cry out from a distance in order to receive precedency from passengers, and if anyone even a Nair, should refuse this mark of respect, they are entitled to kill him on the spot. The Nairs, who are the nobility and warriors of Malabar, respect the Syrian Christians very highly and consider it a great honour to be regarded as their brethren".

These facts are sometimes quoted in order to show that Christianity is not a denationalising force in India. The Council of Diamper (1599) tried indeed to uproot untouchability, but its efforts were made vain by the extreme conservatism of the Syrian Christians. Gandhi seems to have had better success. It is a shame both for India and for Indian Christians

that untouchability still exists, and in this matter no Christian worth the name should say complacently: See how little different I am from my Hindu brethren (high castes, of course...).

It is said that from ancient times the Christians were declared to be protectors of 17 low castes, who undertook to defend them, first by non-violent means, and then even by inflicting "on themselves" wounds or even death. At harvest time and on the occasion of marriages or births they were given paddy and rice as a kind of remuneration. Nearly everywhere now these things have happily disappeared.

NOTITIA TOPOGRAPHICA MALABARICA.

Raulinus (pp. 428-429) gives some idea of the position of Christianity in Malabar towards the year 1750. We did not think it necessary to give the modern equivalent of the names in question. Malayalees will identify them without difficulty. To outsiders they are meaningless in any case.

Ambalakat (Syrian Catholics — Jesuits)
Corruligia (near Ambalakat. Syr. Catholics — Jesuits)
Quejecca („ „ „)
Mutaun (submitted to Carmelites in 1658)
Verapoly (Latins — Carmelites)
Cottacolongate (Syr. submitted to Carm. in 1659)
Mattatil („ „ „)
Cottapili („ „ „)
Parur (Syr. submitted to Bishop in 1658)
Blangati („)
Chetwa (Latins)
Enamaco (Oratory - Jesuits)
Baleanat (Syrian Catholics. Submitted in 1659)
Calparombil („)
Cormor („)
Chalauri („)
Potincera („)
Muricolor („)
Kuttiotungel(„)

Angamale (Syrian Catholics. Submitted to the Bishop in 1658)
Vinecca Palli
Cheria Palli
Covere
Mangate (Syrian Catholics. Jesuits and Carmelites. Submitted to Bishop in 1658)
Manhapara
Meliatur
Canchur
Vallet
Codangolt (Schismatics)
Carpumpiali (Schismatics)
Rapolim (Syr. Cath.)
Paru (Schismatics)
Canotta (Syr. Cath. Subm. to Bishop in 1658)
Tirtiport (Latins)
Gnarica (Latins)
Vaipin (Latins, near the Cross dos Milagres Subm, to Carm. 1658.)
Baleport (Latins)
Cittiati (Latins, Carmelites)
Trepuntare (Latins)
Angicaimal (Syr. Cath.)
Bendiuti (Latins)
Diamper (Syr. Cath.)
Cantanate (Syr. Cath.)
Cranganor (Subm. to Bishop in 1658)
Palliport (,, ,, Latins)
Palurti (Syr. Cath. Palace of the Cochin Raja)
Matingeri (Latins. Subm. to Carm. in 1658)
Dumida (Lat. Carm.)
Cochin (Latins)
N. Senhora de Saude (Latins)
San Louis (Latins)
Castella (Latins)
Palliport (Syr. Cath. Subm. to the Bishop in 1658)

Cantanasi (Syr. Cath. Palace of Raja of Cochin)
Pallicare (Schism and Catholics)
Paru (Syr. Subm. to Bishop in 1658)
Palliport (Syr. Cath.)
Mutton (Chapel)
San Andre (Latins. Subm. to Bishop in 1658. Two chapels attached to it)
Cembil
Malandurti (Schismatics)

Colongeri (schism.)
Bucin (schism.)
Caromattan
Mopuacheri (schism.)
Canna Cuili (schism.)
Racati (schism)
Maila Cambil
Negapare
Modelacort
Ginucotti
Coronatil
Tracore
Pugnatil
Romram
Anacalungel
Advombare
Codnelur
Corolengati
Mulicolor
Elogmil
Mutieri (Syr. Cath)
Farete
Carturti (Subm. to Carm. in 1658)
Bariate (Syr. Cath.)
Baticanur
Bechur (Syr. Cath.)
Tattompali (id.)
Allapare (id.)
Codamalur (Subm. to Carm. in 1658)
Minetre
Calete
Pulala
Idatur
Poreitanate

Cerpungel
Cottete
Cadagol (schism.)
Cotteta cheria (schism.)
Pudupalli (schism.)
Cauara Palli
Roipur
Chonganari
Pulingune
Calurcheri (schism.)
Chengenur
Neonanur
Cottare (schism.)
Omalor (schism.)
Pudiacabo (id.)
Calera (schism)
Tembucur (id.)
Calur Para (id.)
Tevaleacare (id.)
Curien Colongare (schism.)
Gundare (schism.)
Manirgat (schism.)
Moramanor (id.)
Bemmani (schism.)
Moramanu (schism.)
Color Superior (schism.)
Coilor
Aramola
Temburcu
Turguli (schism.)
Candanate (id.)

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY OF PORTUGAL IN INDIA, AND ALLIED SUBJECTS.

(a) *The Padroado.*

(b) *Four Indian Vicars Apostolic.*

(c) *The Venerable Father Joseph Vaz.*

The main sources for the History contained in this chapter are

1. *Bullarium Portugalliae.*
2. *Collectanea Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.*
3. *Jus Missionarium* by P. Theodorus Grentrup, S. V. D.; Steyl, Holland, 1925 Tom. I, pp. 194—210. The work is very valuable and up to date. The only remark we would make is that, perhaps, it deals with too many things. We, however, have found it both exhaustive and accurate.
4. *The History of the Catholic Church in India* by Rev. M. De Sa. Bombay, 1922 Two vols. It is well known in India. The bias to the Padroado is evident, but not extravagant, as, unfortunately, is often the case with Goan writers.
5. *The History of the Bombay Mission* (Two vols.) by Fr. Hull, S. J, appeared first seriatim in the *Examiner*. Then the articles were completed and gathered in two volumes. As everything coming from the pen of Fr. Hull, the work is well documented and well balanced. Perhaps a little diffuse.
6. *The History of the Diocese of Mangalore* by Frs. Maffei and Moore.
7. *L' Apostolo di Ceylan Padre Giuseppe Vaz*, di Sebastiao do Rego (Venzia 1753). The work was reedited in Mangalore

in 1897. In 1943 the Ranchi Press has brought out a very fine Life of Fr. Vaz, by the Rev. Fr. S: Perera, S. J.

8. *J. Bertrand*, S. J. Du Patronage des Rois de Portugal.
9. *Dom Thisdore Ghesquiere*, Moine So Saint-Andre Matthieu de Castro, Premier Vicaire Apostolique aux Indes. (Bruges, 1937).

N.B.—Valuable information on the attitude of Catholic Governments towards the Missions in the XVI-XVII centuries may be gathered from the Appendices in *Launay's Histoire Des Missions Etrangeres.*

CONTENTS

1. ORIGIN OF THE PADROADO.

We shall give here some notions on the *Padroado*, for it is impossible to get a fair idea of the History of the Catholic Church in India without some knowledge of this institution.

(a) *The Granting of the Rights to Conquer and Trade Monopolies.* It was a fairly common opinion among the Medieval Theologians that the Pope had a "*direct dominion*" over the Kingdoms of the earth. We need not discuss whether the opinion was based on truth or prejudice. The important point is that the opinion was held, and was wide spread, both among canonists and politicians. Hence it is not surprising that *Nicholas V* by his Bull *Dum Diversas* (18-VI-1452) granted to the King of Portugal the power to conquer the Kingdoms of Mahommedans and Pagans and to possess their temporal goods. This, of course, would be unthinkable in our times. In Medieval Europe it appeared natural and justifiable. In this connexion should not be forgotten that in those days the Saracens were the chief enemies of Christianity. The Pontiff insisted that Portugal, while extending her dominions, should do her best to spread the Kingdom of God.

Three years later (8-1-1455) the same Pope granted to Portugal the African territories where no one was allowed to enter without the King's permission. To him belonged an exclusive commercial monopoly. He had the right to send Missionaries, to erect churches, convents, pious institutions and so forth. Excommunication for all who should trade in the said territories without the King's consent.

(*b*) *The Granting of Canonical Jurisdiction.* In 1451 the King of Portugal obtained that the dignity of Master of the Order of Christ should be hereditary, and it was in this capacity —as Grand Master of the Military Order of Christ—that he was granted jurisdiction by Pope *Callistus III* over all lands beyond the seas. (Bull *Inter Caetera*, 13-111-1456).

(*c*) *The Jus Patronatus is granted.* We may regard these documents as preliminary to the *Jus Patronatus* properly so called. In the Bull *Dum Fidei Constantiam* of the 7-VI-1514 Pope *Leo X* granted the Jus Patronatus for lands already conquered, and, what is most extra ordinary indeed, for lands still to be conquered by Portugal. It is to be remarked that the ground for the granting of this privilege is not *Dotatio*—i.e. the founding of churches, and the provision of a sufficient revenue,—but the great merits which the King had gained by his zeal in the spreading of the Gospel.

(d) *Erection of Fnnchal and Goa* In the same year was erected *the Diocese of Funchal*—perhaps the most extensive Diocese that has ever existed—for it comprised all the African, Indian and Chinese territories. By the Brief *Dudum Pro Parte* (31—3—1516) Pope *Leo X* extended the Jus Patronatus to all territories under the rule of the King.

Finally we come to the year 1534, when Pope Paul III by the Bull *Aequum Reputamus* erected the *Diocese of Goa.* This succeeded the Diocese of Funchal, and had under its jusrisdiction all the territories—discovered and to be discovered by Portugal—from the Cape of Good Hope to India and China. It is really this Bull that is the source and foundation of the *Portuguese Padroado or Jus Patronatus.* To understand its full meaning, we must know

2. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PADROADO.

They may be reduced to the following:—

(a) The right to present a candidate for a benefice; i.e. the right to propose a person for a Bishopric, or any Ecclesiastical dignity. The final choice remained with the Pope, who usually chose the candidate presented by the King. It is to be noted, however, that, in case of disagreement, the King would propose a new candidate, for no one could be nominated without the King's consent.

(b) The duty to erect, keep in good repair, etc. churches, monasteries, oratories, pious institutions (as hospitals, orphanages and the like). The duty implied the right to forbid, or to prevent, the erection of Churches without Portugal's, permission.

(c) The duty to provide churches, etc. with vestments, furniture, Mass wine etc...

(d) The duty to maintain the clergy. For instance the Archbishop of Goa received 650 gold ducats every year; his Suffragans received 500; the simple canons only 30,

(e) To send clerics from Europe to lands beyond the seas. This, of course, was a grave duty; but it carried with it (at least in the opinion of Lisbon) the right to forbid any Missionary, who was not sent by Portugal, to enter a Portuguese Colony, or to start any Missionary enterprise in the East. Hence Portugal claimed not only a commercial, but also a religious monopoly in Africa and Asia.

(f) To see that churches etc. were provided with a sufficient number of priests. Not a word about evangelizing the infidels, or subsidizing the Missions properly so called.

3. EXTENSION OF THE PADROADO.

There is no doubt that the Padroado comprised Africa and America. But did it extend to the whole of Asia?

Leaving out of account the partisan opinions of Portuguese or Goan Jurists, we shall quote the opinion of two German Historians.

Pater A. Vath. S. J. in his *Die Deutschen Jesuiten in Indien*, holds that the Padroado really comprised the whole of India, China and Japan; but the Holy See had the right and the duty to restrict the extension of the privileges as soon as it appeared that the propagation of the Faith would suffer in consequence.

Pater A. Jann O. Cap. holds that from the very beginning the Padroado must have been restricted to the lands actually occupied by the Portuguese. Otherwise — he argues — the privilege would have been monstrous (*).

If only the Bulls are taken into account there may be some doubt as to the interpratation of the privileges; but if all the documents and the constant practice of the Holy See be studied dispassionately, it seems that Pater Vath's opinion is the more probable one. In fact Alexander VI, by the famous line which he drew ou the map of the earth, assigned to Spain the Western, and to Portugal the Eastern lands. The same appears from the 54th para of Pope *Leo X*'s Bull *Praecelsae Devotionis* of the 3-XI-1514. Spain also, in the same way as Portugal, interpreted her privileges in the widest possible manner. The argument

(*) *Cfr. Die Cath. Missionen in Indien, China und Japan,*

of Pater Jann, that the privilege would have been a monstrous privilege, applies to the XV Century the knowledge and the ways of thought of the XX. We must remember that in those days it was only Spain and Portugal which sailed to America, India, or the Far East. England and Holland were small nations, which did not even dream of their later conquests. Without the consent of Spain and of Portugal no one could reach those lands. Viewed against this background, the privilege does not seem to have been so unreasonable. Similarly, when Gregory XIII by the Bull *Super Specula* (23-1-1576) erected the Diocese of Macao, he subjected to its jurisdiction the whole of China and Japan, as well the neighbouring islands and lands.

Now, the better to appreciate the liberality of the Holy See towards Portugal, it is good to bear in mind that Portugal always endeavoured to favour the propagation of the Gospel. By the pomp and power of her embassies and missions she introduced it into the very citadels of idolatry. She protected it by the authority of her name and by the strength of her armies. Finally she contributed to the maintenance of Bishops and Missionaries.

But, if there were notable merits and advantages, there were great disadvantages as well. Among these we note the ill concealed political aims, which were never dissociated from the religious protection. By this the peoples were easily led to think that religion was only a means to subject them to Portugal, and the conduct of many a Portuguese justified the suspicion. This, of course, hampered the spreading of the faith, and prepared the ruin of many Missions.

4. CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE GRADUAL RESTRICTION OF THE PADROADO.

For about 150 years the Padroado was exercised in all its fullness. But r i c h e s brought corruption, decadence, and loss of prestige.

Often Portugal did not fulfil her obligations towards the Church. Bishops complained that their *honoraria* were not paid. Churches and other religious institutions were often left in

ruins. This paved the way to a gradual restriction of the privileges of the Padroado. Further, with the progress of geographical knowledge, Rome realized more and more that the privileges granted to Spain and Portugal were much too large. Surely the duty of evangelizing practically the whole world could not be confined only to two nations. Holland, England and France appeared on the scene, first as leaders and protectors of commercial enterprises, then also as great colonizing powers. Holland, not only did not tolerate Portuguese Missionaries in her Colonies; she barely tolerated Catholicism. England, in the beginning, was hardly less tolerant. France was Catholic, but, infected with Gallicanism, was intensely nationalistic in her Missionary outlook. Hence Rome saw that it became almost impossible for Spain and Portugal to fulfil their Padroado obligations in the lands under Holland, England or France. But Rome is never in a hurry.

By the Bull *Onerosa* of the 12—12—1600 Pope Clement VIII had granted to Portugal the privilege that all Missionaries to Africa and the East must sail from Lisbon. Portugal was generous and often admitted Missionaries of other nationalities, except Spaniards. There was an excommunication for all those Missionaries who attempted to enter Japan, China or India from America or from the Philippines. The Jesuits also had obtained from Pope Gregory XIII, a Brief (28-1-1585) by which under severe penalties the Pontiff forbade all seculars or regulars to enter China and Japan for the purpose of exercising Ecclesiastical ministry of any kind soever without the express permission of the Holy See. But the Franciscans broke the rule. They were however, well received by the Jesuits, and they divided the Missions among themselves.

At the suggestion of Philip II of Spain — who at the time ruled also over Portugal — Pope Paul V by the Bull *Sedis Apostolicae Providentia* (2—6—1608) exempted the mendicant Orders from the *Onerosa*. Yet all Missionaries, upon reaching their field of labour, had to place themselves under their Superiors and had to receive their "faculties" from the local Bishops.

But Portugal reacted, and by Royal Letters, of 5 April 1652 she prohibited the Missionaries—and especially the Portuguese—to acknowledge any Bull or Pontifical Edict which was devoid of the Royal "*Placet*", and later on, when Pedro II ascended the throne, he demanded that Missionaries should take an oath:

(1) to be loyal to Portugal in all the countries discovered, or to be discovered, conquered, or to be conquered by Portugal;

(2) to warn Portugal of any activity (political or otherwise) which may be contemplated against her;

(3) to uphold the rights, concessions and privileges granted to Portugal by the Popes;

(4) to recognise Patriarchs, Bishops and Ecclesiastical Superiors, who might be elected by the Pope only after presentation by the king;

(5) to accept all the Apostolic Letters wherein the rights of the Padroado are contained.

The Jesuits refused to take the oath, and on the 22 August 1682 Rome justified and defended them.*

In 1622 by the Bull *Inscrutabili*, dated 22 January, Pope Gregory XV established the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, whose object was "to get acquainted and deal with all matters concerning the Propagation of the Faith

* Those who are ever ready to blame Portugal, and to extol the *liberal* policy of modern Governments, when compared with the old may be surprised to read the oath prescribed by the Government of India to Foreign Missionaries during the last war, "I...swear in the presence of God that I will be exactly faithful to all those prescriptions of the Holy See and of my Rule which are designed to preserve the purity of my motives as a Missionary, *to support constituted authority and to exclude all* political ends. I include in this promise *exact* obedience to *any* Rules laid down by His Majesty's Representatives, and also an undertaking *to refrain from doing, saying, or writing anything, either publicly or privately, to the prejudice of the British Government in India.*" Some Missionaries refused to take the oath, and were banned. J. Nehru praised them, when he was not yet in power.

in the whole world", and "to appoint the necessary ministers to all the Missions, for the purpose of preaching and teaching the Gospel, and to charge them also to watch over Catholic Doctrine ". (Collect. S. Congr. De Propaganda Fide. p. 4).

In 1631 a Spaniard—Padre Diogo Collado—presented a petition to the King against some Missionaries, who, forgetful of their calling, were carrying on commerce. The Holy See was approached, and two years later Pope Urban VIII issued the Brief *Ex Debito Pastoralis*, wherein it was provided first that Missionaries should have no commercial dealings, second, the local Bishops were empowered to settle any disputes which might arise between the various Religious Orders: third, *Missionaries were free to go to the Missions, whichever way they found best*, and anyone who prevented them was threatened with excommunication; fourth, upon arrival they were bound to place themselves under their Superiors and to receive their faculties from the local Bishops. The name *Missionaries* covered not only members of Mendicant Orders, but members of any Order.

The way often chosen by Missionaries to reach India independently of Portugal was Syria and Persia. In fact in a letter dated 17-9-1664 and addressed to the General of the Jesuits the Emperor Leopold I asserted that he was the founder and protector of this new way, and promised his help to German Missionaries in China.

France began to send Missionaries to Cochinchina and Tonkin independently of Portugal but they met with serious difficulties, and some were even imprisoned by Portuguese authority. We have seen how the Carmelites started their Mission in Malabar, and how the See of Verapoly was provided with Vicars Apostolic without the consent of Portugal. In a letter of the 17th of July 1664, Alphonsus VI of Portugal tried to persuade the General of the Jesuits to send Missionaries only via Lisbon. Many indeed did so, especially those who travelled to Africa and to Brasil. The Spaniards, however, and later the French as well, were excluded. In 1649 two Italian Capuchins were forbidden to proceed to Angola.

In 1661, 17 more Italian Capuchins had come to Lisbon in order to go to Angola. Only 6 were admitted, the others had to return. In general, however Portugal was liberal and Pater *Huonder* calculates that about one third of the Jesuits who sailed from Lisbon from 1541 to 1725 were not Portuguese. The Government usually, though not always, paid for the voyage.

5. REMARKS

The gradual restriction of the privileges of the *Padroado* did not go on without struggle. Out of respect for Portugal, the Congregation of *Propaganda* usually did not appoint Bishops but only Vicars Apostolic. This indicated a lack of finality, and left a loophole for Portugal to step in and secure the foundation of regular Dioceses. Then the Vicars Apostolic ceased. This happened, for instance, in China—for Nankin and Pekin—; no sooner Portugal gave the Canonical *Dotatio* that the Vicars Apostolic came under the Padroado as regular Bishops. Where a European power—like France, for instance—insisted on the independence of the colonial clergy from Portuguese interference, long negotiations were conducted through the various Ambassadors and Nuncii to secure a *Modus Vivendi*; and usually Rome succeeded, as for instance in Tonkin, and later on in Pondicherry.

More difficult was the case where Portugal had erected churches, convents and other religious institutions, and had manned them with Missionaries, prevalently Portuguese; and then had been ousted by a hostile power. This happened in Malabar when the Dutch occupied Cochin. They could not exterminate the Catholics, but they were determined that they should not be served by Portuguese or Goan clergy. The Carmelites, who had been sent to Malabar to heal the Syrian schism, reported to Rome the difficult situation. Rome could not suppress the Sees of Cranganore and Cochin. She could not leave the Christians without priests. She appointed Giuseppe Sebastiani Vicar Apostolic. But what should have been temporary, has remained even to the present Century. Naturally there were misunderstandings, there was friction,

even open fights. Who was to blame? It is hard to say. The local Bishops insisted on their century-old privileges. The new comers produced the Bulls which they had from Rome. Communications were not easy. Portugal and Goa were far from helpful. The Bulls were contested, declared invalid. Recriminations followed. Jurisdiction was asserted. Then it was denied. Sacraments were administered. Then they were declared invalid. Churches occupied: then closed. Some Missionaries were bewildered, and more so were the people, often maliciously misled, often provoked into open rebellion. Some of the Vicars Apostolic claimed jurisdiction over a great part of India. They had their Bulls, but their territories were ill defined. The Jesuits often got into trouble. Their allegiance was divided. By vow they had to obey the Pope; but the Pope was in Rome, and here in India, or in China, or in Cochinchina, it was the Bishop who represented the Pope; and often Bishops fought against Bishops, not necessarily out of malice, but often in good faith, believing they were in duty bound to uphold the rights of their Sees; for if the Bishop dies, the Diocese remains. We shall see an awful example of all this in the case of *Cardinal de Tournon*. But that will be later on. Now we shall deal with four cases belonging to these times, and first with

6. DON MATHAEUS DE CASTRO

He was a Brahmin from Diwar. His parents had been baptised by the Jesuits, and the boy soon showed a strong desire to become a Priest. But he could not be ordained in Goa, for the Archbishop Don Christovao de Sa, had taken an oath never to ordain a Brahmin convert. Perhaps this was as a consequence of his opposition to Fr. de Nobili and his methods. (q.v.).

The boy became very friendly with the Carmelites, who recommendad him to try his luck elsewhere. He went to Persia, to Armenia, to Palestine; and it was during these peregrinations that all his papers were stolen from him. In Armenia he met the Dominican Gregory Orsini, who advised him to go to Rome.

In Cairo he was the guest of the Capuchins, who wondered at the wealth of the young man. He explained to them that in Goa he had received 5000 cruzadoes from his brother, who had bought his property. He had further acquired some precious stones, which he guarded with great care.

He reached Rome in 1625. Propaganda had been established three years before, and its zealous Secretary, Mgr. Ingoli, had just presented the Cardinals with a dissertation, where he expatiated on the difficulties which the Portuguese connexion created to the expansion of the Gospel. Mathaeus became friendly with the Secretary and assured him that to become a Christian among the Portuguese meant to lose all freedom. On principle they refused ordination to Brahmin converts. Also no Indian was admitted to higher studies.

The Secretary was too prudent a man to believe whatever the young Indian asserted, and he wrote to the Papal Nuncio in Spain—for at the time Portugal was under Spain—asking him for detailed information about India. Meanwhile the Congregation of Propaganda had Mathaeus examined by four Priests, one of whom was a Jesuit. The verdict was entirely favourable, and in 1631 the young Brahmin got his Doctor's cap in Philosophy and Theology at the Roman College. He lived, however, with the Oratorians, and his expenses were met by the Pope's Brother, Cardinal Antonio Barberi.

In 1637 this zealous Cardinal will establish 12 burses or Scholarships for Asians, Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites Melchites and Copts, and in 1639 13 more, 7 for Ethiopians and 6 for Brahmins.

Now Propaganda insisted on having a native Clergy both for India and for Japan, the reason being exactly the same as those which we have given in a previous Chapter. So Mathaeus was ordained, was made Protonotary Apostolic and got permission to return to India, with the recommendation to work in a special manner for the conversion of the Brahmins.

But in 1630 a Decree had been issued both in Madrid and in Lisbon, which allowed only Spaniards to enter the West

Indies and Portuguese to enter the East Indies. A few Italians, not suspect to the King, were excepted.

So, in spite of the strongest recommendations, Mathaeus could not find a ship to take him to India. But he gradually won the affection of Don Emmanuel Telles, the Archbishop elect of Goa, and with him he could leave Lisbon in March 1633.

The hardships of the voyage were incredible. We have it on record that in 1657 out of 37 Jesuit Missionaries, 7 died at sea; in 1665, 5 out of 20; in 1673, 13 out of 27. And during this voyage the new Archbishop died. This was a blow for young Mathaeus, who knew how opposed they were in Goa to the native Clergy.

When the young Doctor and Protonotary Apostolic arrived in Goa his people were very much pleased. His house was besieged by curious idlers, who finally could get news about Europe and Rome and Lisbon from an unbiassed witness. He was charged by the Pope himself with the conversion of Brahmins; and in fact 7 families wanted to be received into the Church. But for that he needed permission from the Goan authorities. Some, of course, were of a different opinion; but the majority insisted that permission was necessary. And so he had to go and see Bp. Joao do Rocha— a Jesuit—of whom Fr Beccari remarks that he was "*scientia et eloquentia commendatus, non vero virtute*". He looked critically at the new Doctor; he looked at his certificates; and, somehow, he suspected that something was amiss. Mathaeus insisted that he could preach everywhere to the Brahmins; that in this, at least, he was independent. How independent? His faculties were not granted through the usual channels. Government knew nothing about it. The Goan Curia knew nothing. De Rocha forbade Mathaeus to exercise his ministry and justified his step with Rome as follows: The Brahmins have no esteem for a Sacrament which is administered by persons without influence. We have experience of native Priests. Many lack tact, prudence, authority. This man

Mathaeus has never been seen to say his Breviary during the whole voyage. No sooner had he reached Goa that he acted as if he was the special envoy of the Holy See and spoke disparagingly of the local authorities. He claimed the singular privileges of gathering money, of going about without the clerical habit and so forth. The seals appended to his patent letters are suspicious. The signatures do not seem to be genuine.

But if Mathaeus found opposition from the official clergy, he met with sympathy and help from the Procurator of Propaganda in Goa — a certain Giovanni Antica. This man wrote to Rome countering the charges of de Rocha; and in Rome, Secretary Ingoli was all for his protege', Mathaeus. Had he not done exceedingly well in Rome? Had not Propaganda's representative in Portugal said of him: *Cani sunt sensus illius?* "His wisdom equals the wisdom of old men"? Evidently the Portuguese are jealous of Propaganda. They want the monopoly of the Missions, and the monopoly must be broken. Ingoli approached the General of the Jesuits and asked him to write to the Fathers in Goa not to put any obstacles to the ministry of the Brahmin Priest.

But matters in Goa were moving towards a crisis, and Mathaeus decided to return to the eternal City. He gathered 12 signatures in his favour from the Canons and 22 more from the Catholics of Salsette. He got the Brahmins to address a letter to Urban VIII, wherein they protested against forced conversions. And Antica wrote that de Rocha was an intruder, and the Jesuits oppressed the Thomas Christians, and the taxes of the Portuguese Officers were intolerable, and often Baptisms were not free.

Three times the Viceroy prevented Mathaeus from sailing. Mathaeus bribed the ship's steward, but in vain. Finally he escaped, and in 1636 he re-entered Rome as Procurator of the Brahmins. Meanwhile the news from Japan were far from encouraging. A persecution had broken out. The Catholics were accused of attempting the destruction of the national

religion. The Dutch fanned the fire and accused the Catholics of being the secret agents of Portugal — "fifth columnists" as they would be called now.

Rome proposed to found four Bishoprics independently of Spain and Portugal, and to develop the native Clergy by all means. But Philip IV opposed these plans. He insisted that to each religious Order should be assigned a special Province in the East. Rome did not agree, for it was imperative that the freedom of the Missions should be secured and that no pretext should be given to Japan to suspect the Missionaries of political aims. It was at this juncture that Mathaeus reached Rome.

Propaganda had chosen the Prior of San Sisto to be a Bishop in Japan. But the Prior died. The ever resourceful Ingoli suggested that the Provincial of the Minors of Transylvania should take his place and that the newly arrived Mathaeus should accompany him. Japan, however, had no attractions for the Brahmin Protonotary; yet a mitre was attached to the venture, and the mitre did not displease Mathaeus. He would go to Japan, and then return to India, and take possession of the newly erected Vicariate Apostolic of Idalcan. The Franciscan Provincial was made Bishop of Myra i. p. i. and Mathaeus of Chrisopolis. They were given ample faculties, but they could make use of their briefs only after reaching destination. In Japan they had to show them to the Religious Provincials and had to consult them as to the best way of establishing Bishoprics. Further, they had to study the state of the Missions, find the candidates best suited to become Bishops, and report to Rome. The party left Rome in 1638.

The Provincial navigated to Crete, Mathaeus to Syria. There he waited in vain for his companion to join him; and after three months, having received no news at all, joined a caravan and proceeded to Mossul. From Mossul, in company of three Carmelites and three Capuchins, he goes to Bassora, and from Bassora to Surate. Here they sailed for Goa, but were made prisoners by the Dutch. Fortunately they had a letter from Henrietta, the Queen of Charles I of England, and that saved

them. Their secret mission, however, was discovered and Goa objected that nothing could be done without the permission of Government. Mathaeus argued that neither Japan, nor Idalcan were under the Portuguese, but in vain. He was curtly told to clear out, and he found a refuge in Idalcan for whose King Rome had provided him with letters.

The Capuchins reproached him for having left them in the lurch. At any rate, they got on fairly well for two or three months, till "certain Religious" raised difficulties and objections, and they were politely invited to leave India. Eventually, they founded a Mission in Surate.

Mathaeus studied the stuation in Idalcan Bijapur, and then came back and established his headquarters in a little island off the Goan Coast. His compatriots were enthusiastic of the new Bishop and raiised a subscription, which brought him 3,000 cruzadoes.

The Adil Shah dynasty, which formerly had been the masters of Goa, were now the absolute rulers of Idalcan. Many Christians—petty traders, musicians, escaped prisoners—had found refuge there. In 1622 two Jesuits had obtained permission to go and take care of them. Later on—when the number of Christians in the State had risen to about 20,000—four Jesuits were ministering to their needs. But this did not last, and they were invited to return to Goa.

Now Mathaeus obtained from the Idalcan Ruler permission to build churches and take care of the Catholics in the State. The permission was granted all the more easily, that the new Vicar Apostolic had presented the King with a letter from the Holy Father, which the Adil Shah greatly appreciated. But then he needed Priests. He had gathered 15 Brahmins, and thought of establishing an Oratory, similar to that which St. Philip had instituted in Rome. He asked the Goan authorities to be allowed to ordain them; but he was told that a special permission had to be got from Portugal. He then went to Idalcan, and ordained them — three or four, according to some, *magna caterva*, according to a letter of Mendoz, the Jesuit

Patriarch of Ethiopia. The Goan jurists were alarmed. They questioned Mathaeus's right to ordain Goan subjects without the Dimissorials. The Dominicans and the Carmelites justified the action of Mathaeus, on the score that his new Priests were Religious, and therefore exempt; but the Jesuits and the Archbishop were of a different opinion.

A Committee was set up, whose members were approved by Mathaeus; but their decision went against him. In fact they went so far as to declare Mathaeus 'suspended' with all his Priests. He defied the sentence, and celebrated Pontifical High Mass in Idalcan. But then the Goan police arrested some of these Oratorians. Mathaeus protested, and the Viceroy forbade the police to touch them, or molest them in any way, without his special permission. At this time there arrived in Goa the Transylvanian Provincial, together with some Theatines, led by the zealous Pietro Avitabile. They said that the Holy See had destined them to go to Idalcan. But in Idalcan there was already Mathaeus, who — the Provincial asserted — should never have come to India alone. The Theatines refused to go to Idalcan, and both they and the Provincial wrote to Rome, complaining of Mathaeus's ambiguous conduct. There were accusations that Mathaeus was trying to deliver two islands to Idalcan, that he was plotting to betray the Portuguese to the Dutch and so on, and so forth. Propaganda began to doubt their wisdom in having made Mathaeus a Bishop; they wrote to him a stiff letter insisting that he should leave politics alone, and that he should seek reconciliation with the Archbishop. In the meantime some of his Priests had been jailed, and he was planning to go to Europe and defend there his cause.

But the King of Portugal wrote that, instead of allowing Mathaeus to go to Rome, he should be sent to Lisbon. Fr. Avitabile wrote to Propaganda that Mathaeus had managed to make enemies everywhere, that he had no prudence, no tact. The Viceroy was against him on account of his political activities. The Archbishop could not overlook his behaviour regarding the ordinations. Many Religious felt that they

had been calumniated by him. And we (the Theatines) cannot bring ourselves to work with this wonderful Saviour of the Brahmins. Stronger still were the complaints of the Archbishop and of Patriarch Mendez. He is violent, brutal, a liar. His success in Idalcan, a pure invention.

Secretary Ingoli took up the case, first in the matter of principle, then regarding the personal and specific accusations against Mathaeus. As to the principle. Propaganda must not be kept back by Portuguese pretensions; we must send our Missionaries to Golkonda and to Pegu; we must counteract Muslim propaganda. As to Mathaeus...... Well, perhaps he is not so black as he is painted. In the matter of ordinations, what could he do?...Are not his followers Religious?...The Congregation of Cardinals, however, was more prudent. They asked the Pope for a kind of *sanatio in radice* regarding the new Priests. Further they wrote to the Archbishop advising him to be more patient and reasonable. They could not disguise the fact, however, that Rome was getting tired of Portugal; there were too many disorders in India. Perhaps they had been unfortunate in the choice of Mathaeus, but the principle of having native Bishops and Priests was right, and must be upheld at all costs.

Now we must leave India for a while and turn to Ethiopia. In 1626 the King of that country had acknowledged the authority of the Pope, and 130,000 Monophysites were converted to Catholicism. The chief workers in the field were the Jesuits and very notable among them Fr. Mendez, who was appointed Patriarch. But in 1632 the King died and Fasiladas, his successor reversed his policy. The Jesuits were expelled, and all their work was undone. Propaganda chose a Franciscan Fleming— Fr. James Veemers—as Bishop of Ethiopia; but he died on his way there. At that time Mathaeus had reached Rome, to defend himself against the accusations of his enemies. The ever resourceful Ingoli thought: Since Mathaeus has not succeeded in India, why not send him to Ethiopia? Mathaeus is approached on the subject. He objects, but finally he is persuaded to leave for Cairo. There he reflects on the new Mission;

he finds it very irksome and goes back to Rome to plead for his release. Ingoli is displeased with him. Meanwhile Mendez had written that no worst choice could have been made for a mission so difficult as the Ethiopian Mission. The Pope agrees with him; and Ingoli tells Mathaeus that they do not want him to go to Ethiopia, and that he may leave Rome.

Mathaeus then went to Cairo, and there he was asked again to proceed to Ethiopia. In 1649 he established himself at Moça, from where he hoped to get in touch with Faisiladas and reestablish Catholiciam in Ethiopia. But it was not to be. He decided to go back to Goa, hoping that the opposition had died down. In 1650 Lisbon sent orders to Goa, that in casl, Mathaeus should reappear on the scene, he should be apprehended and sent to Portugal. In fact, since 1640 Portugae had become more and more intransigent. In 1642 they had decreed the expulsion of all non-Portuguese Missionaries.

Mathaeus did not return to Goa, but he went to Agra, and there he accused the Jesuits of being Portuguese spies. Mendez was exasperated, and all sorts of rumours were spread about Mathaeus, amongst other things it was said that he had turned Mahomedan. This was certainly false. Mathaeus retaliated a He accused the Portuguese of being tyrannical, and he hinted to the Brahmins that, should the Idalcan attack Goa, they could help. He also wrote to Propaganda that he hoped and prayed that God would soon expel Portuguese, Jesuits and Franciscans, from India. The Cardinals were divided. The Transylvanian Provincial had spoken strongly against Mathaeus, and so had the Jesuits. In his favour there was only Fra Giuseppe da Santa Maria, the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Malabar.

In 1658 Mathaeus returned to Rome; but his friend Ingoli was dead; the Secretary of Propaganda, Alberici, was new and did not want to commit himself. About this time there arrived in Rome a Portuguese, Peter Borges, who spoke strongly of Portuguese abuses in the East, and especially in India. The result was the Brief of Alexander VII (*Sacrosancti Apostolatus Officii*), the main points of which we have given in the Appendix.

Then Propaganda decided that Mathaeus should not return to Idalcan, but his successor, Barretto, should do so. Of the 30 or 35 Oratorians, 20 were at Bicholim, 4 at Banda, others elsewhere. They were exhorted to avoid politics, to respect the Archbishop, to study and to work for the conversion of the Brahmins. But unfortunately their training left much to be desired; they did very little work, and in Goa they gave a good deal of scandal.

Mathaeus lived to a very old age and died in Rome in 1677.

Thus ended the first effort of Propaganda to establish an Indian Vicar Apostolic. The second Vicar Apostolic was.

7. CUSTODIUS DE PINHO

(1669-1697), a Brahmin from Verna, near Goa. He was taken to Rome by a Jesuit, and was there made Vicar Apostolic of Bijapur and Golconda. In Goa he was favourably received and established the Oratory in 1682. In 1684 he was appointed Visitor of the Serra in Malabar, and received 500 xeraphins from Government for his journey; but he died before he could assume that office (**)

8. ANDREW GOMEZ THIRD VICAR APOSTOLIC

During their return journey from Malabar, the Carmelites

(**) See *Hull — Bombay Mission History*. Vol. I, pp. 45—54.

Fr. De Sa in his *History of the Cath. Church in India*—II Vol., p. 9 says that Custodius do Pinho "revealed to the Viceroy of Goa the secret preparations and intents of the Mahratta King Sambhaji, *whose confidence he enjoyed*. He also revealed the plans of the Moghul Emperor against the Portuguese, keeping spies for this purpose at his own cost. In consideration of these services and for conferring Orders and blessing Holy Oils in Lent, he was granted by the Portuguese Government a subsidy of 500 xeraphins for his journey to South India, besides a regular allowance from the year 1690. He died in Salsette in 1697, and was buried in the Church of Benaulim",—Of course, he had no jurisdictional troubles from the Goan authorities. It remains to be seen whether Rome was satisfied with his political activities.

passed through Kanara. Padre Vincenzo describes the fertility of the land, the well being of the people and the wisdom of the Government of that Kingdom. Of the Christians he says that there were about 6000 scattered everywhere; but for many years without Sacrements. A few months before, a Jesuit belonging to the noble house of the Spinolas had come to Kanara, and, by his unremitting toil, he had gained for himself fame of great Missionary. But when the Fathers exiled from Ambalakat passed through Kanara, he was already dead. As we have related elsewhere, a few more Jesuits came to Kanara from Goa; but they were too few to cope with the work. At Onore (Honawar) the Carmelites found two Priests, Missionaries from Banda, who worked for the Portuguese soldiers.

To remedy the sad state of affairs into which the Church in Kanara had fallen, King John IV of Portugal (1640-1656) had induced the Pope to nominate *Andrew Gomez*, an Indian Priest, Vicar Apostolic of Kanara. Frs. Maffei-Moore, in the *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, assert that this was in compliance with the will of Sivappa Naik, Rajah of Kanara (Bednore), who objected to the appointment of a European Bishop in his dominions.

The Bull of nomination was brought out by Peter Borges, but Gomez died before its arrival, and nothing more was done in the matter.

9. THOMAS DE CASTRO

From 1652 to 1675 there was no Archbishop in Goa, which was an additional reason for appointing a Vicar Apostolic for Kanara. When the Carmelites were back in Rome—both after their first and their second Mission to Malabar—they reported on the miserable state of Christianity in Kanara, and pleaded for the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic. The Holy See finally chose Fr. *Thomas de Castro*, an Indian Theatine, then actually in Rome, as Vicar Apostolic of Kanara. He was nephew of Don Matheus and a native of Salsette. He was to have come out in 1674, but delays, not uncommon in those days, prevented his reaching Mangalore till three years later.

In 1675 the Archiepiscopal See of Goa was filled after a vacancy of twenty-two years, by the appointment of Anthony Brandao as Archbishop. As soon as he came to know of Bishop De Castro's nomination as Vicar Apostolic of Kanara he refused to cede his jurisdiction over the District, claiming it to be his in virtue of the Padroado granted by the Popes to the sovereigns of Portugal, and he went the length of declaring that Bishop de Castro had forged his credentials and the Bull of the Pope. The Christians of Kanara were accordingly prohibited to have anything to do with the new Vicar Apostolic. This quarrel over the Padroado continued till Archbishop Brandao's death, and then entered on a new and acute phase. The Vicar Capitular, or the Cathedral Chapter of Goa, sent Father Joseph Vaz to Kanara with the authority of a Vicar-Forane, and enjoined on him not to submit to Bishop De Castro unless he could show his Bull of nomination. The Bull of nomination was not carefully drawn up. Bishop De Castro was called Vicar Ap., Inquisitor General and founder of the Mission in the Kingdom of Cochin, Tanor, Gingi, Madura, Mayssur, Cranganor, Cannanore and all the Coast of Canara. (Cfr. Do Rego pp. 21,22). At the beginning the Vicar Ap. stayed in Calicut. Later he went to Mangalore.

10. THE VENERABLE FR. JOSEPH VAZ IN KANARA

Before we pass on to speak more especially of the Jesuits, it will be well to devote a few pages to the work of the Venerable *Fr. Joseph Vaz* in Mangalore and other parts of Kanara, for his name there is still held in benediction.

He was born in Sancoale, Salsette, April 21, 1651, and was appointed Vicar Forane of Kanara in 1681. While in Kanara Fr. Vaz showed himself to be truly an apostolic man, travelling barefooted, catechizing the children, administering the Sacraments, and doing his best to uplift the moral and spiritual condition of the people. He ransomed many Christian slaves, who had either been sold to the Heathen by their parents, or had been enslaved because they could not pay their debts. He laboured exceedingly to bring back to the fold some miserable

apostates. One of these cost him hunger, thirst, insults which he gladly suffered to win him back to Christ. The poor wretch was living among the pagans, far from the Christians, and being in the employ of the King of Kanara, he was rarely at home. One day Fr. Vaz went to the house of the apostate and waited for him there. The man came, and pretending not to know the Father, asked him what he wanted. The prudent Missionary said that he was very tired, and not wanting to take shelter with the infidels, had come to beg for a little food and some protection for the night. The apostate denied that he ever was a Christian and said he was not accustomed to receive Catholic Priests; the Father had better go elsewhere, otherwise he might experience something far worse than mere fatigue or hunger. The Missionary received these threats with patience but did not stir. Meanwhile the rumour spread that the man was a Christian, and that he was ill treating the Father whom everyone loved and respected. The murmurings reached the ear of the man who got so incensed that he threatened the Father worse than before. The Father let the tempest blow over, and then addressed the poor sinner with such kindness, he told him that he had only come in search of his soul and of the souls of his children, that the man did not know what to say. For many days Fr. Vaz stopped at the door of the apostate, and not caring for the insults with which they were treating him, not minding hunger and thirst, was ever praying to God for the conversion of those poor souls. Finally his patience triumphed over the wolf, who was threatening to devour even the pastor of the flock.

Some bad Christians of *Ullal*, who could not suffer the Father's admonitions to change their ways, resolved to kill him. One day they met him in the fields near Ullal, and they beat him soundly. We do not know what end these blackguards made; but tradition says that God cursed the place of the crime, and whilst before it was all green, it became barren and desolate. But the main troubles of Fr. Vaz in Kanara were with the Vicar Apostolic. The Goa authorities had commanded under pain of excommunication that no one should deal with Bishop

de Castro unless he showed his Bulls of nomination. The Vicar Apostolic on the other hand threatened with excommunication all those who should disobey the Apostolic Letters, and administer the Sacraments without his permission, or receive them from priests not approved by him. This was the* state of affairs when Fr. Vaz reached Kanara. In Barcelor he found De Castro's priests, and since it was not yet known whether they had valid jurisdiction, he had great trouble in convalidating the Sacraments administered by them. Great was the scandal among the faithful, who said that the Church was divided, for Goa did not approve the dispositions of Rome, and Rome seemed to disapprove the arrangements of Goa. Since the Goan Chapter had come to no decision with regard to the Bulls of the Vicar Apostolic, and since the latter endeavoured to extend his jurisdiction, Fr. Vaz decided to approach him and try to come to some agreement. He proposed to him that he should delegate his jurisdiction to him, in case it were not legitimate, and, till there came a decision from Goa, that he should withdraw his own priests, who were wandering throughout the Mission. His Lordship liked the idea, and accepted it. Then Fr. Vaz's work increased, and he baptized the children of many Christians, who, for want of priests, had not received this sacrament, he brought back many apostates and converted many Gentiles, so that the number of Catholics greatly increased. However scattered their houses were, he visited the Christians, both of the plains and of the mountains, gathered the orphans, settled quarrels, rescued the slaves; taught the more clever how to give Baptism in case of necessity, and instructed all in the doctrine of Christ, and in the fear of the Lord. With his ardent charity he gained the esteem both of Christians and Gentiles and opened the field to the labours of other evangelical workers. Meanwhile Don Emmanuel De Souza De Menezes, the new Archbishop, arrived in Goa. He was displeased with Fr. Vaz, on account of the agreement he had made with the Vicar Apostolic. But later on a Religious of the Society of Jesus,

* According to D. Rego, (p. 20) the Barcelor Church was built by the Jesuits.

who, on coming from Mysore had stopped in Barcelor and had seen the Servant of God in ecstasy there, acquainted the Archbishop with the extraordinary virtue of Fr. Vaz. The Archbishop confirmed him in the office of Vicar of Vara of Kanara, but ordered him not to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic. He sent Frs. Nicholas de Gamboa, Hyacinth de Mello and Anthony De Mello to help him. But Don Thomas pretended to extend the jurisdiction all over the Kingdom, for he maintained that Portuguese jurisdiction had expired with the loss of the Kingdom of Kanara, and the Holy See had the right to provide for the needs of the Mission. The Servant of God was in a quandary, for the Archbishop was as strong in maintaining his rights as the Vicar Apostolic was. The latter was called founder of the Mission by the Holy See. This of course, he was not and therefore—the Archbishop argued—the Holy See had not been properly informed with the state of affairs in Kanara, and its provisions were not binding. Fr. Vaz was not acknowledged Vicar de Vara by several Christians. He was told he was merely the Chaplain of the Portuguese Factory in Mangalore and often he was treated as a Schismatic. In the circumstances he desired to return to Goa. But the Archbishop did not allow him. The Queen of Kanara was favouring the Vicar Apostolic; but still in spite of her help, Don Thomas never succeeded in extending his rule beyond the church of Milagres in Mangalore, which he had built. To show that he was not actuated by any personal motive in opposing him, Fr. Vaz often spoke to the Vicar Apostolic, and begged of him not to fulminate so many excommunications while the matter was still undecided. The infidels were scandalized and the Christians were bewildered. The Vicar listened for a while, but then, seeing that he could not exercise the jurisdiction as he pleased, he again grew restive, and Fr. Vaz had to suffer in consequence. This lasted till 1684, when the Archbishop died, and then the Chapter allowed Fr. Vaz to leave Kanara, putting in his place Fr. Nicholas de Gamboa.

The holy man had conceived the plan of going to Ceylon, and working there for that Church, which, for want of pastors,

had been reduced to the last extremity. But before leaving
Kanara he paid a visit to the Vicar General of the Vicar
Apostolic, to whom, not as Vicar of Vara, but as Fr. Vaz, he
protested that throughout his mission he had never intended to
offend Bishop de Castro, or his priests; yet, if in any thing he
had failed, he begged to be forgiven. He knew that he had not
incurred excommunication, but, in order to convince the people
that he did not despise the Bishop's threats, he asked a condi-
tional, but public, absolution. The Vicar General was asto-
nished at such great humility, and refused to absolve Fr. Vaz,
who departed from Mangalore. The Vicar Apostolic had died
shortly before.

Fr. Vaz left Goa for Ceylon in the year 1686 with the
patent and faculty from the Chapter, *Sede Vacante*. With him
went Fr. Paolo de Souza and Brother Estavao de Sequeira, both
of the Congregation of the Oratory. Their purpose was to visit
the Missions of the South, where there was such a dearth of
priests, as Fr. Joseph Vaz knew from his experience during the
three years he was Vicar de Vara of Kanara. When they had
rendered great services to God by labouring for souls and had
reached Tellichery, they came to hear of the watches that were
being kept by the heretical Hollanders to prevent Catholic
priests from entering those countries.

Accordingly they decided to reduce their number and
Fr. Paolo De Souza and Bro. Estevao de Sequeira returned to
the Mission of Kanara and Fr. Joseph Vaz with a boy John,
continued their way trying to find out the nature of the
obstacles which the heretics had placed to impede their journey
to Ceylon. (*) In this journey he spent several months during

* See note at the end of the Chapter.

(*) *Fr. S. G. Perera, S. J.* writes as follows: "It was only at Tellichery
that he disclosed to his two companions his intention of continuing the
journey further southwards. They shrank from the peril of entering
unknown lands lying under the domination of the heretical Dutch and
desired to return home to Goa leaving Fr. Joseph Vaz to continue his way
alone if he was bent on it". (*The Life of Vener. Joseph Vaz, by S. G. Perera,
S. J.* pp. 45, 46).

which he administered the Sacraments to the Christians, visited the prisons of Bargare (Badagara) and others, where the Christians had much to suffer from the cruelties inflicted by their pagan (and Moor) tyrants, and learnt to read and write Tamil.

In Cochin he found that the Dutch gave sufficient freedom to the Christians, but the priests did not even allow him to say Mass. In Topo the Fathers of the Society of Jesus treated Fr. Vaz with great charity. They not only gave him some useful advice as to his journey, but they also helped him disguise himself as a Dutch slave, and thus enter Ceylon. For this purpose he went to Tuticorin, where he met a Jesuit Father whom he had known at the College of St. Paul in Goa. Though Fr. Joseph often spoke with the Father, yet he always dressed as a cooly. But during Holy week he decided to take part in the ceremonies of the Church. This indiscretion led to the discovery that the man dressed as a cooly was a Catholic Priest. The Dutch Governor of Tuticorin suspected that the Priest want to travel to Ceylon, and gave strict orders that no boat should take any passenger to the island without his express leave. But soon after the Governor died and his successor granted permission that the labourer and his servant might enter Ceylon to earn there an honest living. Thus Fr. Vaz could proceed on his journey, and he landed in Jaffna towards the end of April 1687. (Cfr. *Fr. Perera*—pp. 47, 48).

We cannot give here an account of the extraordinary work he did there. He is said to have converted some 30,000 souls, so that he earned to himself the title of Apostle of Ceylon. He suffered imprisonment for his zeal and died a holy death on Jan. 16, 1711 (*). Soon after his death Bishop Emmanuel of Malacca, Bishop de Vasconcellos of Cochin, the Archbishop of Goa and the Archbishop of Manila set up the process of his Beatification. Since there were insuperable difficulties of

(*) There is an interesting report of Fr. Vaz's work in Ceylon to the Viceroy, written by the Jesuit Provincial Fr. Freyre. He describes there the Father's incredible activity, the esteem in which he was held by the Catholics of Ceylon and the fruitless efforts of the Dutch to capture him. (Cfr. Life...by *Fr. S. G. Perera, S. J.* pp. 74, 80, 81, 89, etc...).

holding an inquiry in due legal form in a country dominated by heretics and pagans, Benedict XIV granted special facilities. Preliminary investigations were held, but the process did not reach its conclusion. Let us pray that it may be resumed in the near future, so that India also may be officially represented in the Catalogue of the Saints.

To return now to Bishop De Castro, we may say that he did a great deal for the good of religion during the time he was Vicar Apostolic of Kanara.

He built the original Milagres church of Mangalore, where the cemetery is now. Rosario church is older, but it was looked upon as the Factory church, and as such was under Goanese jurisdiction. He obtained many favours from Chennamai, Queen of Kanara, for the Christians; among others, exemption, to a certain extent, from secular jurisdiction, and the cession of a piece of land near Milagres, which afterwards became the bone of contention in the first quarrel in the history of that church. He also enjoyed the esteem and favour of the Raja of Bednore on account of his excellent qualities. At first he resided at Calicut, but afterwards he came to live in Mangalore, near Milagres in which church he was buried when he died, July 16, 1684. His name is on the records of Milagres church on account of some legacies he bequeathed. How the differences with Goa were ended is not known. It is pretty certain however, that the Holy See decided nothing adverse to Bishop De Castro. We have already mentioned that he consecrated Fr. Salgado as Coadjutor of Bishop De Campo, Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. Fr. Nicholas De Camboa succeeded Fr. Vaz as Vicar Forane, thus continuing Goanese jurisdiction which, after the death of Bishop De Castro and his Vicar General, (1700) was gradually extended to all the churches of Kanara—From about 1685 till 1712 the Oratorians were working in Kanara. Among them was Fr. D'Mello, a native of Margao, who founded the church of Minin Jesus (Infant Jesus) in Bantwal. He had the reputation of being a very holy man, and many wonderful things are recorded of him. He died in Ceylon in 1700.

Note.—The Account of Fr. Joseph Vaz's Appostolate in Kanara has been taken from do Rego's Op. Cit. Chapters III and IV. Archbishop Zaleski, who brought out again Do Rego's work, published a precious document in the Preface, which was omitted by do Rego. It is a *Report* by Fr. Joseph Vaz himself to the Goa Ordinary, dated 14—ix—1681, on his work in Kanara. We translate it here: "Lord J. Christ who is for all the true remedy of salvation, give to Your Lordship his grace, peace and benediction.

"After Your Lordship honoured me by sending me to Kanara, as Vicar of Vara of the Districts of Mangalore and of Barcelor, on the way I administered the Sacrament of Penance to the Christians of Baticala and Sirul. Then I reached Barcelor where the Pastoral of the late Most Rev. Primate had been published. Therein all his subjects were threatened with excommunication should they receive the Sacraments from Bishop Thomas, until the same had shown his Brief. I found that most of the people there had received the Sacraments from the Bishop's Missionaries, who had come here towards the end of Lent.

"Considering the just reasons which they were bringing forth as an excuse namely that for more than one year they had been without Parish Priest, that all were living and many were dying, without the Sacraments, with danger for their eternal salvation, I reconciled those who had not confessed to the Bishop's Missionaries, and, as to the others, I obliged them to confess again, for they owed obedience to Your Lordship and they confessed again very willingly. But during Easter week they celebrated four marriages, without taking any notice that one of my men had told the Priests as well as the people that I would soon be in the place, and that I had delayed only on account of the Confessions. I was confused. But then thinking that those who had married certainly belonged to the jurisdiction of Y. Lordship and were my Parishioners, I first admonished them secretely, and then induced them to accept the admonition in public; both because their constancy should be an example to others, and also because they all should know that the presence of the Parish Priest was necessary for the valid celebration of marriage, and so no one should dare to celebrate it in future without him; again that the people should by no means consider these Fathers as their Parish Priests, when their Vicar Forane was at Honor and it was easy to have recourse to him. On reporting matters to Y. Lordship, I could not wait for an answer, because, winter having begun already, there might have been a delay; and on account of the delay there might have happened the scandal of some wishing to abandon their wives.

"When I reached Calianapor I came to know that the same Fathers had celebrated several marriages. I left these people in good faith for they are rude and ill instructed in the faith. And I did likewise in Molquim

for the same reason. Upon arriving at Mangalore I found that many people came to Mass to our church, and very few went to the Bishop's church. Our Easter Sunday the Bishop had published a letter in his church wherein he excommunicated all those who refused to obey the Apostolic Letters and not acknowledging his jurisdiction, received or administered the Sacraments; and all the Sacraments which had been received after his first warning were null and void, for, to be valid, they require jurisdiction in the minister. Hence to make them valid, they had to go to him to receive them a second time. And he declared that the Father whom Y. Lordship is sending to this town is only a Chaplain of the Factory, and only for the Factory people who live in the Portuguese quarters. From this our way of going on there will be and there is already a great scandal both for the faithful and for the infidels. Many in fact believe and say that the Catholic Church is divided, and that we and the Bishop's Priests are not children of the same Mother Church; and that our doctrine and our Sacraments are different; and what the ones do, the others destroy. Thus the Catholic Church is much despised and is not acceptable.

"Wishing then to remedy—as far as lay in me—this state of things and fearing it might be said of me *noluit intelligere ut bene ageret,* I went to the Bishop, who showed me his faculties and the original Brief in which, among others, was named this land of Kanara and this city of Mangalore. He showed me also a letter of our Vicar General in which he said that a copy of the Brief had been sent to him and that he had already remitted it to Y. Rev. and that within a short time the question of his jurisdiction will be decided.

"On seeing these documents I began to doubt, and though to be sure in conscience it was enough for me to hold firmly that I had been sent here as Vicar by Y. Lordship, and to follow the example of my predecessors and of neighbouring Vicars, yet, the better to ensure the effect and fruit of the Sacraments, and to establish peace among us, I asked the Bishop that, in case his jurisdiction was real, he should delegate it to me conditionally; that meanwhile I would report to Y. Lordship and would ask for instructions; but that, in the meantime he should suspend the excommunications. To this he consented.

"I report all this to Y. Lordship, and I remain obedient to all your orders. And in order to proceed with safety, I first ask pardon, if by ignorance I have done anything contrary to what I should have done. In the second place I beg of Y. Lordship to declare whether the Christians who live in the Kingdom of Kanara are all under our jurisdiction, or only some, who live in some parts, and what these parts are. For, leaving out the most remote places in the past, as well as today, the Christians of

Bantualla, Arcolla, and Moloquim belonged to Mangalore. Those of Baticala, Siral, Calianapor and Gandalym were taken care of by the Vicar of Barcelor, supposing that for some time another Priest was staying at Gandalym. The Christians of Combota and Chandor were dependent on the Father at Honor. As to the distance of these places Y. Lordship can get information from P. Manoel do Temudo, S. J. and from P. Antonio do Cunha Vicar of St. Anne's or from others who have been Vicars here.

"In the third place, in case all these localities be of our jurisdiction I ask of Y. Lordship to send at least one Priest to Barcelor, because there is great need. This place is equally distant from Honor and Mangalore, and there are many Christians desirous to frequent the Church and the Sacraments. Your zeal and piety will not permit that these poor people should lament with Jeremias : *parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis.* Since there are many Priests in Goa, Y. Rev. can find some to come and give food to these little ones of Christ. In the fourth place I beg of Y. Lordship to kindly explain the reasons you have to contest the jurisdiction of the Vicar Ap. over this Kingdom or parts of the same, for they are all mentioned in the Brief, in order that I may be able to give satisfaction to Y. Lordship, and at the same time allay the doubts of my conscience. Then, knowing these reasons, I may decide how to act. For the rest Y. Lordship knows better than I what I should ask for, and what is more conducive to the salvation of souls and to the service of God, who may deign to preserve Y. Lordship for the good of these Christian Communities as we, who are Y. Lordship's subjects, do desire it."

Mangalore, 14. Sept. 1681. J. Vaz.

CHAPTER VIII

BRIEF NOTES OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF MALABAR AND KANARA (1663—1795)

1. *The Dutch, the Raja of Cochin and the Zamorin,*
   The Raja of Cochin a puppet of the Dutch.
   Wars between Cochin and Calicut.
   Destruction of the Church in Calicut.
   News of Tanur.

NOTE 1.
   Fr. Joao Ribeiro's Treaty with the Zamorin.

NOTE 2.
   A letter of Pere Tachard, S. J. on Calicut.

2. *The Kanarese, the English and the French.*
   Treaties of 1671, 1678, and 1714 between the Portuguese and the Kanara Rajas.
   Wars between Kanara and Cannanore.
   The English and the French.

NOTE 3.
   Tellicherry.

NOTE 4.
   Cannanore.

3. *The Rise of Travancore.*
   Anarchy.
   Martanda Varma comes to the *Gadi.*
   His ruthlessness towards the Nobles.
   Wars against Quilon, Kayamkulam and the Dutch,
   The Battle of Kolachel (1741).

4. *E. B. De Lannoy (Valyia Capitan — The Great Captain).*
   He is taken prisoner at Kolachel.
   He reorganizes the Army.
   Conquers Vadakumkur and Thekumkur.
   Builds the Travancore Lines.
   The Christians lose their privileges,
   March on Trichur.

NOTE 5.

A Dutch Description of the Malabar Christians.

5. *Hyder Ali.*

His obscure Origin.

His Exploits at Devanhalli (1749), at Dindigul and in Mysore (1759–1761).

The Conquest of Bednur, the Capital of Kanara (1762).

NOTE 6.

On the Conquest of Bednur.

6. *Hyder Ali in Malabar.*

Nayar Hegemony destroyed (1762).

Zamorin's Suicide (1766).

Fall of Mangalore (1768).

NOTE 7.

The Taking of Mangalore.

Christians imprisoned.

Treaty of Peace with Portugal.

De Lannoy's Death (1778).

Malabar Rebellion (1782).

Hyder Ali's Death (1782).

NOTE 8.

Hyder Ali and the Jesuits.

7. *Tippu Sultan.*

Conquest of Bednur (1783).

Fall of Mangalore (1784).

Tippu as Paighambar (Prophet) (1788).

Malabar Rebellion.

Cranganore and Cochin sold to Travancore (1789).

The Third Mysore War.

Cochin falls to the English (1795).

NOTE 9.

A Letter of Fr. Miranda.

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CHAPTER VIII

BRIEF NOTES ON THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF MALABAR AND KANARA (1663-1795)

1. THE DUTCH, THE RAJA OF COCHIN AND THE ZAMORIN.

In the first chapter we have described the arrival of the Dutch in Malabar. Their sole object was the pepper trade, and they subordinated everything to that. Later on, Governor Van Goens set about to consolidate their position in Cochin. Veera Kerala Varma was placed on the throne, and Van Goens himself crowned him with a crown which bore the arms of the Dutch East India Company. The Raja expressely put himself under the protection of the Dutch and guaranted them the monopoly of pepper and cinnamon.

Till Van Reede came to Cochin (1673) the Dutch adopted no definite policy towards the Rajas. It was Van Reede who made it clear that the Company was not satisfied only with the trade privileges in Malabar, but desired political power also. He fixed the civil list of the Cochin Raja and curtailed his authority. Further he made a league with the principal nobles of Cochin against all the enemies of the Company and of the State. Four years later a new agreement was stipulated whereby the princes of the ruling family were excluded from all influence, the Paliyam chief, and not the Raja, became the practical ruler of the State, and the old custom, which exempted the Nayar nobility from punishment, was abolished.

How the relations of the Company to the Christians were regulated, we have said elsewhere, and will appear better as we go on.

With the trade of the Portuguese, the Dutch took over their difficulties, and circumstances compelled them to protect their trade at the sword's point. A dispute about the adoption into the Cochin family of two princes and four princesses from the Chaliyur branch, developed into a war, which was settled

only with the help of the Zamorin. The latter received Chetwai, which he had coveted so long (1691).

In order to avoid expenses, the Dutch dismantled the forts of Tangasseri, Cranganore and Cannanore and reduced the fort of Cochin to half its former size (1697). Thus they saved money, but lost authority and prestige.

In 1699 the Zamorin concluded a Treaty with the English and also with the Portuguese.* The Dutch saw in it a move against Cochin and themselves. They therefore invited the Zamorin and the English to a conference (1701). The conference failed and the Zamorin pushed on his preparations against Cochin and the Dutch. But in 1705 he died.

His successor (1705-11) carried on the Cochin War. He came to an agreement in 1708, and in 1710 gave back Chetwai to the Dutch. The next Zamorin reigned from 1711 to 1729. During his reign the Church in Calicut was again destroyed; for what reason, we do not know. But he made another Treaty with the Portuguese, which was signed in 1724, in the presence of Mr. Mollendin, the French Agent in Mahe. The Zamorin agreed to rebuild the church at his own expense and to provide it with a bell weighing 150 lbs. The church was completed in 1725, and called MAE DE DEOS, like the previous one. Further, the Zamorin granted a garden for the support of the church. This property seems to have formerly belonged to a certain Tulichanur, one of the four hereditary Ministers of the Zamorin, and formed the greater portion of the old Portuguese town, bounded on the North by the French and Danish Factories, on the East by the Chetty houses, on the South by the Moplah Mosque of Pattaciatu, and on the West by the sea. The Danish Factory was situated at the old Jail or Town Market. Scarcely anything of this property remains in possession of the church now; and the lands at Beypore, by the local chieftain, have been alienated. *

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* See (Note 1.)

* Cfr Maffei Moore, Op. Cit. pp. 288—91.
Cfr also HOGAN, "Malabar".

In 1714 the Zamorin waged war against the Dutch, and the English had a great hand in it. By treachery he got Chetwai from the Dutch and hoisted the English flag there. Next he moved against Cranganore. The Dutch blockaded the whole of Malabar. The Zamorin, helped by the English, fought on for some time, but finally sued for peace. (1718). In appearance he was defeated, but the Dutch had to find to their cost that his power was not crushed. As war indemnity he had to pay 85,000 fanams, to give up Chetwai, and some other places and allow the Dutch free trade in his dominions. Immediately after the conclusion of peace, the Zamorin strove to get Chetwai back but without success. The Dutch further desired him to get rid of the English. He resisted. In fact, he organised a confederacy against his perpetual foe, Cochin, and against the Dutch. But he died in 1729.

The next two years the country was ravaged by small pox. The new Zamorin (1729-41) busied himself with the *Mamakam* festivals. But the Dutch were plotting against him in the South. He could do little against them, for he was very weak in mind. He died in 1741.

There are two letters of Father Mathias Duarte from Tanor dated 19th and 22nd of March 1677. There we find that for more than fifty years the resident Father used to give the "*Seguro*" (a kind of passport) to the ships that sailed from Tanor. The Zamorin and the Raja of Tanur had always considered that sufficient. The Father asks that it should be so even in future. The Authorities concerned agreed and promised to give the compound back to the Father and to rebuild the Church, which had been destroyed.

In 1723 Tanur damaged a Portuguese Frigate. Portugal protested and the Raja (5-3-1724) agreed that by 1725, he would pay reparations to the tune of 10,000 xeraphins and would protect the Vicar and the Portuguese Factor from the vexations of the Moors.

There is an agreement of the 23rd Febr., 1735, between Antonio do Brite Freyre and the Zamorin which gives a glimpse of the difficulties of the Calicut Missionaries. By the Treaty of

Father Ribeiro it had been agreed that the Vicar of Calicut should have the rights of a civil Magistrate over the Christians. Now the Father had restricted the liberty of a certain Ventura, who apparently was rather popular with Christians and Nayars. They rushed in to the Father's compound, entered the Church, did some damage and released Ventura. The Portuguese Factor and the Vicar considered themselves threatened. They closed both the Factory and the Church, and withdrew to Tanur. Thereupon the Zamorin interfered. He promised that Ventura would be delivered again into the hands of the Portuguese authorities. The Nayars will be punished and the Father will be helped to bring to book the recalcitrant Christians. We have no lists of the Missionaries in Calicut and Tanur during these troublous times. In Tanur the number of Christians steadily dwindled, till we find that only a lay-Brother was kept there to take care of some lands. In 1712 (?) the famous Father Hanxleden was in Calicut for about 4 months. Soon after came Fr. Broglia-Brandolini; but not for long, for he went to Rome in 1720, in connexion with the Dispute on the Malabar Rites (q. v.)

From 1741 to 1746 there reigned in Calicut a Prince who was too gentle to wage war efficiently. He was succeeded by the Eralpad, who was a mortal enemy of the Dutch. For two years he was engaged in suppressing a rebellion among the Moplahs, which had broken out during the previous reign. Then he fought and intrigued so well that by 1754 he had reoccupied nearly all the lands which had been given to the Dutch in 1718.*

2. THE KANARESE, THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH.

In the Kingdom of Kanara which spread from Bednor to Kasaragod, South of Mangalore there was a flourishing community of Christians, mostly from Goa. "The older, no less than the recent Viceroys", says a letter of the time, "have always been taking great care in securing and confirming the rights and privileges, the immunities and liberties of this Com-

(*) See Note 2. On Calicut at the beginning of the XVIII Century

advantage of the Bibi of Cannanore's difficulties and asked of her the island of Darmapattnam—then an important port—insisting that otherwise it might fall into the hands of the Kanarese, or of the French. They immediately sent there 400 men. A kind of a combination was attempted between the French, the English and Cannanore and against the Kanarese. But very little could be achieved, for there was no mutual trust, but only a stealthy endeavour on the part of one ally to over-reach the other.

In 1736 the Kanarese moved North and fortified themselves at Cadalay. They were attacked and there was a terrible slaughter. Here the Dutch also came to help, on the understanding that Cadalay would not be given to the English. At Madayi, Taliparamba and Ayconny all were butchered. An attempt was made to save women and children, but in vain.

In Febr. 1737 the English sent Lynch to Mangalore to arrange peace. It was agreed that the Kanarese would restore Honore to the English, they would not seize the wrecks on the sea coast, they would not come South of the Valarpattanam river and they would secure the monopoly of pepper to the English. As to the dominions of the Kolattiri they could do as they pleased. Of course Darmapattanam was to remain English and the Bibi of Cannanore and the Prince Regent swore that they would never fight against the English.

In 1737 the Mahrattas took Salsette, near Goa. It was a terrible blow to Portugal and to the various missions. The English then bought off the Cannanore Prince Regent and made him promise that he would never countenance, or have any dealings with, any other European power except Great Britain. The Dutch thus lost their Cannanore trade and withdrew disgusted to Cochin.

The Kanarese refused to ratify the peace which had been concluded earlier in the year. They also cut off the supply of rice from Mangalore. Rangonatt—the Governor of Mangalore—invited the English to Madayi to discuss the situation, and asked of them to keep neutral in the wars against the Malabars.

The British, of course, did not give a definite answer; they reinforced themselves and awaited developments. Later on—in 1739—after they had received 30,000 rupees to fight the Kanarese, made peace with them, told them that, as far as they were concerned, they could advance towards the South as they pleased, provided they did not interfere with the rice supply.

Meanwhile the Nambiars—assisted by the English—rose against the French; after some fighting, peace was restored, then broken again. In 1740 the French enter Tanur, south of Calicut; they try to get Chetwai; they are beaten at Peringatur; and finally—in 1741—they agree to stop fighting. Several forts to be razed to the ground. The spices to be bought only at the respective factories, at regulated prices. No help to be given to the native Princes either by the English or by the French.

In 1742 the Pirates were most active. A nephew of Cota Maracar was taken prisoner and badly treated. The trouble spreads down even to Calicut. The Mappillas rise, and many lives are lost. Among others a Portuguese Priest is killed in Calicut, and the Christians are harassed. In 1743 the Angria Pirates appear before Calicut, where they damage many ships. They spread along the Coast, they intercept the Mangalore rice, they take a French ship and otherwise spread terror both among the natives, the English and the French.

Some years later peace reigned again among the Calicut Christians. In 1753 Don Clemente, Bishop of Cochin, consecrated Don Joao Vasconcellos S. J, Archbishop of Cranganore. The ceremony took place in Calicut.

3. The Rise of Travancore

In the XVII century there were two first class rulers in Malabar; the Zamorin of Calicut and the Raja Perimparapil of Cochin. Then there followed fourteen Rajas of the second order or class such as Tanur, Cranganore, Parur, Mangate, Travancore, etc. The Kartavas, or Rajas of the third order, were twelve.

The Trippapil family ruled in Travancore, but its influence in Malabar politics during the Portuguese period and in

the first years of the Dutch rule, was negligible. This was due to the fact that the feudal nobility had reduced the royal power almost to nil. The land and the revenues were almost entirely in the hands of the Ettuveetil Pillamar—or eight Brahmin families. From 1661 to 1677 anarchy was supreme. In 1677 Raja Aditya Varma was poisoned and his palace set on fire.

At about this time a Moghul general, commanding a small force of cavalry, advanced on Trivandrum and established himself there. The desolate Rani invited Kerala Varma, a prince from North Travancore, to come to her help. He came, drove out the invader and freed the country. But he did not enjoy the fruits of victory, for he was murdered by the agents of the Ettuveetil Pillamar.

It was during this time of disorder and anarchy that the maker of Travancore—Martanda Varma—was born (1706). As he grew up he understood that he would never wield real power till the Pillamar continued in strength. He vowed their destruction. For many years he lived a fugitive. He was clever and observant, and his experience taught him that he could not be an effective ruler if the military force was in the hands of the Nayars. In 1726 he advised his uncle — the Raja — to seek the help of the Moghul Governor of the Carnatic, in order to put down the Pillamars and the Nayars. The Raja agreed, went to Trichinopoly, and there accepted the protection of the Nawab of the Carnatic against a yearly tribute of Rs. 3,000. He returned to Travancore with 2,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, with which he hoped to crush the nobles and to establish royal authority.

Martanda Varma succeeded his uncle to the throne in 1729. But he soon found out that the troops from the Carnatic would not take their orders from him. He then set about to raise an army of his own. He had difficulties with his army as well, but by bribery, deceit and murder, he mastered the situation and struck terror through the whole of Malabar. As to the nobles, he sentenced 42 of them to be hanged and their women and children to be sold away in slavery.

The Dutch had already abolished many privileges enjoyed by the Nayars, but Martanda Varma simply exterminated the noble families, which had dominated the State for centuries. He thus founded an autocratic government, using a mercenary army recruited from the Tamilian Brahmins.

Next he moved against Quilon, conquered it, and sent the Raja as a state prisoner to Trivandrum. The northern princes in consternation tried to form a coalition and asked the help of the Dutch. The Dutch did not want to get entangled in native quarrels. The princes proceeded without them, defeated Martanda Varma and reinstated the Raja of Quilon on his throne. In a second campaign Martanda Varma was defeated again.

Then, through the intriguing minister Ramayyan, Martanda Varma secured the services of 1, 000 horses from a Marava chief and proceeded against Kayamkulam. The Dutch grew nervous at the ambition of Travancore and Commandeur Matten warned the Raja against attacking Kayamkulam. Martanda Varma replied asking the Company to mind its commerce and leave Malabar politics alone.

In 1739 Ramayyan marched against Kayamkulam. Van Imhoff came from Ceylon to Cochin, and decided on immediate action. He tried to join the northern princes together, he even went to Trivandrum and attempted negotiations. He failed. Then he decided upon attacking Travancore both from the North and the South. Forces from Ceylon landed at Colachel, and advanced towards Padmanabhapuram, one of the chief cities of Travancore.

The Priest Francis Cruz Fernandez relates that the Raja in a stormy night, took 4 little children and buried them alive at the four corners of the Fort of Trivandrum in order to placate the evil genius. Then he turned to the French Dupleix, who was only too glad to interfere in the affairs of the West Coast. But before the French even moved, the fortune of war turned in favour of Martanda Varma, who attacked and defeated the Dutch at Colachel (10 Aug. 1741)

4. E. B. De Lannoy

Among the prisoners taken at Colachel there were two remarkable men: a Belgian, Eustache de Lannoy, and a Frenchman, Doncaud. They were sent to Padmanabapuram and were chosen to organize the Travancore army on European lines. De Lannoy constructed an arsenal and provided Travancore with efficient artillery. He established his residence at Oudigarey. He married Margherita de Almeida, who was so charitable and kind towards the poor, that all called her the mother of the poor — *ob continuas largasque elehemosynas ab omnibus egenorum mater merito appellata*-so runs her epitaph.

After the defeat of the Dutch at Colachel, Martanda Varma moved against Kayamkulam but suffered a minor reverse. Kayamkulam advanced into Kilimanoor, not far from the capital itself. They took the fort and made ready to proceed further South. The English, who had provided the Prince of Kayamkulam with arms, sold arms and equipment to Martanda Varma as well. Helped by De Lannoy, Martanda Varma reorganized his forces and besieged his enemies and their Dutch allies in Kilimanoor. The fortress fell after 68 days. Kayamkulam signed a separate peace and became tributary to Travancore.

On the tomb of De Lannoy the words can still be read that "by force of arms and terror he subjected to Travancore all the Kingdoms from Kayamkulam to Cochin".* This is literally true. Through his efforts Vadakumkur and Thekumkur were annexed to Travancore. As to Purakkad, it must be remembered that it was the most loyal ally of the Dutch. Negotiations were begun between Martanda Varma's plenipotentiaries and the representatives of Purakkad and of the Dutch Company. The latter demanded to be regarded as a political power, while Martanda Varma was ready to negotiate with them only as merchants. The parleys went on for several months, and a new war broke out in 1746.

* De Lannoy's epitaph is as follows: " *Hoc signum (crucis) erit in coelo cum Dominus ad judicandum venerit. Siste viator. Hic jacet Eustachius Benedictus De Lannoy qui tanquam dux generalis militiae Travancoridis praefuit, as per annos XXXVIII ferme summa fidelitate Regi inserviit, cui omnia regna ex Caianculam usque ad Cochin vi armorum ac terrore subiecit. Vixit annos LXII, menses V et mortuus est die I Junii MDCCLXXVIII. R. I. P.*

At first Purakkad was victorious, but Travancore's Minister — the crafty Ramayyan — succeeded in buying over to his side the enemy Commander in Chief, Mathur Panikkar. Purakkad was defeated and the Raja sent prisoner to Trivandrum. During the war of 1746–1747 seven schismatic churches were robbed and destroyed in the Kayamkulam territory. In Tekkenkur, where Mar Thomas was staying, the schismatic churches were spared, while six Syro-Catholic churches were burned down.

In Vadakenkur, eleven churches were burned, of which 5 Catholic, 3 Syro-Catholic, 2 Schismatic and 1 mixed.

The political power of the Dutch was at an end, and South of Cochin their monopoly in pepper became valueless.

In 1748 the war continued and the soldiers of the Raja of Ambanapulay used poisoned arrows. The Travancore army got so frightened that they thought they were figthing with Krishna himself rather than with men. But De Lannoy came to the rescue. At the head of Christians and Muslims he defeated the Raja, who escaped to Cochin.

Here he succeeded in enlisting Cochin on his side, but in vain, for Ramayyan and De Lannoy remained victorious (1753). Two years later De Lannoy was made Commander in chief of the Travancore forces. The people called him *Valyia Capitan*, the great Captain.

He built the famous lines which defended the northern boundary of Travancore. They are described as follows in a letter of George Powney (17 Febr. 1790). "They run from West to East commencing at the sea on the island of Vaipin...and extend to Annimally or Elephant mountains where they terminate... The lines consist of a ditch about 16 feet broad and 20 feet deep with a thick bamboo hedge in it, a flight parapet and a good rampart and bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking each other. From one extreme of the lines to the other they are only assailable by regular approaches from the North."

By the treaty of 1753 the Dutch surrendered all political power. They further gave up the special protection of the Latin Christians. These people had enjoyed the privilege of being

tried and punished by the Company. Governor Moens explains this privilege as follows:—

"As the Christians (Paraya converts) are much despised by the heathens they would have to suffer humiliation and be ill-treated if they were not protected by the Company. Besides the above, the Christians have the privilege that they only pay half the taxes to the King". This, of course, gave rise to constant disputes. The Dutch insisted that their jurisdiction extended over all Christians, while the Rajas maintained that it was only the Latin Christians who were under the special protection of the Company. The Hollanders in the beginning made considerable efforts to pervert the Catholics.

But Gollenesse confesses — to his sincere regret — that "the reformed doctrine has made little progress in spite of all careful forethought and regulations concerning schools and education of children and instructions regarding the penetration of popish superstition".

Regarding the Jacobites, Moens says: "We have after the conquest of Cochin not only favoured the revolt of the Eastern Christians against the usurpations of Rome, but also assisted them in getting out new Bishops from Syria, by placing at their disposal the ships of the Company. The administrators of this Coast and the preachers of the reformed community have not only kept up a correspondence with the St. Thomas Christians about maintaining .... the rights of the Eastern churches against the Bishops of the Roman Catholics, but have also displayed much zeal in attempting to unite them with the Protestant church". *

But let us return to the political history of Kerala.

Martanda Varma died in 1758. His successor, Rama Varma carried out — though not so ruthlessly — the policy of his predecessor. He continued his favour to De Lannoy, who had organised an army of 50,000 on western models, who had surrounded Padmanabapuram with formidable fortifications, and who had constructed — besides the northern lines — a granite wall going from Budapandi to Cape Comorin.

* See Note 5: A Dutch Description of the Christians in Malabar.

Among the prisoners made in the campaign against Purakkad was the heir apparent of the Paliyam, Komu Achan. During his stay in Trivandrum he realized that the glory and power of the Dutch in Malabar were over, and upon returning to Cochin, he urged an alliance with Travancore to break the Zamorin and expel him from the territories of Cochin.

An army was got ready and marched northward under the command of the chief minister Martanda Pillai and of General de Lannoy. Their chief object was to conquer Trichur, which was the religious capital of Cochin and the nodal point of all its routes.

De Lannoy decided upon attacking Trichur on two sides. Martanda Pillai would march straight on the town, and De Lannoy would march on it from the North, after having captured Chetwai. The Zamorin fought most bravely, but had finally to withdraw from Cochin territory.

5. Hyder Ali.

Now a formidable danger arose against Malabar. Hyder Ali— the son of an obscure Fujidar of Kolar in Mysore — was born at Budikete in 1722. In 1749 he distinguished himself as a horseman at the siege of Devanhalli, then a frontier fortress of Mysore. His cool courage attracted the notice of the Commander in chief, who gave him the command of 50 horse and 2000 foot. During the struggle between the English and the French for supremacy in the Carnatic, Hyder Ali managed to secure two camel loads of gold coins, which were safely despatched to Devanhalli, as well as about 300 horses and 500 muskets. He continued to advance in favour during the siege of Trichinopoly and was appointed Fujidar of Dindigul. He then organized a perfect system of plunder and soon became the master of numerous elephants, camels, tents, of 1,500 horse, 3,000 regular infantry, 2,000 peons and 4 guns with their equipment.

The Annual Letter of 1756 says of Hyder Ali that he was becoming every day more terrible and ferocious. The Mysore Raja had recalled him several times; but he refused to obey. The rumour was that he was plotting a revolt against the Raja. The crimes which he had committed were so atrocious, that

nobles and peasants, upon hearing his name, ran for their lives. "They leave everything and go and hide in the jungle. Once there they die of hunger and disease. Those who escape the rapacity of the soldiers, die in the flames.

Four of our churches and as many houses for the Missionaries have been taken. I draw a veil over the outrages which the Moors have perpetrated on Christian virgins and respectable matrons."

So far the *Annual Letter.*

Aided by the French, Hyder organized a regular artillery an arsenal and a laboratory.

We need not relate how he became master of Bangalore, and how he acquired a right to a large portion of the revenues of Coimbatore. He was instrumental in ridding Mysore of the Mahrattas, and was saluted in Seringapatam with the title of *Fatte Hydar Bahadur*. In 1759 he managed to get Nanja Raji — who for 20 years had been practically the ruler of Mysore — to leave the capital. A French emissary, styling himself Bishop of Halicarnassus arrived with proposals to Hyder to join the French in expelling the English from Arcot. He made a treaty for the purpose with Lally at Pondicherry, which was signed in June 1760. But then the treachery of a certain Kande Rao compelled Hyder to run away from Seringapatam, leaving behind his 9 years old son Tippu, and his wife. His position was desperate. The Mahrattas threatened again to become masters of Mysore. But then they suffered a defeat at Panipat, while Hyder cajoled the expelled Nanja Raji to lend him the prestige of his name and make him his prime minister or *Dalavayi.*

How Kande Rao moved against Hyder Ali with a strong army, how Hyder's defeat seemed certain, how at the last moment Hyder deceived Kande Rao, who, thinking himself betrayed, fled to Seringapatam, how Hyder fell upon the disorganized army and routed it, how he managed to posses himself of most of the revenues of Mysore, how he had Kande Rao delivered up to him, Hyder having promised to spare his life and to take care of him as a parrot (an expression used to

denote kind treatment) and how he fulfilled his promise to the letter, by confining him in an iron cage, where the unfortunate man ended his days - all this reads more like a novel than sober history; and shows the resourcefulness, cleverness and utter unscrupulousness of Hyder Ali.

In 1761 he became the real ruler of Mysore; Basalat Jang invested him with the Nawabship of Sira. Hoskote, Dod Ballapur, Kodikonda, Penkonda and Chitaldrug were all taken one after another. From Chitaldrug Hyder planned the invasion of Bednur the capital of Canara. He entered the province at the end of January 1763 and in March the capital fell. It is said, that the booty was valued at twelve millions sterling.

It is certain that Hyder Ali's conquest of Bednur was the foundation of all his subsequent greatness. He wanted to make Bednur his capital; a splendid palace was begun, his family was transferred there. He established a mint and struck coins, known as Haidari and Bahaduri pagodas. He planned a naval arsenal on the West Coast for the construction of ships of war. At Bednur a conspiracy was discovered against Hyder, who effectually crushed all opposition by hanging more that three hundred conspirators. *

Now Hyder bethought himself of appeasing the Mahrattas, but he failed. In fact he sustained a damaging defeat at Rattihalli, and lost all his northern possessions. In 1765 peace was re-established and the conquest of Malabar was undertaken.

6. Hyder Ali in Kanara and in Malabar.

The growth of the Muslim power in Mysore and the aggressive spirit of Hyder Ali, made the fight between Calicut and Travancore seem no more than a domestic quarrel. The Zamorin was not slow to realize that the danger now was not a European fortress at Cochin or the loss of Trichur, but the great power which was consolidating itself on the Mysore plateau. A treaty was therefore negotiated in which the Zamorin agreed to withdraw from Cochin territory and to pay an indemnity of Rs. 1,59,999.

* Note 6 on the taking of Bednur.

It has been said that with this treaty the last page in the independent history of Kerala was written. With this date (1762) the Nayar hegemony in Malabar came to an end. Now this was most important, for in the words of Logan "the position which was occupied for centuries on centuries by the Nayar Caste in the civil and military organization of Malabar was so unique and so lasting that, but for foreign intervention, there seemed no reason why it should not have endured for centuries to come. Their functions in the body politic have been wisely described in their own traditions as "the eye", "the hand" and "the order", and to the present day we find them spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, but no longer preventing the rights of all classes from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse".

The first blow against the Nayars was struck by Travancore, where Martanda Varma crushed them by the instrumentality of a Tamilian bureaucracy and a mercenary army. Komu Menon, the chief of Paliyam, followed the policy of Travancore in dispossessing the Nayar feudal nobility of their immemorial rights. But the Rajas both of Travancore and of Cochin did not long enjoy their new power.

In 1766 Hyder descended into Kanara. Owing to the wooded nature of the country he encountered great difficulty in subduing the Nayars, but before the year was over he had conquered the petty kingdom of Chirakkal. The Zamorin, having lost his northern possessions, came forward and made his submission. Hyder agreed to reinstate him on payment of four lacks of Venetian sequins. The Zamorin hesitated, but he was confined to his palace, his ministers were tortured and he was prevented from performing the duties of his caste. In despair he set fire to the building and perished with all his wives and children. After some time the Nayars rebelled. More than 15,000 were removed to Mysore, of whom scarcely 200 survived. An amnesty was proclaimed and a fortress was commenced at Paulghaut, the point of communication with the country. At this time the Vicar of Calicut obtained from Madie, Hyder Ali's Governor of Calicut, an annual grant of 2420 fanams,

which was continued till Hyder's death. Similarly the ancient right of the Vicar to act as civil Magistrate for the Christians was acknowledged.

Now Hyder proposed that the Dutch should enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him; and that they should provide him with 1,000 European soldiers. Then he would respect the rights of the Company over Chetwai, provided he was allowed to march through it. He also would spare Cochin and Travancore, if Cochin paid every year four lacks and eight elephants, and Travancore 15 lacks and 30 elephants. Travancore answered by erecting defensive works up to Cranganore.

Intelligence meanwhile arrived that the Mahrattas planned an invasion of Mysore. Hyder adopted against them the scorched earth policy. But they advanced none the less. They finally agreed to retire on payment of 35 lacks, and Kolar to be retained in pledge of the rest.

In 1768 Hyder was fighting the English in the Carnatic, and the English General Staff planned a diversion on the West Coast in order to relieve the threat to Madras. Hence the Government of Bombay sent Admiral Watson to seize some of the West Coast Ports, among others Mangalore. This created a delicate problem for the Portuguese Factor in Mangalore. Though rivals in commerce, England and Portugal were political allies of long standing. Kanara had granted great privileges to Portugal. Hence the Mangalore Factor felt bound not to betray it in its hour of need. The Christians were treated well by Kanara. How would they be treated by Hyder Ali? The Portuguese fortifications commanded the mouth of the Mangalore river and if they did not stand in favour of Hyder, he could do little against the English. The officers of Hyder begged of the Factor to declare himself in their favour; but he refused. He had decided to remain neutral and no entreaties could make him change his mind. Then they formed a plot to entice the Factor away, and they themselves take possession of the fort. But the plot was discovered, and the Factor invited all the Christians to take shelter in the Factory.

Then, having heard that the Moors intended to storm the Factory, he invited the English to help in defending the Fort. They came and got possession of the Fort.

Under the Moors the Portuguese in Mangalore enjoyed many privileges; but the English made it clear to the Factor that such privileges were at an end. Thus he embarked for Goa. The news of the loss of Mangalore was communicated to Hyder, who ordered the troops which had been left at Bisnagar, Sira and Seringapatam to march to the Kingdom of Canara.

Hyder's son, Tippu, commanded the vanguard, consisting of 3,000 cavalry, and Hyder led the rest of the army. In a short time Mangalore was taken, and the English army, consisting of the general, 46 officers, 680 soldiers (English) and about 6,000 sepoys were captured. When the news of the disaster reached Bombay, its President wrote to Madras (14-6-1768): "The papers enclosed will inform you of the particulars of this unhappy event, which is greatly aggravated by the irregular and confused manner in which the retreat was conducted, by which we have sustained a very considerable loss of men, and the enemy have got possession of a very large quantity of gun gowder, many pieces of field artillery and a proportionable quantity of all other stores. This and its consequence may prove extremely prejudicial to your operations".

As may be seen in Note 8, Hyder Ali was incensed with the Christians for having assisted the English in the siege of Mangalore. Several Priests and Christians were put in jail. Among others Father Sebastian de Faria, Vicar Vara of Onore, was taken with two more Priests to Hydernagar. A Viceregal letter of 1772, speaking of the religious situation in Kanara, says: "With the Priests residing in these lands taken prisoner, this Christian Realm was left in disquiet, the errant sheep without Pastor and spiritual pasturage".

But Hyder felt himself threatened by the Mahrattas. To make himself secure in Kanara, he forced the English to accept a humiliating treaty, and opened negotiations with the Portuguese.

Writes the Viceroy, "knowing how important it was to be on friendly terms with this potentate (Hyder Ali) on account of the commerce in his ports, the restoration of all the rights which the State possessed in those lands, and the good of the Catholics who resided there I decided to send an envoy to treat of these matters." A treaty of peace was concluded, the terms of which were as follows:

"That the Portuguese should be allowed to build factories in Mangalore in the same manner as they had before".

"That they should be given the tribute of rice, and allowed to collect 'Lagimas' as of old".

"That the Vicars of the Churches will keep their ancient freedoms, and will use their jurisdiction in the administration of justice, as it was done before".

"That all the Christian prisoners should be set free".

Later on another treaty was signed, where, among other things, Hyder Ali undertook not to object to heathens becoming Christians.

In 1774 Hyder sent his engineer M. Catini, to select a suitable place for the construction of a fort in Mangalore. He reported to the Sultan that no better place could be found than that which was occupied by the Portuguese Factory.

In 1773 Hyder turned again his attention to Malabar, and annexed the territory of the Zamorin. Next he claimed Cranganore. The Dutch pleaded in favour of the Raja of Cochin, but finally had to yield. In 1776 Sirdar Khan - Hyder's General - captured Trichur.

Gradually the Company lost all its possessions, and further Hyder demanded 20 years revenue for all the Zamorin's lands in the hands of the Dutch. They then attempted an alliance with Travancore and Cochin, but it was too late.

It was at this time (1778) that De Lannoy died. His son had died in 1765. Thus Travancore lost one of the ablest generals it ever had. He had managed to secure from Hyder that the Catholic church at Verapoly and the District, which was mainly inhabited by Catholics, should be exempt from taxation.

Ever threatened by the Mahrattas, Hyder drove them over the Krishna in Dec. 1777. After long months of siege Hyder took Chitaldroog in 1779, and deported about 20,000 people to Seringapatam. Later he concluded a treaty wherein he agreed to co-operate with the Mahrattas in driving the English out of India. The English had been at war with the French and had taken Pondicherry in 1778 and Mahe in Malabar in March 1779. Mahe was the port through which Hyder received his military supplies from Mauritius. Therefore he imprisoned some English merchants at Calicut and had them brought to Mysore.

Later on he released them, and in 1780 he descended the Ghauts against the English.

French officers guided the operations and from Pulicat to Pondicherry a line of desolation from 30 to 50 miles inland was drawn round Madras. An English detachment under Col. Baillie was hemmed in and cut off. Upon the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, the forts of Chingleput and Wandiwash were relieved. Hyder raised the siege of Permacoil and Vellore. Meanwhile Sir Edward Hughes attacked and destroyed Hyder's infant navy at Calicut and Mangalore, and Hyder rapidly withdrew to the interior.

In June Coote was repulsed at Chilambram and retired to Porto Novo. On the 1st July, the battle of Porto Novo was fought, where the Mysorean army was defeated. Hyder was almost taken prisoner, but saved himself by following the advice of a faithful peon, and gallopping away. On the 27th August the battle of Polilore was fought, and the English won.

At this critical juncture Warren Hastings concluded peace with Sindia (13 Oct. 1781), and, through his good offices, he made peace also with the Mahrattas under Nana Farnavis (May 1782).

Now Hyder was in a critical situation. He had been beaten by Sir Eyre Coote, the French had not come forward with their promised help, Malabar and Coorg were up in arms against him. He then decided to give up the East and try his fortune in the West.

He sent an army corps to Malabar under Makhdum Ali, but it was defeated at Tricalore.

Hyder then proceeded by forced marches from Trichinopoly to Paulghat hoping to fight the English there. He was disappointed and sustained a defeat at Ponani. His health had been declining. He developed a *rajaporai* (royal boil) in the back. Hindu, Mohammedan and French Doctors were of no avail, and this remarkable man died on the 7th Dec. 1782, at the age of 60.*

7. TIPPU SULTAN.

The death of Hyder was kept hidden. All business went on as usual. His body was deposited in a chest filled with aromatics and sent off to Kolar. A courier on a dromedary, travelling 100 miles a day conveyed the news to Tippu who was encamped at Ponani. Next morning he was in full march eastward. After performing his father's funeral, he took possession of an army of 88,000 men, and a treasury containing three crores rupees in cash, besides an immense amount of jewels.*

At about this time General Matthews landed at Kundapur, and on the 16th Febr. 1783 he captured Bednur.

Honawar and Mangalore had also fallen to the English. Shaik Ayaz, the Governor of the country, having discovered that Tippu had ordered his assassination, abandoned his charge and fled to Bombay. General Matthews, who had possessed himself of more than 80 lacks of rupees, besides jewels, was awaiting for reinforcements, when Tippu started operations against him. He retook Kavale Durga and Anantapur, and having cut off all communications with the coast, invested Bednur. The garrison capitulated and all were sent off in irons to Seringapatam. On the 4th of May Tippu attacked Mangalore. The garrison held out till the 30th of January 1784, when it was allowed to retire to Tellicherry. The reversion of Mangalore to Tippu was signalized by the deportation of thousands of Seringapatam. Of this we shall deal is another work.

* Note 8 on Hyder Ali and the Jesuits.

* One crore is equivalent to ten millions.

In Jan. 1788 Tippu descended to Calicut where he remained for several months. He now began to claim the title of Paighambar, or Prophet, on the ground of his religious successes, and issued the following proclamation to the Malayalees :—

"From the period of the conquest until this day, during 24 years, you have been a turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your rainy season, you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom. Be it so. What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner, dwell quietly and pay your dues like good subjects; and since it is the practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all born in adultery, and are more shameless than the beasts of the field: I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices and to be like the rest of mankind; and if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated vows to honour the whole of you with Islam and to march all the chief persons to the seat of Government (Seringapatam)."

While still in Dindigul he had planned the conquest of Travancore, but before that he proceeded to Seringapatam, where he devoted some time to reorganise his army. In the meantime a rebellion broke out in Coorg and Malabar, and the Sultan, passing through Coorg, entered Malabar.

Fra Paolino asserts that in three years Tippu killed more than 30,000 Nayars, Brahmins and Christians. Some were hanged, others crushed by elephants, others again circumcised.

He divided the country of Malabar into districts, the officers of which were charged with the duty of collecting the revenue and instructing the people in the truth of Islam.

His orders were that "every being in the district, without distinction, should be honoured with Islam; that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honour, should be burned; that they should be traced to their lurking places, and that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion".

The Dutch, as usual, were overcautious. Tippu proposed to them that they should sell him Cochin, Cranganore and Aya Kotta. The last Fort was essential to enable Tippu to attack the famous lines constructed by De Lannoy. The Dutch hesitated, but finally (31 July 1789) the Commandeur agreed to sell Cranganore and Cochin to Travancore. The purchase and sale was made under the condition that goods were to be allowed free passage, and no duties should be charged thereon. The Lepers' House at Palliport to remain in the possession of the Company. The Roman Churches to continue in the protection of the Company. The Raja not to trouble himself with them or with the Priests, and the Christians to remain vassals of the Company and not to be burdened with new taxes.

The Governor had built a house for the Priests at Palliport. That was to remain attached to the church, and was not to be subjected to new taxes. Similarly the inhabitants were to keep their houses which were then in their possession. As long as they remained Christians like the Roman Catholics, they were to be under the Company, and under no pretext whatsoever could they be subjected to new taxes.

The king promised to pay three lacks of rupees within the next four years.

Tippu was mightily incensed by this piece of double dealing, and he would have vented his wrath on the Dutch, but for the complications arising from his attack on Travancore and the third Mysore war which it precipitated.

The English were the allies of Travancore as well as of the Nizam and of the Mahrattas.

They had bound themselves to unite against Tippu on the basis of an equal division of conquests. They took Carur, Darapuram, Coimbatore, Dindigul and Erode. Later Erode and Darapuram were retaken by Tippu, who resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country.

He made rapid marches to Trichinopoly and plundered Seringham. He demanded the aid of 6,000 men from the French offering to pay all expenses. The offer was not accepted.

On the West Coast the Mysoreans were defeated, Cannanore was taken and Malabar came under the English.

We shall not pursue the fighting forces in Mysore, nor relate how Bangalore fell to the English. After that a conspiracy against Tippu was discovered, and many were strangled or dragged to death by elephants. Lord Cornwallis took Devanhalli and Chick Ballapur.

Then he prepared to march on Seringapatam, the capital of Tippu Sultan. On the 13th of May 1792 he arrived at Arikere, 9 miles from Seringapatam, and from there he moved to Kannambadi, where he would meet General Abercromby, who, advancing through friendly Coorg, had taken Periyapatna. On the 15th there was a great battle, in which the Mysoreans were routed. But rain, sickness and want of supplies put a stop to all operations, and the English retired to Bangalore.

Between July and January the English took many forts, among others Nandidroog and Savandroog, thought to be impregnable. The Mahrattas, always bent on plunder, instead of co-operating with the English, went off to Bednur. Meanwhile Coimbatore surrendered to Tippu and the garrison, in violation of the terms of the capitulation, were marched off as prisoners to Seringapatam.

By the treaty signed at Seringapatam on Febr. 22nd Coorg, Cochin and Malabar—except the Wynaad—were ceded to the English. In 1795, during the war between England, France and Holland, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had taken refuge in England, issued orders to all the Governors of the Dutch Settlements in East India to admit the English into all their Forts, plantations and factories. Major Petrie was sent to take possession of Cochin in 1795, but Governor Van Spall, considering the orders of the Stadtholder to be null and void, refused to surrender. On Oct. 19th a shell was cast with excellent skill into the centre of the Government House. The white flag was hoisted forthwith, and Van Spall surrendered on the following day.

He had asked that the funds belonging to the Orphan College and the Poor House should not be confiscated, they

being money of orphans and the poor. Major Petrie answered that the said funds will belong to his Great Britannic Majesty, in so far that he will appoint persons over them, for their management.

Van Spall demanded that the free exercise of the reformed religion, as usual in the Dutch Church, where Divine Service is performed, should be allowed. And the English granted the request.

The Dutch begged that the Convent at Verapoly and all other Romish Churches, as also the heathen temples, will receive the protection that they have hitherto enjoyed, under the Company, and Major Petrio answered that "the British Government everywhere protects religious exercises."

NOTES.

1. *Fr. Ribeiro's Treaty with the Zamorin:* (*) When the Viceroy Count of Villaverde took up the Government, the Zamorin had broken peace with the Portuguese, he had refued to pay the Factor and to continue his subsidy to the Father, he had compelled the Christians to renounce their Faith, nay he had carried the miserable apostates in triumph before the houses of the Factor and of the Missionary. The Viceroy then ordered Francisco Pereira Da Silva, who was Capitao Mor Do Sul, to go to Calicut and harass the Zamorin in every way. This was done with indifferent success. Later on some more damage was done by the Portuguese in Ponani, against Moor ships, which were treacherously flying the Dutch flag. The Zamorin then sued for peace through the good offices of Prince Ramorma of Tanur, an old friend of Portugal. Padre Ribeiro, S. J. who was then working in Tanur, was chosen to start negotiations, which, owing to some untoward event, were not successful. Later on, however, in order to save Tanur from the threats of the Zamorin, the Viceroy consented to deal with Calicut.

On the 27th August Padre Ribeiro, S. J. left Tanur for Calicut, armed with all power from the Government, accompanied by the Regidores and 14 Nayars of Prince Ramorma. After long debates they came to some conclusion on the following lines:

(1) that the Zamorin would give up to the Portuguese Father of Calicut, all the Christians who had become Mahomedans after the last peace, and all those who intended to become Mohamedans;

(*) The documents which relate to this matter are to be found in *O Chronista De Tissuary Periodico Mensal*; Redactor *J. H. Da Cunha Rivara, Vol.* 11, 16 Abril Nova Goa 1867. *A India no Governo Do Vicerei Conde De Villa Verde,* 1693—1698. Cap. IV *Successos Das Armadas no Sul*

and that he would not consent that henceforth others should abandon the Law of the Christians for that of the Moors; also that he would hand over to the Father as a prisoner any Christian whom the Father would ask for;

(2) that the Zamorin would give a place in Calicut convenient for building a church on it. The church to be of stone and mortar, covered with tiles, with tower and bell and with houses in which the Vicar and the Factor could live. All this to be at the cost of the Zamorin, who would give all things necessary for such work;

(3) that the site of the church would be granted all the rights and privileges that are usually given in such cases;

(4) that no low caste people would be allowed to live near the church; that the government of the church compound would belong to the Vicars, who would have power over the Christians to administer justice according to the Christian Law, independently of anybody else; (1)

(5) that he would give leave to build the church of St. Anthony in Parulla, and that he would confirm to the Christians of St. Thomas all the honours and privileges which in ancient times had been granted to them by King Xeraman Perumal;

(6) that he would not allow Schismatics in his dominions, and that he would oblige all the Christians to obey to the Bishop; that he would never allow the Christians of St. Thomas living in his

(1) *Note:* This had been customary from olden times. Thus *Don Garcia De Noronha* made a convention (24-XII-1513) with the Zamorin and the Cannanore Ruler wherein it was agreed that if an Indian was guilty of a crime against a Portuguese he should be judged and punished by the Zamorin. If a Portuguese was guilty of a crime against the Indians, he was to be judged and sentenced by the Captain of the Fort. *Alfonso De Albuquerque* (22-II-1515) made a treaty with the Zamorin wherein he obtained for the Christians the same privilege which was enjoyed by the Portuguese.

In 1631 the Zamorin bound himself to give a place for building a church and a factory, and he promised to favour both Portuguese and Christians.

In 1605 the Captain of Cranganore *Antonio Moniz Barreto* made peace with the Zamorin. Among other things he obtained leave to preach Christianity throughout the Zamorin's dominions. No right of inheritance, possessions, office or dignity could be lost or forfeited by a convert to Christianity.

The Zamorin would grant a place any where in his Kingdom for the Christians to build a Church. The same Church to enjoy right of asylum. The Fathers to administer justice on behalf of the Christians.

Kingdom, or under his Vassals, to receive any Bishop or Prelate, who did not come by order of the Pope and of the King of Portugal, and of this State, and of the Archbishop of Goa; and if anyone should enter into his dominions, that he would give him up to a person sent by the Viceroy; (1)

(7) that he would allow in all his Kingdom and dominions and in those of his Vassals the Gospel to be preached, and all — of any caste whatsoever to become Christians without being troubled for this reason or losing their property, of which, on the contrary, they would be allowed to dispose freely, as is the custom among Christians;

(8) that he would be obliged to give the necessary place, in any part of his Kingdom and in those of his Vassals, for the building of churches, which will be built in the manner that is usual among Christians; and the Fathers who will be in charge of them will have power over the Christians to administer justice according to the Christian Law, without contradiction from anyone;

(9) that he would pay for the ornaments and images which had been burnt or stolen from our church, and that he would partially compensate for the losses which the Moors had caused to the Christians of Calicut, when they rifled and burnt their houses; and he would order restitution of any cloths or vestments that could be found;

(10) that he would return to the church of Calicut its coconut garden; and that he would confirm to the Fathers as well as to the Officials of the Factory the ancient privileges of attending on his right hand at the Mamanga, which they enjoyed from ancient times;

(11) that he would give free passage through his dominions to the Religious and the Portuguese Priests, or such as are Vassals of the State, without their being obliged for the things of their use or for the use of the churches to pay custom duty, and that he would see that nobody in his dominions dared to molest them;

(12) that from no one of his ports would he allow navigation to Mascate or any other port hostile to the State, and that no ship of his would sail to any part without our passport, and if any were taken without passport, or without keeping the conditions of the same, it would be lost in favour of the royal treasury;

(13) that the Zamorin would be obliged to give up all our deserters who may go to his dominions; and he would allow us to recruit sailors for our fleet in his Kingdom; and we shall pay them according to the local custom;

(1) This had already been granted in the peace treaty of 1631.

(14) that no paro belonging to his Vassals would do harm or carry on hostilities by sea or by land against the Vassals of the State; and were they to do otherwise, the King Zamorin would be obliged to punish them, and see that the booty, property and ships taken should be restored

(15) that of these capitulations the Zamorin would fulfil immediately those that could be entirely fulfilled without delay; and if, after the peace had been sworn, the Zamorin should break any of them, the peace would be entirely undone, and we could do him all harm, and take all his vessels, even though they were sailing with our passports;

(16) that failing the Factor, the Father Vicar of Calicut could expedite the commerce in the Zamorin's ports, and would give passports to his ships and to those of his Vassals.

(17) This para stipulates the mode of ratifying these capitulations. All this was written on "*ola*" as is the custom of the country even to this day; and then it was written on paper by Padre Joao Ribeiro. When it was question of taking the oath, Padre Joao Ribeiro endeavoured to get the Zamorin to write on paper together with his seal, for which the Father had everything ready. But the Zamorin excused himself saying that he neither knew nor could write with our pen and ink, and that he had never put his seal on paper; that it would be enough to swear and sign the capitulations written on "*ola*" according to custom; and the Father was satisfied.

In his letter to the Viceroy the Father relates certain circumstances which took place on the occasion of the settlement of these capitulations. At first the Father showed himself somewhat difficult in granting the above conditions, and, in obedience to the instructions he had received from the Viceroy, he desired to obtain some of the bronze pieces of artillery in possession of the Zamorin. But the Regidores and the heads of the people were opposed to this, saying that these were arms with which for more than 130 years the palace of the Zamorin was adorned and gained credit; that it was necessary to close entirely the door to the European nations, so that they should not, each one, ask for its own guns, so that literally none would remain. That the Portuguese ought not to esteem it little gratifying that the Zamorin should oblige himself to build at his own cost a new church of stone and mortar in compensation of the leaves and bamboos which they had burnt from the old church, without receiving any compensation from us for his vessels which we had burnt in Calicut and in Ponani. Hence Padre Ribeiro agreed to sign the peace without that condition.

Over the matter of having or not a Factor in Calicut there was a long debate. Although the 16th condition allowed the Factor, the Zamorin and the Regidores endeavoured to obtain that there should be none. They desired on the contrary that his place should be taken by the Father Vicar, who should always be one of the Fathers accustomed to deal with the Malavares, and who knew their manners and customs. They said that should by chance arise some difference between the Factor and the English, it would be impossible for them to make them come to some agreement. The Father advised the Viceroy to yield, for besides the reasons brought forth by the Zamorin there was this that the Portuguese Factory had not to be as big as the English one, which was built by them at their own cost; nor could the Portuguese Factor, with the two fanoes which the Zamorin paid to him every day, live with the same pomp and display as the English. And this would diminish the esteem for the Portuguese among the Malavares, who are accustomed to judge everything from outward appearances, and to have greater esteem for that which shines most. The reasons of Padre Ribeiro were justified. But even if they were not so justified, the annexation of the Calicut Factory to the Father Vicar who at that time was as a rule taken from the Society of Jesus would certainly have deserved his approval. And so did the Vicars of Calicut obtain from this time this Royal office and convenience. Besides this, Padre Ribeiro advised the Viceroy that for the honour of the Calicut church and the Christians, and in order to avoid in future the affronts made by the Moors, or Macuas and other castes it was necessary that the church should pay two or three Nayars, of those who in Malabar are called Gencadas, and serve to procure and defend the privileges and exemptions of persons, of whom they are Gencadas, and to obtain satisfaction for any affront done to them. He informed the Government that the English were always paying nine Gencadas, and on this account they were much respected and feared; that in the dominions of the King of Cochin the greater part of the churches of the Thomas Christians kept their Nayar Gencadas who were paid most punctually, and for this reason they were respected more than those churches which had none.

Further the church of Calicut needed a Topaz, who knew the language of the Christians of the place, who, of course, should be a respectable man, who could deal with the Zamorin and his ministers about the affairs of the Church and of the Christians with truth; and as such he ought to have a fixed pay. In fact it seemed proper that what the Zamorin should pay to the Factor, ought to be paid to two Church Gencadas and a good Topaz. All this was advised with great prudence and practical knowledge of the Malabar customs".

2. *Calicut at the beginning of the XVIII Century.* In the VIII tome of the *Choix Des Lettres Edifiantes* (Bruxelles, Soc. Nationale, 1838) we find a letter of the Pere *Tachard, S. J.* to the Pere *de la Chaise,* Confessor to Louis XIV, dated Pondicherry, 16—2—1702, which contains some interesting details about Calicut. P. Tachard writes: "We got on board at Surate on Oct. 20, 1701, in order to go to Calicut or Calecut. We passed through

Goa. After some days we arrived at Termepatam, a place situated on a small river, where we found le *Pouchartrain*, a ship belonging to the royal Company of France. Here we left the *Princesse*, on which we had come all the way from France. At Termepatam we embarked for Calecut, which is about ten leagues away.

In ancient times Calecut was a celebrated town, and the Capital of a Kingdom of the same name; but now it is nothing more than a big village badly built and enough deserted. The sea which for more than a century has encroached on this coast, has submerged the best part of the old town, with a fine fortress built with cut stones. The boats now cast anchor on the ruins, and the port is filled with many rocks, which, at low tide can be seen, and on which the ships are often wrecked . . The Jesuits had a fine church in Calecut, which the Prince of the place determined, some time ago, to pull down, in hatred of the Portuguese.

But the illustrious Count de Villaverde, Viceroy of the Indies, compelled him to rebuild it. It was not finished yet when we passed there. After having stopped three days in Calecut we got on a small manchue (a kind of feloque) which brought us to Tanor, four leagues from Calecut. Tanor is a village full of Christians, of whom the Jesuit Padre Miranda takes care as well as of those of Calecut. It was a great joy for me to find this holy Missionary, whom I had known in Pondicherry, where he had come by order of his Superiors to recover from a painful sickness contracted in the hard Mission of Madura.

We left Tanor on the 27 Nov. As the greater part of the places from Tanor to Coulam are altogether or partially, under the Dutch we could not land anywhere. We were obliged to wait for the night to cross the Cochin bar, in order to avoid being recognized. After this danger we ran into a much greater one, for we saw the big chaloupe of an English forbau with 40 or 50 pieces of cannon. Most certainly we would have been caught if our oarsmen had not shown what they could do in case of need. We finally cast anchor two leagues from Calicoulam. Our sailors, already tired, resolved to stop, and then, when night had come, to row again with all their strength. They cast anchor as if they wanted to land, and then, during the night, they took to their oars once more and worked that night and the next till we reached Coulam on the 30th of Nov. at 7 in the morning.

3. *Tellicherry* The English built a Fort at Tellicherry in 1708. Soon after a church was built, probably by the Jesuits, under Archbishop Ribeiro of Cranganore. On Oct. the 25th 1726 Archbishop Pimentel, S. J. approved the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, whose Statutes were drawn up twenty years earlier by the Dominican Antonio Pilar. Some tombstones were placed in front of the church in 1749. Though the church was built under the Jesuits, the founder was a rich layman by the name of Rodriguez. In 1763 the Archbishop of Cranganore approved the erection of a Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception. We do not

think the Vicar of Tellicherry enjoyed the rights of civil Magistrate for such rights were usually not acknowledged by the East India Co. Here are the names of the Tellicherry Vicars till 1800:

1766 Bartholomew Gonsalves;
1768 Jacinto d' Almeida;
1770 Diogo do Noronha e Silva;
1771 Bartholomew Gonsalves;
1774 Jose Ant. D'Silva;
1781 Manoel Luiz Miranda. It was about this time that the saintly Father Joakim Miranda (*Arkol Guru*) came to Tellicherry with the Seminarists from Monte Mariano, seeking shelter from the persecution of Tippu. The Seminarists eventually found their way to Verapoly.
1782 Domingo D'Sa;
1783 Marco D'Almeida;
1785 Diogo Cajetan Rodriguez;
1787 Ricardo D'Silva;
1802 Domingo D'Sa.

Notice that the Vicars of Tellicherry begin shortly after the Jesuits had been expelled from the Portuguese Dominions, previous to the Suppression of the Society of Jesus.

Not far from Tellicherry is Dharmapatam, once a fine port and a place of much commerce. Now it is a poor village. Goa's jurisdiction came down to Dharmapatam where began the jurisdiction of Cranganore. There is a chapel now at Dharmapatam which is served by Tellicherry*.

4. *Cannanore.* In the first Volume we have spoken at length of Cannanore, where the Portuguese opened one of the first chapels in India and where the Franciscans had a flourishing Convent. We have described the Misericordia, which was the early Portuguese counterpart of Catholic Action. We have written about P. Fenicio's Mission there, not only among the Portuguese, but also among the much neglected Indians. Cannanore belonged to Goa, and so its Clergy came from Goa.

When the Dutch captured it, good Calvinists that they were, they hastened to destroy the three Catholic churches, or to change them into store houses for pepper and cinnamom. The Catholics, however, were not entirely stamped out, but lingered on obscure and forgotten.

Hayder Ali took Cannanore in 1766, and the British captured it in 1784. It was lost, and taken again in 1791, and since that time it has been in British hands till 1947.

A small chapel served by a certain Fr. Pascal, stood on the beach near the old Fort, when the *Santissima Trinidade*, a small Portuguese craft from Rio de Janeiro bound for Goa, put into port after a terrible storm in the

* See Maffei-Moore, Op. Cit. pp. 286-7.

Arabian Sea. One of its 14 passengers was Don Jose' d'Almeida, a colonial nobleman, who vowed with his fellow passengers to build a church, should they be saved from a watery grave. Fr Pascal pointed out to them a site in the village of Barnacherry where he was wishing to build a church, and there it was built and dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity.**

5. *A Dutch Description of the Christians in Malabar.* (18 April 1781).

We take the following from a Memorandum on the Administration of the Coast of Malabar by the Right Worshipful Adrian Moens extraordinary member of the Council of India, Governor and Director of the Malabar Coast, Canara and Vingorla, dated 18th April 1781.

"As to the *Kingdom of the Zamorin* it is said that is stretched to the North to the Kingdom of Kolastry, and in the South to the Mouth of the river of Cranganore, in the East to the Mountains of the Kingdom of Paleatchery (Palghat) and Mysore." (p. 132).

The Kingdom of Kolastry is described as stretching northwards to Cape Mount Delly, nine miles to the North of Cannanore and southwards to the river which separates Cotteer and Bargara (Badagara) from one another to the length of 52 miles. (p. 143).

Canara is called a splendid and powerful Kingdom; it abounds in everything and especially rice, being the granary of many nations, and particularly of the Portuguese at Goa, who annually send a large number of vessels — known as the rice armada — under convoy of some battleships to protect them against the Ayria Pirates, to this Kingdom and keep a residence at Mangalore in a small Fort. (p. 68). The Dutch possessed the harbour of Barcelor (Basrur) called Condapore, where there is a lodge (unfortified Factory) with two residents. (p. 68).

The Christians (in the South) are dressed in the same manner as all the other Malabaris, with only a little clothing round the lower part of the body and a cloth on the head. (pp. 177-8).

Their Priests or Cattenars usually wear a pair of white linen drawers, which are wide and hang down over the knees, and above this they wear a flowing robe of white cotton, sometimes made also of other material, which hangs down almost to the ankles. On their heads they mostly wear a red cap, but the Maronites (sic) and others wear a black one, not unlike a sugar loaf, narrow where it fits the head and broader at the top. Their neck is set off with a rosary of black coral and they hold in their hands a painted or rather lacquered stick, much longer than our walking sticks. They walk barefooted and their manners are the unpolished manners of persons who little know how to comport themselves in society. (p. 178). The houses of these Christians are not mixed up with those of the other Malabaris, but they have separate quarters, where they live among themselves. They also seem to be very exact in keeping their

** Id. Ib. pp. 282-4.

family registers. They do not mix or intermarry with newly converted Christians of lower castes and classes. The majority of them belong to the Nayar caste or class of nobles, and for this reason they, like the Nayars, carry the sword in hand as a token of their dignity . . . .

In the churches of the Jacobites besides a cross one sees images painted on paper or engraved on metal plates. They celebrate the Mass in the Eastern fashion with fermented bread and wine. If they cannot get wine, they make use of raisin water or something else which, according to their ideas, is nearest to wine. They communicate under both species with the peculiarity, however, that they break the bread in a dish, pour the wine from the chalice on it, and distribute the mixture with a spoon to the Congregation . . . . The Jacobites (not the Nestorians) seem to accept transsubstantiation (pp. 179—180). They do not baptize children till they are 40 days old . . . The Nestorians do not believe in Purgatory but set up a third place, where souls remain in an unconscious state till the time of the resurrection . . They allow their Priests to marry, but not a second time. Their Bishops, especially the Nestorian, usually show particular respect for the Protestant doctrines. Of so many Churches which were formerly under Syrian Bishops, they have at present not more than about 50, of which they have about 10 in common with the Roman Catholics. After the conquest of Cochin we have not only favoured the revolt of the Eastern Christians against the usurpation of Rome, but also assisted them in getting out new Bishops from Syria. It must be acknowledged that the Roman Missionaries, especially those sent by the Congregation of Propagation of the Faith, have gained much ground, and brought over to their side many so called Schismatics. (p. 181). After the arrival of the Portuguese in this country, the King of Cochin forbade his subjects under pain of very heavy punishments to embrace the Roman Religion. But in the year 1560 the prohibition was withdrawn and all were given freedom to believe what they liked. (p. 182). *The Roman Clergy* that has always been here and is here still consists of Europeans and natives. Among the Europeans there are the Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Carmelites; among the natives we may count the Topass (Eurasian etc.) Priests and Cassanars or Malabar Priests. To the Archdiocese of Cranganore belong 36 Syrian Parishes all of which acknowledge the Pope as their head, but follow their own Church observances. Two of these 36 Churches belong for the greater part to the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly and 7 of the 36 are shared by the Syrian Bishop; for the Syrian Cassanars also perform their religious services in them. *The Jesuits* who had to leave the country when we arrived here, have since then, not only returned, but have also obtained the Government of the Archdiocese and have settled down outside the territory of the Company, to be precise, at *Ambelcatte*, a village three hours beyond Cranganore; they spread themselves fairly well all over Malabar by setting up a Seminary in the above mentioned place, where

they teach the Malabar youth all sciences and languages for nothing; so that just about all the native Priests are imbued with their principles. Since for some years they have not received their annual allowance from the King of Porutgal, and the money which they received from their fellow Priests at Goa for their journey to Lisbon, is much reduced, and probably finished, they have to live very frugally; for they have only a small income from their Churches. So far as I know, there is not a Priest here belonging to the Franciscan Order. (p, 186).

The Topass Priests are taught in the *Seminary of Verapoly* and Putenchera and the Cassanars, in a sort of Seminary or School in the Church of Candanatty, situated about three mile south from here. The Seminary of Verapoly is the best of the three. In this Seminary are really two separate Carmelite Seminaries, one for the Latin and the other for the Syrian United Christians. In the first 6, in the second 10 boys besides two teachers are maintained at the expense of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at Rome.

The boys admitted beyond this number have to pay for their boarding and tuition until a vacancy occurs. These boys are taught the Latin and Syrian languages so far as they are necessary for the performing of their Church duties. They also learn enough Theology for their requirements as Priests and Missionaries. In the Latin Seminary Latin and Portuguese books are in use so far as they are available, and in the Syrian Seminary Malabar and Syrian books. Having heard this Seminary much extolled, I carefully informed myself whether the pupils were instructed in other necessary subjects besides Theology, but discovered that they are only taught ordinary Church Latin, and that with regard to Theology, they rather apply themselves to Church usages than to the dogmatic part of Religion. Still less are they taught natural theology, ecclesiastical or profane history, and even less geography, physics and metaphysics, unless there is found a pupil among them, who himself wishes to take up these subjects. The Fathers will train such an individual student in those subjects for which he has an aptitude. I have in my possession a map of India or rather of the Ganges near Surat, and of the island of Ceylon, copied by a Seminarist of this Seminary which is fairly well executed. This Seminary therefore has a greater reputation than it is really entitled to. All these Priests and Churches are periodically visited and inspected by *European Priests* who are sent to and fro from Rome. However *the visiting of those Churches* and taking cognizance of the conduct of the Vicars is only winked at, but ought to be gradually checked and finally stopped entirely. (p, 187). There is another thing one must look out for, namely that the European Priests should not interfere with the money and finances of the Church. To each Church there are attached some prominent persons of the community or elders, who represent the community. These, together with the Vicar, look after the fields and gardens, which belong to

each Church, and in a word, they are the persons who make disbursements and receive the revenue and annually render an account to the community. Now, when the European Priests come and visit the Churches, some of them have now and then claimed a right to direct the administration of this property, and it has thus happened that, owing to the respect felt for them, they have been able to play the master, and thus benefit themselves, and about this the administration of the Church and the Vicar hardly dared to complain. But since the property of the Church consists of alms and legacies from the community I have stopped the European Priests meddling with it, and *per abundantiam,* warned the Bishop to forbid the Priests to interest themselves in the accounts of the Churches. When I came here the *Bishop of Verapoly* was treated with such respect that when he was to pay a visit to the chief of the settlements he was fetched by two Councillors in a carriage, and taken to the residence of the Chief, where the so-called body guard which was at that time in existence, was lined up under command of an officer, and as the Bishop passed, both this and the main guard presented arms, and the officers made the salute with the spontoon; as he ascended the steps a salute of nine guns was fired from the walls of the town, as recorded in the diaries of that time. Meanwhile both the Bishop and the other Roman Priests had obtained so much influence that they despotically exercised special jurisdiction over the Company's Churches, and authority over the Vicars, just as if they were their own Church. The first thing, namely the extreme honour to the Bishop, I immediately abolished, while his authority over our Churches I gradually curtailed. (pp. 187—188).

The Topasses live about here and along this coast, and come to us from the Portuguese, some of them having been slaves of Portuguese who were emancipated, and others generated by mixing with native women. So they rather belong to the native than to the foreign element. Since the Portuguese left this coast, they have adopted the manners of their former masters or of old Portuguese families, so that there are few great families in Portugal whose names are not to be found among these Topasses. They speak still, as a rule, common Portuguese, or, as it is called here, low Portuguese, but are dressed in European style, though thy usually go bare-foot, and wear a white linen cap on the head and on top of this a hat. There are a great number of these Topasses to be found along the coast of Malabar especially by the shore and near the Forts of the Company. There are many in and around the town of Cochin, who live by all kinds of trade, there being among them many carpenters, bricklayers, black smiths, copper smiths, tailors, shoemakers etc, There are also among them some who live only by making decorations, in which they are much skilled, for the Roman Churches on feast days, and also for weddings and other special occasions amongst us. Many of them also live by cultivation, and some enlist as soldiers in the Company's service, but these are, as

a rule, lazy and worthless people, who do not know any trade or refuse to work, and hence they enlist out of necessity. They can be used in a garrison for sentry duty, but I should not rely on them at all in the field, or the firing line. They have besides the characteristics of the Portuguese and are Portuguese in their hearts, as they be best seen when Portuguese arrive here from Goa and other places; for then one sees them quite in their element. They are Roman Catholics and proselytes of the Portuguese. They are much attached to this Religion so that nothing will induce them to give it up. Their superstitions outdo even those of the Portuguese and Spaniards. The Company allowed them the free exercise of their Religion. They are a ridiculous lot, on the one hand full of Portuguese pride, but on the other hand in time of danger they would, like the meanest Malabari, put up with privations in field or forest, only not to expose themselves to danger".

Thus far the Rt. Worshipful Adrian Moens.

(Cfr. *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government. Dutch Records. No. 13. The Dutch in Malabar.* Being a translation of selections Nos. 1 and 2 with Introduction and Notes by A. Galletti, I.C.S., the Rev. A. G. Van der Burg and the Rev. P. Groot, S. S. J., Madras Gov. Press, 1911).

6. *On the Taking of Bednur (Rana Biddeluru).*(1) Rana Biddeluru, capital of the kingdom of Canara, is one of the largest and best peopled cities of India. It contains at least fifty thousand souls; among whom are about thirty thousand Christians, who have great privileges. This considerable population is, however, by no means proportionate to the extent of the city, whose circuit exceeds three leagues. It will not be found that this is an exaggeration, when, it is considered, that there are streets in it, nearly in a right line, of two leagues in length. Besides, the greatest part of the ground on which the town stands is inhabited by great men and nobility, whose houses are each in the midst of a large garden, enclosing vast basins or reservoirs of water, as well for the purposes of pleasure as utility. A prodigious number of trees, planted in these gardens, shade all the streets, which are watered on each side by a rivulet of clear and limpid water, and have no other pavement than a fine gravel.

This beautiful city is situated near a small mountain, at whose summit is a considerable fortress; since much more strongly fortified by Ayder. The mountain is in a plain about five or six leagues in diameter, environed by mountains and forests that extend for more than

(1). FROM THE HISTORY OF AYDER ALI KHAN by M.M.D.L.T. General of 10.000 men in the Army of the Mogol Empire and formerly Commander in Chief of the Artillery of Ayder Ali and a body of European troops in the service of the Nabob,

twenty leagues every way, and are not to be passed but by narrow passages, defended by forts at a small distance from each other. These circumstances render the access to the city extremely difficult for an army, that may be checked at every step by an inconsiderable force, and cannot encamp but in the length of a stony passage, where it is liable to be attacked by the people of the country, who know all the secret passages, and can continually lay in ambush to annoy their enemy. The woods cannot be cut down, much less burned, without infinite labour; and they are filled with tygers, bears, elephants, and every species of venomous reptiles.

A mass of such almost insuperable obstacles as presented themselves to Ayder, ought to have deterred him from his enterprize, if he had not been accompanied by the young prince (of Bednur), who was beloved by the people and the men in power; while the queen his mother was detested by them, as well for her haughtiness and pride, as for having contracted a second marriage with a Bramin, contrary to the law of the place, which prohibits the widows of their kings from marrying a second time.

Ayder, determined to make the attempt, left Bisnagar, carrying with him the prince of Canara, at the head of 6,000 men of his best cavalry, and some Caleros, men habituated to traverse the mountains and forests. He was followed by a number of oxen * loaded with rice; and with no other baggage, he advanced, by forced marches, towards the capital of Canara. His movement was so rapid, that he passed on without finding obstacles, and arrived on the plain of Biddeluru before the queen had received any news of his march. His cavalry, accustomed to every kind of ground, terrified the Canarins, who had never beheld a legion of that kind. The good discipline observed by his troops, and the fight of the legitimate prince, caused Ayder to be received every where as a tutelar divinity.

On his appearance in the plain, his cavalry easily dispersed a part of the queen's army, that attempted to oppose his passage; and that princess, who had scarcely time to make her escape, was pursued, taken, and conducted into the presence of the conqueror.

* Oxen are of the greatest utility in India, both for draught and carriage. This species, which is but little varied in Europe, is very much so in India; much more than any other species of animals. There are some extremely tall, some middle sized and some small. They work at the plough, draw all sorts of carriages, and go very fast. Some have their horns strait, others curved, and others have none at all. The greater number have a bunch on the back; and generally it is an animal of the greatest utility, which is still more enhanced by the consideration, that after doing much service, its flesh is eatable, and it skin tanned for leather.

Ayder used his victory with the greatest moderation. He received the queen in the most gracious manner, and reconciled her with her son; who granted her a considerable pension, allowing her to live with her husband. To satisfy the people, who ardently desired it, the young prince was proclaimed king; he made homage to the empire for his kingdom, and signed the treaty, as well as his mother, and the principal great men of the country.

While these transactions were performing in the Kingdom of Canara, the army of Ayder advanced into the country and his infantry took possession without resistance of all the posts that were necessary to secure his return and the success of anything he might think proper to undertake.

Before he engaged in the war that was to place the prince of Canara on the throne of his ancestors, Ayder made a treaty with him, by which the prince yielded to the Suba (Ayder) the port of Mangalor, with a tract of country to form a communication from thence to the frontiers of the Kingdom of Maissour. In execution of the treaty, Ayder, after causing the new king to be crowned, marched with a party of his troops to take possession of Mangalor, leaving a part of his army encamped at the gates of Rana Biddelur.

The Queen of Canara enraged to find herself deprived of the sovereignty had pretended to be reconciled with her son and to acknowledge him as king, with no other intention than to wait for an opportunity of destroying Ayder.

With this hope, and completely to gratify her vengeance she resolved on the death of this generous Suba. She therefore endeavoured to gain the confidence of her son, whose feeble and pusillanimous spirit she well knew. She reproached him, with a dissembled tenderness, that, to hasten the beginning of his reign, he had inconsiderately given up his kingdom to barbarians, the enemies of his religion, who would leave him only the empty name of king, after depriving him of the most valuable part of his dominions, and most probably would finish by entirely robbing him of the whole. At length by force of insinuations and under the appearance of a highly disinterested person who had resigned a kingdom to him she succeeded in her endeavour to make him regret the treaty with Ayder; and continuing to act on his fears of the future intentions of the Suba, she acquired such an empire over his mind, that he was brought to consent to the assassination of Ayder, which she had projected in a manner that, in its own nature, was almost certain of success.

During his stay at Rama Biddeluru, Ayder had dwelt in the palace of the Kings of Canara, and was of course to reside there on his return. From this palace to a famous pagoda there was a subterraneous communication, known to very few except the Queen. The Queen had resolved to

undermine the palace, and to blow up Ayder the night of his return, when he should be at table with his principal officers, hoping that at the instant of the catastrophe, the people and soldiers of Canara, animated by her son, might easily put the troops of Ayder to the sword in their first confusion and disorder. The project might have been easily put into effect by means of her husband, the superior of the Bramins who belonged to the pagoda. The day of Ayder's return was come and the moment approached when the Suba and his retinue were to perish by treachery; when the plot first came to the knowledge of a Bramin, chief of a pagoda some leagues distant from the city. Whether he was actuated, as the Bramins affirm, by a detestation and horror for the crime; or whether his hatred for the Queen and her husband, who were united contrary to their law, was his leading motive, he conveyed himself in surety to Rana Biddeluru, and presenting himself before Ayder, as if to compliment him on his happy return, he advised him openly, in the presence of the King and Queen, of the conspiracy, and the danger he was in. This astonishing revelation made the whole assembly tremble, but made no impression upon Ayder; who, looking round, discovered the guilty persons without difficulty. He ordered them to be seized, the witnesses were heard and the truth established on the spot The Queen, her husband and all their accomplices were put to death, except the King of Canara, who was carried prisoner to Maggheri, near Sirra, and his kingdom was confiscated.

The discovery of this conspiracy was worth a fine kingdom to Ayder, rich in all sorts of products, and having a valuable extent of sea-coast, with a good number of sea ports. The immense quantities of rice, pepper, cinnamom, cardamom, coral, sandal wood and ivory that abound in this kingdom, have caused it to be called the granary and warehouse of all India. In the mountains there are mines of gold, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones and even in the very fortress of Rana Biddeluru there is a rich gold mine.

When Ayder took possession of the place, he found an immense treasure in gold, coined and in ingots, in trinkets and precious stones, that was indeed stupendous, if credit may be given to the accounts of the French who accompanied him in that expedition. They say that the prince caused pearls and precious stones to be measured in their sight with a corn measure; and that having made two heaps of gold and trinkets, they surpassed the height of a man on horseback. On this happy occasion Ayder gratified all his troops with a half year's pay, not excepting those that were garrisoned in different parts of his dominions.

He changed the name of Rana Biddeluru into that of Ayder Nagar, and the name of Mangalor into that of Corial or Port Royal. He assumed at the same time the title of King of Canara and of Coorg, a small kingdom situated at the southern extremity of Canara. It had long been in subjection to the Kings of Canara.

7. Tippu takes Mangalore: The Christians are suspected
(From M. d. L. T.'s Memoirs, pp. 280—282).

The commander of the army from Bombay, who supposed, after the capture of Mangalor, that nothing now remained, as he wrote to Madras, but to march to Ayder Nagar, found his expectations not a little abated, when he was informed that he had sixty leagues to travel in a country intersected by woods, mountains, and rivers, and more especially that the approach to Nagar would be attended with the greatest difficulty. He did not, however, give up his intention: but continued his preparations, though very slowly. His army was then encamped without the gates of Mangalor, in the greatest security.

The son of Ayder marched from Benguelour with all the ardour of a young man, who burns with a desire for glory. He quickly arrived in the kingdom of Canara, whose people, alarmed, but full of confidence in the son of their king, ran before him as to the man on whom their safety depended. Animated by the acclamations of the people, the young prince continued his way to Mangalor, causing all the troops to follow him that he found in his way, and who assembled from all parts. His march was so rapid, and the fidelity of the Canarins was such, that he came in sight of the English camp before they had received any advice. He perceived the tumult and fear his sudden appearance had made. Without waiting for repose after his fatiguing march, he advanced, drove back the guards, attacked the army, totally routed and pursued them to the gates of Mangalor, where his cavalry entered pell-mell with the fugitives. Three thousand infantry, just come up, were astonished to find the English camp abandoned. They plundered the camp and the town of every thing they found: which the prince allowed to punish the inhabitants for refusing to assist in the defence of the city. The route of this English army was so great, that very few had time to make their escape on board the ships, to which they communicated their fears. Their flight added to the ardour of Ayder's Europeans and Seapoys, who immediately embarked and took three transports.

In this manner was the whole English army taken, consisting of the general, forty-six officers, six hundred and eighty English troops, and above six thousand Seapoys, together with all their arms and baggage. This glorious event for Ayder happened the eighth day after the capture of Mangalor. It is difficult to conceive how a victory of this nature could be gained, or how, during the space of thirty days, the English general could neglect the taking possession of some advanced posts, which would have given him advice of the approach of the enemy.

Ayder arrived the evening after the victory; and his son had nothing to say but, with Caesar, *veni, vidi vici*. It is said he wept for joy when he embraced his son. Some Portuguese merchants, established for several generations at Mangalor, entertained the opinion, that from the fortunate

disembarkment of the English army, and the great successes that the English attributed to General Smith and Colonel Wood, it was probable that the Engligh would conquer the greatest part of Ayder's dominions, or at least remain masters of Mangalor. They had therefore the imprudence to treat with the English general, and to contract with him for supplying the army with provisions. As soon as Ayder was informed of this circumstance, he caused these merchants to appear before him, with the chief of the Portuguese factory, and several Christian priests belonging to the three churches at Mangalor. He then demanded of the Portuguese chief and the priests, what punishment the Christians inflict on those who should presume to betray their sovereign, by giving assistance to his enemies. The Portuguese officer having without hesitation answered that such a crime deserved death: "I do not judge in that manner, for our laws are milder. Since they have made themselves English by engaging to serve them, their property shall be adjudged to belong to Englishmen; and themselves shall be thrown into prison till I make peace with that nation." Ayder, after this decision, hastened to return to the kingdom of Benguelour, taking care to leave a strong garrison at Mangalor.

8. Haider Ali Khan and the Jesuits *

During the long stay of Ayder at Coilmoutour, many events happened, which, though of no great importance, are yet sufficiently interesting to be related. They may serve not only to give the reader a more perfect idea of the genius and character of Ayder, but likewise to throw light on the manners of the people, of whom the Nabob is become the sovereign. The first of these events is a process or suit at law, carried on against the missionary Jesuits of the dominions of Ayder.

1. *An apostate Jesuit.* The news of the expulsion of the self-named Jesuits from Portugal and France having arrived in India, a missionary of that order, a Portuguese by nation, and residing in Mayssour, quitted his cure in 1767, and retired to Goa; being determined, as he said, to shew himself a faithful subject of his king, by no longer continuing in a body of men declared to be enemies of his country. A year and half after his departure, he wrote to a Portuguese lady, named Madam Mequinez, widow of a Portuguese officer, who had rendered signal services to Ayder, and was afterwards slain in a battle against the Marattas. Ayder, in return, had given his widow the regiment of Topasses her husband had possessed, with the appointment of colonel, till an adopted son of her husband's was of age to command the regiment himself.

* This episode is taken from THE HISTORY OF AYDER ALI KHAN by M. M. D. L. T. General of 10,000 men in the Army of the MOGOL Empire and former Commander in chief of the Artillery of AIDER ALI and a body of European troops at the service of the Nabob. (Pages 110—121).

This lady accompanied her regiment every where; the colours were carried to her house; and she had a private sentinel at the door. She received the pay, and caused the deductions to be made in her presence from each company. When the regiment was collected, she inspected them herself, as well as all the detachments that were ordered out; but she permitted the second in command to exercise the troops, and lead them against the enemy.

2. *The Plot.* This dame Mequinez having received the letter of the ex-jesuit father, addressed herself to the Bramin Narimrao, secretary at war, and much esteemed by Ayder. She complained that, during the life, and since the death of her husband, she had deposited in trust in the hands of the now ex-jesuit, all her jewels, and the money she and her husband could spare: that this father having departed to Goa, she, being in the army, wrote to him, and received for answer, that all the jewels and money she had deposited in his hand, were transferred, under the same title, into those of the provincial resident at Xavier Paleam, to whom it was necessary for her to address herself for restitution; she added, that having carried this letter to the provincial, he affirmed, that she had lost her senses; and that he had never heard either of her money or her jewels: at the same time she placed in the hands of the secretary the letter received by her from Goa, together with a state of the jewels and money she reclaimed, amounting to a considerable sum. The Bramin acquainted Ayder with the particulars of this affair, and painted the Jesuits in the most odious colours, by reciting what had passed in France and Portugal concerning them.

On this complaint, Ayder immediately ordered a guard of four Seapoys and a corporal to every missionary found in his dominions, with orders not to lose sight of the reverend fathers, but at the same time to permit them to perform their functions, as well in their missions as in their churches, without impeding them in the least; but on the contrary, they were commanded to treat them with every mark of respect.

Ayder commanded this restraint to be laid upon them, because the complaint was made at the very time when the revolt of the Nayres demanded his presence on the coast of Malabar.

3. *A French Commander is appointed Judge.* On his return to Coilmoutour, and the Bramin Narimrao having renewed the widow's complaint, he sent for the French commander, of whose integrity and judgment he was well convinced: "You are, doubtless," said he, "acquainted with the suit urged by the widow Mequinez against the Jesuits; and, as I wish the affair to be terminated by an equitable decision, I have fixed upon you to take cognizance of the same, and shall give you every necessary power to be her judge." The officer answered, "That not being a man of the law, he could not pretend to undertake the distribution of justice, for fear of erring through ignorance." Ayder replied, "Certainly you, who are

yourself a Christian, must be better acquainted with the law (1) of the Christians than any judge in my dominions: and since my intention is that every one shall be judged by his own law, you cannot avoid accepting this commission; but I permit you, if be necessary, to select, as assistants jointly with yourself, such officers of your nation and religion, as you think capable of seconding your own endeavours." There was nothing could be objected to this offer. The French officer, after thanking Ayder for the honour of his good opinion, consented to perform his orders to the utmost of his power; and the day following, Madam Mequinez and the reverend provincial Father, being informed of the Nabob's determination, did not fail to wait on the French officer as their judge.

The lady arrived apparently in the utmost distress. She lamented, with signs of great affliction, that poverty, to which, she affirmed, the perfidy of the Jesuits had reduced her, and against whom she vented numberless invectives: her oration was so specious that almost all the Europeans, especially the French, who were chiefly young men, were prejudiced in her favour, and were desirous that the Jesuits should be condemned to make restitution, and be burned, or at least hanged.

4. *The Provincial.* The provincial father was an Italian of about sixty years of age, of a commanding * and venerable aspect, though at the same time affable and mild. He praised God for inspiring the sovereign with the choice of such a judge as his heart had long desired. After this short prayer he entreated the French commandant (making at the same time the most humble apology to the other gentlemen present) that he would be pleased to grant him a private audience, that he might be able to explain the affair in all its particulars; but which he could not do in public, because of certain persons who were involved in the business. The French officer made a sign for every one to retire; and reverend provincial father, being alone with him, expressed himself in these terms: "You

(1) Ayder, and all the Mahometans, believe that Jesus Christ, like Moses and Mahomet, has given laws to the Christians, which the judges are bound to follow in their decisions; and that Christian princes cannot evade them by contrary laws.

* The Jesuit missionaries in India, who reside in the country not subjected to Europeans, call themselves Bramin Christians: they wear a habit resembling that of the Bramins, having the triple cord and slippers made without the skin of animals: they wear their beard, and live in the manner of the Bramin, never eating publicly any thing that has had life, and never going to the altar without first washing and purifying themselves. Virgins pour vessels of water on their heads, and afterwards, drying them, they put on the albe, the chasuble, and other sacerdotal habiliments. This provincial father, like the other missionaries of his order, resembled a Bramin.

must be sensible," Sir, that, even in the most regular and holy societies, it is impossible to prevent Judas' from sometimes appearing; and he who has drawn this unexpected persecution on us, for the satisfactory termination of which we depend on you, may justly be called by that name. Before that man determined to retire to Goa, there were several scandalous stories come to my knowledge concerning him, that obliged me to reprimand him; for, in this country, when a man is once at the head of a mission, the superior has no other right than of reprimanding him, for fear of a greater disorder. Being informed that my remonstrances produced no effect, I thought it my duty to watch over all his actions. I was advised when he quitted his cure, and that he had departed to Mangalor, on his way to Goa. I followed him without delay, and coming up with him before he embarked, I easily obtained an order from the commandant of Mangalor to prevent him quitting the place before I had published, in all the missions, that if any one had interests to discuss with that father *, he should repair to Mangalor: many persons repaired thither, and among them the dame Mequinez, who reclaimed two thousand rupees, a pair of bracelets of rubies, and a collar of pearls, which were returned to her; as was acknowledged by an authentic act passed in the chancellory of the Portuguese factory at Mangalor, and witnessed by the signature of the French and Portuguese factors. Since the exbition of the widow Mequinez's complaint against us, I have applied to the chief and chancellor of the Portuguese factory (1) for a copy of the act, which they have constantly refused.

* All the Christian women in India that are married to Europeans have the madness to hoard up a private sum or fund, which they entrust to their priests, under the seal of confession. It is to the honour of the missionaries, that there is no instance of any complaint of this trust having been abused. This custom is very ancient, and seems to have originated with the Portuguese. The monks, at all events, gain much money by the practice, because there are scarcely any women that die, who previously acquaint their husbands or relations where they have placed sums in this manner.

(1) The Portuguese had a factory at Mangalore, on an eminence that commanded the river. In this factory they kept a small garrison of thirty Portuguese soldiers, commanded by a lieutenant, who was at the same time factor, and a kind of consul: this settlement had two pieces of cannon, and displayed Portuguese honours. The kings of Canara submitted to this, and the Portuguese levied a small duty, a toll on the entering or going out of the river of Mangalor, which they pretended to defend against invaders. When the English took Mangalor in 1768, the Portuguose had neither the inclination nor the power to defend the entrance of the river against the the English army. Ayder being desirous of constructing a citadel at Mangalor, in 1774, M. Catini, his engineer, found that the site of the Portuguese factory was the properest for building a citadel capable of defending the entrance of the river, and the Portuguese were obliged to resign their factory,

"To procure this deed, which is absolutely necessary for the right decision of the cause, it will be proper, Sir, for you to make use of the authority of the Nabob. The bearer of his order must be a Frenchman who can be depended on, and who must compel the Portuguese factor to exhibit the registers of his chancellorship, in spite of all the resistance he may make, on account of the honour of his flag and garrison. I must entreat you likewise, Sir, to conduct the business in such a manner as that the Bramin Narimrao may not be apprized of the order given to force the chief of the Portuguese settlement to communicate his registers: for I have good reasons to suspect that this Bramin, whose avarice you are no stranger to, is interested in the plot, as well as the Portuguese chancellor and factor. The Bramin would not fail, in that case, to advise them of the intended order, and they would dispatch the registers to Goa. If you cannot clear up the affair by means of these registers, you may write to Mahé, to know who was the French gentleman who then resided at Mangalor *. You may then apply to him, and perhaps his memory will furnish you with means to do justice to the injured."

The French officer, after having heard the recital of the provincial father, said, "Be at your ease, my reverend father; I will do my utmost to search your affair to the bottom, without giving any suspicion of the communication you have made."

5. *The Widow unmasked.* Madam Mequinez, impatient to know the result of the provincial father's conference with the French commandant, hastened the next morning to wait upon him. There were then several French officers with him: he no sooner saw her, than he said, "Madam, the provincial father made his confession to me yesterday; you must now absolutely make yours." The lady colonel, assured of the victory, consented with great readiness; and every body having retired, he addressed her thus, "How could you thoughtlessly precipitate yourself into the abyss you are fallen in? You enjoy a great revenue by the bounty of the Nabob; and you have presumed to impose on that prince, whom you know to be severely just: you are a Christian, and you have not scrupled to invent the most odious imposture, in hopes of enriching yourself by the plunder of the churches and altars, and with the intention of sharing your unjust demands with a Bramin and a Monk, whose wickedness you are well acquainted with. But it is in vain that you hope any longer to conceal your conspiracy. I am informed of every thing by the French gentleman who resided at Mangalor, and who will quickly arrive here, together with the chancellor of the Portuguese factory, who brings his registers, and is guarded by Seapoys. You have but a moment in your power to save

* There was not then, and perhaps never was, a French factory at Mangalor. The French gentleman, of whom the reverend father spoke, was a maerchant who was casually there.

yourself, by making a sincere declaration of the truth; for from this instant I will cause you to be arrested and guarded, without permission to speak to any one; and when your imposture shall be proved, you may expect that the Nabob will punish you as you deserve: but if, on the contrary, you make the confession I demand, I will find means of terminating the affair without noise." The woman, who now saw herself unmasked, was almost dead at hearing a discourse so unexpected; and threw the blame on the Monk at Goa, and the Bramin, who had prompted her with this infamous contrivance. The officer raised her, with the assurance, that by her confession she had placed herself out of all danger; he then went out, and fastened the door behind him; but soon returned with two officers of known discretion, to whom he had communicated the particulars of what had passed: and the dame Mequinez, supposing them to be of the number of her judges, repeated before them every thing she had before avowed to the commandant.

The Provincial father being sent for, and informed of the confession of the widow, prostrated himself on the earth, and then raising himself, returned thanks to God, that the truth was cleared up, and his brethren justified from the accusation so maliciously urged against them. He nevertheless intreated the commandant to conceal the detail of the affair from the Nabob; fearing, as he said, the consequences that might ensue to the widow; but more probably wishing to avoid the enmity of the secretary Narimrao.

6. *Ayder's behaviour.* The officer having informed Ayder, that the affair was terminated, that prince was contented with saying, "I am persuaded that the whole is an iniquitous contrivance of the widow Mequinez against the reverend fathers; for I am informed, that her conduct is such, as, if she does not take care, will finish by bringing no small mortification upon herself (1). However," added he, "since You and the reverend fathers forgive her, I shall say no more of it." He immediately gave orders to remove the guard he had placed over the Jesuits. The good fathers were not however, disposed to pardon the lady spiritually: she was excommunicated, and condemned to public penance; to which, though it may seem astonishing, she submitted with much apparent resignation. The provincial father, in his letter, written to inform all the missions of the means by which his innocence was cleared up, spoke highly of the French officer; who, he said, was in the highest favour with the Nabob.

This eulogium produced a letter from the archbishop of Cochin, who recommended to him a Malabar priest, of the number of the Christians of St. Thomas, whose diocesan the archbishop was. He was deputed, together with three other laymen of his country, to request of Ayder the permission to keep fire-arms, under the pretence that, by not being armed, they ran the risk of being robbed by the Nayres and the soldiers of the Nabob. The officer, who imagined he might safely give credit to the archbishop's letter, was much surprised when Ayder said, he was no stranger to the antipathy that fomented their quarrel. "These people," said he, "have been disarmed, because they assassinated each other, being always at enmity on account of their priests, who are of different castes: I shall take care to place safeguards in the country, to prevent my people from molesting them, and I shall send troops sufficient to disperse the Nayres."

These Christians of St. Thomas are of very ancient origin, being settled in India before the arrival of the Portuguese. It is demonstrated, that their St. Thomas was not the disciple of Jesus Christ. They are partly in subjection to the Pope, and partly under the patriarch of the Chaldeans, who resides at Merdin in Mesopotamia. This division causes them to detest each other; and, profiting by the troubles of their country, they were mutually engaged in a cruel war, when Ayder caused them to be disarmed. The deputies who came to Coilmoutour were stout men, with a ferocious air and manner: they had the figure of a small cross above their nose punctured in the skin, and a large scar on the right cheek, caused by the recoil of their musquets. The archbishop, in his letter, offered to the commandant, two young slaves, who, he said, he had himself educated, and were qualified to render services both of utility and pleasure, being instructed in writing and in music. As he did not obtain his desire, he sent an inconsiderable present; with an excuse, that the young slaves, at the moment of their departure, had cried and wept so immoderately, that his feelings would not suffer him to part with them. To this present were added a vast number of benedictions, and a promise that he would write to the Pope, then Clement XIII.

9. *A letter of Fr. Miranda.*

Fr. Joakim Miranda of Ganguli was Superior of a little Seminary, at Monte Mariano, near Mangalore. He had gained the esteem of Hyder Ali, who had granted him the privilege to hoist his flag and thus be secure

(1) Ayder proposed to the Swedish officer, accomplice of Turner the Irishman, to espouse this lady colonel, as a condition upon which he would pardon and restore him to his former post. This young man, aged twenty-eight, but of a spirited disposition, absolutely rejected the offer; saying, he would rather die than marry a woman who had prostituted herself to all the Topasses. His pardon, and permission to retire where he pleased, were the consequence of this answer. The lady colonel afterwards married a mongrel Portuguese serjeant; but she was highly astonished, when the Baosi sent for to let her know that the Nabob had reduced her to serjeant's pay, because she had dishonoured the name of her former husband, whose services had demanded that the woman who bore his name should not be without the means of subsisting reputably.

from all molestation on the part of the Muslim Soldiery. Thanks to Prof. G. M. Moraes of Bombay, we can give here a translation of an interesting letter, which Fr. Miranda wrote to the Portuguese Viceroy.

A Brief account of what happened since the year 1783, when Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur died in the absence of his son Tippu Sultan, the present reigning Nawab. In December of the same year, General Mathews came from Bombay with his fleet and having landed at Mirjan and captured the fortress went on conquering the whole country from Piro till Barcelor. From there he advanced up the Ghauts and took the royal city of Nagar, the capital of the kingdom of Kanara, and thence descending on Mangalore he proceeded as far as Durga, which confines on the Naire. Conquering in this way the whole of that kingdom, he brought it under his power with great success.

The people were all alike pleased (at this), because with the accession of the new ruler they had been much oppressed. But their happiness was of short duration. For Tippu Sultan the Nawab came with a third of his powerful army from Arkot, where he had left a part of it to oppose the English army at Madras, and suddenly entered Nagar. He stormed the fortress, an enterprise in which the French to whom the victory was in a great measure due, distinguished themselves. The fortress surrendered on terms. But the Nawab did not fulfil them, construing them according to the usual practice prevalent at the time of his father Nawab Hyder Ali Khan, more favourably to himself.

The reason for the misfortune of the English General was that each of his men was busy laying up treasures for himself and filling up his own pockets. Heedless of what might befall them, they opposed each other in pursuing their private gain. They would seek advice from the very persons who were in the confidence of the Nawab, and these were saying publicly that the Nawab was dead and that there was none who could recover from them the kingdom they had conquered. They paid little heed to the warnings of the country people. Their army being divided among so many fortresses, roads and passes in the Ghauts, they were left with a small body of troops. Hayat Saheb saw in these disorders which were fast multiplying his complete ruin on the approach of the Nawab. He made good his escape and thus saw himself secure outside the Nawab's territories.

Having recovered Nagar, Tippu Sultan began to seek the Padres and the Christians against whom he now resolved to carry out his wicked design, which he had proposed to his father in 1768, but which had been disapproved by him with a reprimand. But now that he was dead, Tippu could give free vent to his passion and hatred which he would appear to have conceived for our holy religion from infancy. For after leaving Arkot he went on demolishing the churches which he found on his way, and ordered the demolition of those of the Mission of Mysore, showing that

all his subjects would be compelled to obey the Moorish Law since he was their only king.

The Vicar of Nagar was imprisoned with two more priests from the district of Barcalo. They suffered much for some time, and were finally expelled from his dominions after promising that they would never enter them again. The English at Mangalore were ignorant of the aforesaid events, as there was no one who could inform them with certainty about them. Nor did they know of the detention of General Mathews or of his army.

Having by chance received the news just mentioned, I wrote to the Nawab and to my great satisfaction I received his reply from Muddubidre, in which he bade me come post haste to his royal presence, and entrusted to me a certain errand, which I carried out, and arrived in time to see him reach with his army at Cadarete. He ordered that I should be received with honour and allowed me to remain with M. Beuthenot, the Commandant, and thereafter he admitted me to his presence in the temple of Belur situated in Mangalore. He talked to me at length from 8 to 11 o'clock at night, questioning me on various matters appropriate to the occasion, and in particular if there was in the fortress the wife of General Mathews, and being informed that there did not appear to be any such or other lady, he smiled and let the matter drop, as I showed myself abashed by such conversation.

On the same occasion I showed him the Farmans which his father had given to Monte Mariano granting privileges and favours, as also the last letter which he wrote to me while on his death bed and which was still in its original cover. This he himself tore open, ordering that the letter should be read. As it was couched in terms well disposed towards me, I too made a prayer to the same effect, and he promised me in these formal terms: Live in joy and happiness, that I shall protect and favour you even more than my father.

As a result, when various complaints had accumulated against me in the Court of his Lieutenant Ma Mira Sadoca, and for this very reason His Excellency the Ambassador M. Piveron de Morlat sought an interview with the Nawab interceding on my behalf, he replied saying that I was a very old protegée of his and his father's, as (Chaplain) the padre of his Realm, and forthwith made a Farman ordering that thenceforth no one should trouble me, along with the others made in favour of Monte Mariano, and as I had been proved innocent of the accusation that I had ordered a thousand bags of rice to be given to the English, he declared in the same Farman that even though the Padre gave not one thousand but two thousand bags of rice away, he took it well and did not mind it. He further granted me various favours on several occasions, setting at liberty more than one hundred and fifty Christians who had been put in prison, and a number of women who had fallen under the yoke of the Moors.

During all this time that the other vicars were kept prisoners, Tippu Sultan treated me with the utmost courtesy. At last on the 27th of July, 1783, while the French were engaged in actual warfare, storming the fort of Mangalore with the aid of mortars and "macronoby," a device, used to hurl huge stones, all the three regiments of General M. Delale, Colonel M. Cosigni and of the Commander M. Beuthenot proclaimed that they had received news of the celebration of peace between the French and the English nations, and as the Nawab compelled them to continue the fight, they abandoned the pillaging and to the beating of drums and playing of flutes, proceeded to the camp where they had been quartered, and having equipped themselves well, they kept themselves ready to meet any attack which the Nawab might make on them being very much annoyed with them for reasons above mentioned.

After some days M. Cosigny with his entire camp left the service of the Nawab, and marched to Monte Mariao, where he stayed with me for two days, and thence made for Mahim by land. Tippu Sultan was very much annoyed and offended with me, because I had given him this shelter and hospitality. This was also the cause for increased ill will for me, and henceforward I incurred his displeasure, as in his opinion it was I who showed him (M. Cosigni) the way giving him a guide for the purpose. Indeed he said that no foreigner could know it, a fact which was proven to M. Cosigni who for this reason recommended me to H. E. the Ambassador M. Piveron de Morlat lest I should fare ill on that account.

This event was followed soon after by another very sad one. The Nawab had a number of his chiefs, Quilledars and other men of confidence, including also a Christian, who had been interpreter to M. Sattorius sentenced to death at the gallows, several of which were at his command erected on a hill at Mangalore. Among these men condemned to hang was the Quilledar of the Fortress of Mangalore named Rustum Beg, who had been singularly protected by Mam Madaly, and the Generalissimo of the army of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur. Indeed, being his most loyal friend, the latter had handed to his charge his royal seals while dying, with instructions to make them over to the Prince Tippu, who was at the time away, and had charged him with the task of guiding the Prince and his other son Prince Karim Sahibu, whom he placed in his tutelage. This Mam Madaly tried repeatedly to intercede with the Nawab on behalf of the said Rustum Beg; but the king would not listen to him and he was led along with the other offenders to the gallows.

On this occasion the said Mam Madaly set out with a few men of his entourage and went to the gallows and taking the noose from the hands of the hangmen, put it on his own neck, declaring that he would rather die first himself than see his godson the Quilledar dead. This action was again and again reported to the Nawab, who remainded inexorable. Mam Madaly also remained firm and inflexible in his determination. Enraged

at this behaviour, the Nawab came in person with his new regiment of "chales," field pieces, etc., and marched to the seat of the gallows, having first drawn up in array his two French regiments. The moment he saw this, Mam Madaly ordered his godson, the Quilledar, to mount his elephant, and himself on horseback, unsheathed his sword, and exclaimed in a loud voice that those that were for him and loved him should follow him. Saying this he took the road to Nagar.

With the exception of a French Commander of the following of Mam Madaly who resisted, and the rest followed him. In the meantime, the Nawab sent his chief lieutenants and courtiers in order to influence the spirited disposition of Mam Madaly with entreaties and promises, and on the other side sent his troops to surround him. Deceived by these promises, Mam Madaly returned and the Nawab permitted him to be taken in his palanquin to his residence. But as on his way he had had a brief conversation with a certain friend who had under him 60,000 fighting men (banadares and piadares), the Nawab, fearing lest there might be an uprising, ordered that the latter be put to death while at the foot of his elephant. He also put to death eighteen of his trusted friends by exposing them to the fire of bombards, and beheaded the other officers of Mam Madaly's regiment, while the rest were condemned by him to have their noses, lips and ears mutilated. Mam Madaly's godson, the Quilledar, he ordered to be hanged along with the others, while from his lips were heard curses without end. This lamentable event caused so great a confusion on that afternoon, that almost all to a man were offended and showed themselves disaffected towards the Nawab.

If on the occasion the English had opened fire with the mortars or had they come out, the Nawab's own men would have killed him. He feared this, and was on his guard that night, and immediately after reconciled himself with all his chiefs, etc. Mam Madaly died of grief. Some, however say that he died of poison and others by pulling his own tongue.

After a little while ambassadors arrived from Madras and peace was made between the Nawab and the English, the latter surrendering all their forts. Finally on the 22nd of February, the day on which all the Christians of that kingdom were imprisoned, I also was led to the court of Ma Mira Sodoca by one of his officers together with the other Rev. Vicars already taken in custody. This court issued the decree which expelled all missionaries from that kingdom on pain of being hanged, should they themselves or their successors return. They were also condemned to pay a fine of two lakhs of pagodas. In the same tribunal a bond was executed against me, which the aforesaid missionaries were compelled by means of blows to sign, and they separated me from them at the time.

On Saturday evening prior to the first Sunday in Lent I was imprisoned with the other priests in the fortress, and two days after on the 2nd of April I was taken with the priests and the seminarists of Monte Mariano

to the said court. Here I was sentenced to be exiled with all my company of Monte Mariano under guard here to Cochin thanks to the earnest entreaties of M. Piverom, the ambassador. Otherwise I would have been detained along with my company at the same Monte Mariano for another wicked purpose of his, which the Nawab wanted to accomplish through me, purpose for which he favoured me and protected me so much, *viz.*, to circumcise the seminarists. God delivered me and my seminarists from this through the mediation of the said ambassador, who also tried hard to secure the release of the captive priests. He was doing this he said with due regard to Your Excellency for whom, he assured me, he bore intimate friendship, and that for none other he would have striven so much.

Straightaway I ordered that the Flag should be unfurled which the Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur had granted to the territory of Monte Mariano, being moved by a devotion he had for the church there, after he had come out victorious from the famous battle of Periapattanam, where with a few platoons from his reserves he routed the formidable Maratha army, which had besieged him. Then, bidding farewell to the said M. Piverom, the Moors, to the brother-in-law of the Nawab as well as to his Bakshis and Generals, all of whom joined together in offering their prayers to Our Lady, that they might come victorious in their enterprises, laying at her feet flowers (?), lamps, ornaments and flutes, I left Monte Mariano to their great and universal regret on the 7th of April. Thereupon forthwith all Divine worship ceased in that temple which ceased to be in use and in a lamentable condition, that temple were among many other people, infidel Moors had been given the grace of Baptism. Your Excellency may well conclude from this, in what a devotion that Temple was held by everyone. *De quo quamvis multa et magna dicantur plura semper, et majora supersunt.* After I arrived at Cananore along with my entire company, the guards of the Nawab left me without being able to gain anything from me, owing to the fact that I had to leave behind all the capital that I had employed in real estate, while as for a part of my movable goods which had been sent aboard they were seized in part by the enemy, the Bhosle—*Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est, sit nomen Dei benedictum.*—I am now staying here in Cochin, the land which the Nawab has destined for my exile, and where I have found shelter in the Seminary of the Carmelite monks, who support me and my entire company.

What happened thereafter is this: The Christians of Nagar were expelled to Chitoldurga, and all the rest of them from that kingdom, numbering about 40,000 were carried away to Siringa Pattanam. The majority of these died of small-pox. Of the three priests in disguise, that were taken prisoner along with the Christians, two died and the third being detected was turned out and came to live at Tellicherry. The churches of the Mission of Mysore were razed to the ground and their missionaries, who were formerly Jesuits, were expelled. They send me their news. The chief Christians of Pattanam and of Canara along with the Sacristans and their families have all been circumcised, and have been strictly forbidden to have dealings with their priests. The Hindu temples have likewise been razed to the ground, among them the famous pagoda of Pattanam, and their chief priests like the Somongollos and others have been circumcised. The English too have been circumcised in great numbers. In this way are being circumcised those that are left, including even their army officers, without regard for this of that nation, faithful or infidel, according to the old saying: as is the king so is the law, and as is the law so is the people. On the day the Christians were circumcised salvoes of cannon were fired, a banquet was given with music and distribution of rewards. Offended and enraged by this, M. the General De Lale killed a horse which the Nawab had given him, and for other displays of animosity which he made, I do not know whether for this or other reasons, he is now kept under guard and the troops of his camp divided and distributed among other platoons of the Nawab.

His Excellency the Ambassador M. Piverom, withdrew a long time back to Pontecherya, whither he was also followed by the Commander M. Beuthenot. The Nawab and the English also surrendered the one to the other the fortresses that were on the side of Arcot, and in this way was finally settled between them the peace which had been proclaimed. Now they say that the Nawab is advancing against Travancore, and already they are severally taking their positions for the battle. As Your Excellency must already be having the rest of the news from the Rev. Fathers who have left the Mission and who were acquainted with the state of the Church lands and coffers. I do not desire to continue further depriving Your Excellency of the time needed to give audiences to the more important visitors. Pray excuse me the rough style and order of this resume, as you ought one who has very strong reasons, having lived for 27 years like an uncivilized man among rustics, thanks to Your Excellency's worthy friend, the Illustrious and Most Excellent Conde de Egao Albuquerque. From him I have had no letter, since the year 1783, and if Your Excellency should find one among those which you will receive from Lisbon, you will deign to have it sent to this unworthy, useless, and least of Your Excellency's servants.

May God keep Your Excellency well, for as many and as long happy years as are the prayers of the orphans of this poor and small community.

CHAPTER I

FRAGMENTARY

(1650-1761)

CONTENTS

N. B. The Sources are quoted each in its own place. Most of the Letters have been communicated to the Author by Rev. Fr. A. Saulière, S. J. (Madras).

1. INTRODUCTION

We have spoken at length of the Dutch conquests in South India and Ceylon, and of the Rebellion in the Serra. Both produced the direst consequences for our Province of Malabar. Not only were many houses and Churches destroyed, not only were libraries robbed, revenues lost, fields of action restricted, but the number of labourers was diminished and difficulties of work increased. Yet the work was carried on

both in Malabar and elsewhere. Ambalakad was opened. Fr. De Nobili's work was intensified. The Mission of Neman and the Carnatic Mission were founded. To the Portuguese many Fathers were added, especially from Italy and from Germany. The movement for fusion with Goa grew in strength, but it was always opposed, and successfully. The Malabar Province will maintain its individuality till it will be lost in the tragic loss of the whole Society.

In this Part II we shall first deal with various matters common to the whole Province; next we shall speak of the College of Ambalakad; thirdly, of the Fathers eminent in literature as well as in the Mission field, viz. Fr. Beschi and Fr. Hanxleden, and finally, as a kind of appendix to this part of our study, we shall try to give an idea of Jesuit Finances in those times.

The documents are scarce, chiefly for some years. Even the Annual Letters are incomplete. Not all the names of the Provincials have come down to us. To be sure we would like to speak at length of the spiritual life of the Missionaries; but we have to be content with occasional glimpses, which we catch from stray remarks, or from the Apostolic work of the Fathers. This work—as it falls under the eye of the historian—is mainly external. Its inspiration and its results are spiritual; hence, more difficult to detect. Let us remember, however, that the more spiritual they are, the deeper are their sources. The religious vocation is from God, and from God is the vocation to the Missions. It is God that inspires the missionary to leave his own motherland to work among strangers; and it is God who sustains him in his life of toil, of persecution, of misunderstandings and of bitter disappointments. I think we shall often detect God's hand sustaining the Fathers of the Malabar Province. I do not expect this chapter will rouse the interest of outsiders, or of professional historians. The latter delight in the deeds of great men and there are few great men in this chapter. Yet *before God it is generally* the small man who is great, and the great man who is small.

2. NUMBERS

A fair idea of the number of labourers in the Malabar Province will be gathered from the lists given in the Appendix. The Provincial Padre Freyre (1687-1692) in a letter of the 6th October 1688 writes as follows: "It is a poor shepherd who counts his sheep. It is proper therefore that a Province reduced to beggary should number her little flock. The saying is that the wolf devours the sheep even though they are numbered. But we have no fears in this respect. We shall therefore count our flock. May God be pleased to make it grow, and to diminish the devil's followers. We are only 49, a small number indeed; but we are full of fight against the father of pride.

There are nine on the Fishery Coast, ten in Travancore, ten at Ambalakad, two at San Thome, four in Bengal, eight in the Madura Mission, five at Goa, and one in Rome as Procurator. During the last three years (1685-1688) no admissions, no expulsions, four deaths. From Europe only two new-comers. If no more generous help is forthcoming, I am sure the Province will die. That God Almighty who has sustained us so far, may deign to protect us in future for His Greater Glory".

The tone of the letter is subdued—not to call it depressed—, for the work was very great and few were the labourers. But the invincible confidence, which the Jesuits have inherited from their holy Founder, is ever present.

3. THE VARIOUS RESIDENCES

Our sources of information for the years 1652-1654 are the Catalogue of 1652 and the *Annua* of 1654, dated Cochin 15th Dec. 1654, and signed by Joao Caldeira. The Provincial was Padre *Andre Lopez*; the number of Jesuits as given by the extracts of Fr. *L. Besse* is 132, while the *Annua* speaks of 150. *Colombo* is not yet fallen to the Dutch and many Fathers are still in Ceylon.

The letter speaks at some length of three members of the Province, who were prisoners at *Kandy.* They were Army Chaplains, made prisoners during the wars between the King of Kandy and the Portuguese. The King—we are told—held them in the highest esteem. He was believed to have yielded

to their prayers, and stopped all warfare against Colombo, and to have even allowed food-provisions to enter the city".

A Jaffna boy, who was in the service of the Fathers, was pressed by the King to put aside his Rosary. He answered that he would rather give up his life. The King desired him to serve at Court; but the boy refused, saying that he preferred the service of the Fathers. The King could not help admiring such faith and loyalty. *Etiam apud hostes*—concludes the chronicler—*pretio habetur virtus.* "Even enemies hold virtue in high esteem".

In *Cochin* the relations with the Dominicans were not very cordial. The Letter says that both by "words and deeds they tried the patience of Ours". Very likely the Dominicans interfered in the affairs of the Serra. In fact—when dealing with Cranganore—the writer says that "the rebels found support in some Religious and in some Portuguese".

The financial situation was becoming intolerable. The Scholastics could not be maintained in Cochin, and had to be sent to Goa.

The members of the Province were only 132 (150), quite insufficient for the numerous works which were carried on in Schools, Seminaries, Parishes and Missions properly so called.

Cochin was swarming with beggars, and the Fathers, who found it already very difficult to maintain themselves, had to feed great numbers of destitute people. The building of the Noviciate, which had been started long before, had to be stopped.

In *Calicut*, thanks to the arrangements made with Zamorin, things were a little better. There were some conversions in 1654, and Fr. Gaspar Sequeira took care of some 320 Christians, who lived part in the city and part outside.

In *Quilon* the Fathers were protected by the Raja of Travancore, who loved them and had allowed them to build churches and houses in stone. Great poverty on the *Fishery Coast*, though the Paravas were very generous notwithstanding the dearth of pearls. *Punical* is destroyed, the church is desecrated, and the poor villagers dispersed by pagans.

Ten years later (1664) we find that, owing to the wars with the Dutch the Malabar Province was nearly destroyed. In Ceylon the Colleges of *Colombo* and *Jaffna* and the residence of *Manar* were lost. Some of the Fathers had gone to Goa, others were living outside the cities, hidden in little villages, helping the Christians as well as they could. The Colleges of *Cochin*, *Coullam* (Quilon) *Cranganore* and *Negapatam* had been razed to the ground; the Fathers dispersed. The Christian communities which depended on the Jesuits were still served by them. In 1664 there were still two Jesuits with a Superior in Cranganore. But Ambalakad had risen. Its fortunes will be related in the next chapter.

Calicut had been abandoned, though only temporarily. *Tanor* was being kept up. The college of *Tuticorin* was standing; but by order of the Nayak of Madura the Fathers did not live in it. They had found shelter not far from their churches and were working for their flocks.

Hopes were entertained that Cochin might be returned, for the Dutch in Europe had made peace with Portugal. The hopes were never fulfilled. The King's subsidies had almost ceased. At any rate they were never paid fully or regularly. In the words of Fr. Provincial (from Goa, 10 Dec. 1664) the situation was far from hopeful. Hence some of the Fathers desired the fusion with Goa. Goa itself was in great need of Fathers, and many from the South were now preaching and working in Goa. But the Provincial. Fr. De Oliveyra, was opposed to reunion. He wrote as follows in the Catalogue of 1667:

"Two things militate in a special manner against the preservation of the Cochin Province and the increase of its Christianity. First the Dutch who everywhere hate us with a mortal hatred. They either give money to heathen kinglets, or they themselves directly persecute the Fathers, the churches and the Christians. The Dutch think that the Catholics are worse than Moors or Gentiles.

"Secondly the Viceroys, who took from us the royal foundations and grants to the Colleges, though the Christian

Communities attached to these Colleges still continue and the Fathers still live with the Christians. Now, since the Fathers who are in the Missions do not get their living from them, it is necessary to supply everything from Goa. We endeavour to do our best, till God in His mercy should deign to lift the scourge and have pity on Ours and on so many souls. Our Very Rev. Fr. General will have compassion on us, who are subject to so many trials, if only he knows the extreme necessity of this Province. Then he will take proper steps with the King."

From the Catalogue of 1667 we learn that the Provincial resided in Travancore. There the Mission was spread along the coast, through a length of some 25 leagues from Quilon to Cape Comorin. There were 48 churches, to some of which was attached a house for the Missionary. Ten Fathers attended to the needs of 20,000 souls. Each had an interpreter or Catechist, who had to be paid. The King had assigned to them 1000 xeraphins or about 1000 Rupees. Thus each Father received, or ought to have received, about 100 rupees a year. Before the Dutch suppressed the college of Quilon the Fathers received from it wine, hosts, oil, clothes, paper. But after the suppression each one had to provide to his own needs.

The Dutch had also destroyed the fine churches of *Manapad*, *Punical*, *Vembar*, *Tuticorin*. The Fathers had been deprived of their houses. Hindrances were put in their way, so that it was difficult for them to visit their flocks. It was indeed the hour of darkness.

It is not our intention to mention here all the residences or colleges of the Province, but only some of the most important.

After the loss of Cochin, the Provincials found refuge in Ambalakad. As we shall see later, this developed into a fine College, but the Provincials desired for themselves a more central locality. A village called Topo, in South Travancore, was chosen. A mud house was built and covered with palm leaves. It was a sad contrast to the splendour of Cochin. When the Fathers gathered to discuss the various problems of the Mission, there was scarcely room for all in the little hut. At night they stretched their mats in a common hall, and slept all together.

Gradually a church was built and a few out-houses were added. But then the tribe of the Sanars, irritated at the conversion of some of their people, went to the Raja of Travancore and complained that the new Christians were a threat to the safety of the Kingdom. The Fathers—they said—were building a new house. But who were their friends? From whom did they get help? Surely from the English. The house was fortified; guns were being mounted. From there an attack was being planned, and soon the English would be masters of Travancore. Besides taking advantage of the Raja's fear of the English, the Sanars fanned his inordinate cupidity into flame. They told him that the Jesuits had hidden much gold and silver in the new house. The Prince then, at the head of the scum of the country, led an attack against Topo. Elsewhere we give the description of the destruction wrought by the marauders, as given in a letter of the Provincial Padre Semedo (1705-1708). The good Provincial hoped that the Raja would be moved to pity and would allow the rebuilding of Topo. But his hopes were not fulfilled. From Topo the Fathers went to *Colachel*. The house, however, was too small, and they migrated to *Rajaccalmangalam*. They did not remain long there. For in 1713 they were at *Puduttureу*, in a hut not more than 14½ spans long and correspondingly broad. Here lived the Provincial, the Rector and some others.

From two letters, one by Padre Antonio Brandolini Brolla (1713), and another by Fr. Weiss (1716) we get some more news about Travancore and the Jesuit residences there.

Fr. Brandolini speaks of the foundation of the Mission of *Nemam* (q. v.), in the interior. It is about 100 leagues in length and penetrates into the Kingdom of Madura as far as Vadakenkulam. Three Fathers are working there; two dressed like Brahmins, and one in the garb of the Portuguese Priests. Since the burning of Topo, the Rectors of that College live here and there, as they can. The present Rector (1713) is at *Puduturey*. The Moplahs have pillaged *Cariapatnam*, and the Mission there has lost all. Round *Coulam* the Fathers are in charge of six hamlets along the Coast, and nine towards the North. In

Coulam itself there are more than 500 Christian adults, and about 430 in the villages. They have a fine stone church. What a difference, however, between the present and Portuguese times! There are baptisms everywhere; not many, but constant. The wife of the English Governor at *Anjengo* is a Catholic. She is a model lady. She got 300 scudi from her husband and she offered them to finish the church.

Ineam (*Eneyam*) is a station 4 miles in the interior. The Christians are over 2200. The church is fine, the faithful very pious. But they are worried by the war between the Raja of Travancore and his lords. Besides a terrible epidemic has ravaged these places.

More or less the same news about *Colachel*, *Cariapatnam*, *Rajaccalmangalam*. Very extraordinary the devotion to St. Francis Xavier at *Kottar*. Even the Europeans are impressed. Many offerings at his shrine.

The letter of Fr. Brandolini is very encouraging. Not so that of Fr. Weiss (1716). His description of the Mucuvers is not flattering. He gives the exact numbers of Christians in the various Missions, those who frequent the Sacraments, and those who do not; children ready for confession, and those who are not. The difficulties of the Missionaries: little money, readiness of the Christians to revolt, superstition almost ineradicable, readiness to have recourse to puja in case of sickness, and so on and so forth. There are some miracles, but even these are not nice: for instance the cure by St. Ignatius of a child *Secessu Naturali Destitutus.*

Moving again towards the North, we find that in 1677 there was a Lay-brother at *Tanor*, in charge of some lands, which belonged to the defunct College of Cochin. Whether there was a Father there we cannot tell, but it is probable, for as it has been related Padre Joao Ribeiro stayed at Tanor while preparing the Calicut Treaty with the Zamorin. A few years later, however, Tanor suffered persecution. In a letter dated 11th Oct. 1705 the good Provincial Padre Semedo (1705-1708) writes as follows: "We are the laughing stock of Moors (Muslims), heretics and

pagans alike. The Moors have burned down the church at Tanor, and have broken and destroyed the images of the Saints. Though the Viceroy has condemned them to build a larger one, yet they taunt us with the words: If the Virgin is so powerful, why do we go unpunished? Why does she remain so quiet? Where the heretics (Dutch) are in power, they make us suffer all sorts of indignities. For instance at Punical they have compelled our fishermen to pay some money to a magician, who boasts he is able to protect them from sea-monsters. Elsewhere they have turned our fine churches into store-houses, or they have razed them to the ground". He then proceeds to relate the burning down of Topo, of which we have already spoken.

Of Calicut we say nothing, for we spoke at length in the preceding Chapter. The storm, however, was raging everywhere, and though Goa seemed secure for the moment, there too trouble was brewing. A few years more, and then the Marquis of Pombal will realise in Portugal and in all her dominions the cry of Voltaire: *Ecrasez L'Infame.* But let us not anticipate.

4 THE PROPOSED FUSION OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR WITH GOA

raised a veritable storm in the South. In 1698 Padre Joao da Costa was sent to Rome to represent the interests of his Province. There, without any mandate from his Superiors, and contrary to the express desires of the Fathers, he pleaded for the reunion of Malabar with Goa. The question had been raised before, but Fr. General had decided to leave the juridical status of the Province unchanged, though its funds were almost nil, and the number of the Fathers much reduced. We give here a resume of Padre da Costa's Memoir on the matter:

"The Malabar Province lacks subjects, Colleges, funds.

"*Subjects*: When I left for Rome they were 27 in all. During the 16 years that I have lived in the Province they have never been more than 30."

Perhaps Padre da Coasta excluded the old and the disabled, and the Scholastics. But he does not say so. Taken as they are, his numbers are wrong.

"Colleges: There are five so-called Colleges; mud-huts with a Rector, whose subjects are scattered here and there. Community life impossible. Even Ambalakad is not safe. A short while ago we had to leave it, and disguise ourselves as Franciscans. Where can we go for a little recollection? Where can we send those whose conduct is not up to the mark? It is easy to send them to the Province of Goa. A fine gift indeed!

"*Funds*: The lack of income is not less great. Scarcely 4,000 ducats, gathered with the greatest difficulty, and of which the greater part is spent by the Provincial and the Procurator in Rome. What remains must suffice for 23. The Fathers of the Fishery Coast live on the tithes. But it is not rare that in order to get them to pay tithes, the recalcitrants have to be imprisoned, deprived of their nets, interdicted from Mass and the Sacraments.

"Unite Malabar to Goa and you will have Colleges for the formation of Ours, and where the lukewarm can be given some other kind of ministry. You will have both labourers and revenues. But it is necessary that Your Paternity

(1) Should forbid that the Malabar revenues be ever mixed with Goa's;

(2) There should be a different Procurator for Malabar;

(3) This Procurator should pay for the expenses both of the Provincial and of the Procurator in Rome, according to the number of subjects;

(4) The Goa Provincial should always keep 50 labourers in Malabar. For this purpose he should have in the Novitiate a reserve of 10 or 15 Novices.

(5) No one should be sent to the Malabar Missions unless he knows the language of the place.

(6) Once a Missionary has been applied to the Malabar Mission, he may not be sent elsewhere.

(7) Those who are working in Malabar at the time of the fusion of the two Provinces should not be removed from there.

"Another means would be to keep the number of labourers in Malabar up to 60; that is to say 45 in the Mission and 15 in the houses of formation; and to build a College at Murmagao. But I foresee opposition from Goa. And then farewell to charity.

"A third means: Let there be always a Visitor, superior to both Provincials, and rather favouring Malabar. But...

"To overcome eventual objections, let us remember that in 1630 the Provincial Congregation proposed the reunion. And yet the number of subjects was greater then, and so was the number of Colleges. In 1650 the Provincial Padre Ignazio Bruno, together with Padre Andre Lopez, Padre Sebastiao de Fonseca and others made the same proposal. Padre Francisco Baretto asked the same thing, and for the same reasons, when he was sent to Rome as Procurator. They answered him on 25 Aug. 1645".

No doubt the case for reunion was strong, and it was very ably presented by Padre da Costa. The General Congregation examined it on 18 Sept. 1698, and the General, together with his Assistants, was favourable. Later on, however, the Assistant for Portugal remarked that it was necessary first to consult the Malabar Province, which at the Provincial Congregation of 1695 had presented no "*Postulatum*" on the point. Hence the matter was put off.

5. REACTIONS IN MALABAR.

A letter of Padre Vigilio Mansi to Padre de Linguis (27/12/1699) reveals how the news of Padre da Costa's proposals was received in Malabar: "Our poor Province is now in great distress, owing to the unworthy proceedings of Padre Joao da Costa, who, disregarding the Fathers' wishes, and against their desires, has undertaken to reunite it with Goa. These last days a consultation was held at Topo on this matter. They have decided not to answer to Our Father's orders, but, according to the rules, to make known to him the ruin, both material and spiritual, which would ensue from this monstrous fusion, issued from the brains of one single individual.

"Our Fr. Provincial has asked me to acquaint Rev. Fr. Secretary (of the Society of Jesus) with this imminent danger, who (as he himself has written to me), moved no doubt by

praiseworthy zeal, but ill informed, has endeavoured to give effect to Padre da Costa's demands. He has pressed me therefore to have recourse to Your Rev. whom I have described to him as a man *secundum Cor Dei*, and to plead with you for "the conservation of a Province, which is not chimeric and nominal,—as our excited Procurator is pleased to call it—but which is the honour and glory of the Society as Our Father General himself has declared, for she is the eldest daughter of the great Xavier, and the only support of Christianity in the whole East (?). I suppose Your Rev. is now in Rome, and will know full well the disastrous consequences of such a reunion—consequences already foreseen by the prudent zeal of our Frs General. They, in fact, have most prudently ordered that the two Provinces, whose respective interests are so opposed, should not be reunited; more, they have also forbidden to speak on the subject. If the Goan laxity were joined to the Malabar fervour it is evident that vice would have the better of virtue. That spells spiritual ruin. The jealousy of the Dutch, who with Argus' eyes watch over our deeds, will—once they come to know of this reunion—renew the past persecutions. That means temporal ruin. And how can the Fathers, when they are in trouble, have recourse to a Superior, when they will have to wait one year for his answer? Instead of diminishing the expenses, they will be doubled by long voyages, and especially with Religious who are dissatisfied, and the lovers of comfort. But what breaks the heart of all is to see themselves deprived of the right of sending a Procurator to Rome, and consequently the taking away of the name of Province from Malabar, which has so many titles to be regarded by her august Mother as the *Pupilla oculi sui*. These titles are the traces of the great Apostle of the East, which are still so deep in this Province; his miracles...the blood of so many martyrs, the apostolic labours of the Missionaries and the exemplary life of so many Religious."

So far Padre Mansi.

In a letter of 22 Dec. 1699 the Provincial Padre Andre Gomez says, that before giving effect to the decree of reunion, he gathered the Provincial Congregation. He now sends to Rome the deliberations of the Fathers. It is interesting to note that the letter was despatched through the French, via Pondicherry, through the Dutch, via Colombo, through the English, and finally via Goa.

The Fathers, of course, were opposed to reunion. Hence the matter was shelved and we do not hear any more of the fusion of Malabar with Goa.

6. Problems and Troubles.

All those who leave their homes to go to foreign lands and work for the spreading of the Kingdom of Christ know beforehand that they are called to a life of much suffering. Yet we doubt whether the sufferings of the Jesuits in Malabar, in the century which preceded the Suppression of the Society, were ever surpassed in the History of the Order.

They were working in a land ravaged by constant wars among the numerous Princelets of South India. Armies were crossing and recrossing the country. It is not to be imagined that these armies were anything resembling the terrible but well ordered, modern forces. The soldiers were loosely knit together and accompanied by huge numbers of camp followers. When the provisions gave out they broke loose upon the peasantry, burned their huts, robbed them of their food, carried away their cattle. The Missionaries shared the lot of the people. They often saw their churches burned and their houses destroyed. And this not only in the interior, but also on the coast. It had not been so in former times, when Portugal was mighty. But now the Portuguese flag had been withdrawn from Ceylon and from the East Coast of India. On the West Coast, it still fluttered in the sky of Goa, but had disappeared from Cochin, Quilon, Cranganore, Cannanore. The Fathers, who were used to comparative affluence, were now poor, and, what is worse, they lacked the means to feed the destitute, both Catholics and non-Catholics, who crowded round their little churches. They found it difficult even to feed their Novices, and the young men, who were preparing for the Priesthood. So they sent them to Goa to be maintained at Goa's expense. But this had a double

disadvantage. First, in Goa they lacked opportunities to learn Malayalam and Tamil. Secondly they were not trained to the hard life, which would be their lot in Madura or Malabar. No wonder then if the Provincials of Malabar did all in their power to build Ambalakad, and provide it with the minimum income to maintain a certain number of new recruits.

On the Fishery Coast the great troubles which had arisen at the first impact with the Dutch gradually diminished. Some churches were rebuilt, and the Fathers who at first had withdrawn to the interior, returned to Tuticorin and Manapad. As a matter of fact, we find that in 1695 or 96 Manapad became a *Collegium Maximum* for the Province. We interpret this as follows: Ambalakad was the Collegium Maximum with regard to studies, and in respect to the Northern part of the Province. Manapad had little to do with studies, but it was declared a College only to make it canonically capable of owning property. Thus the Missionaries could be attached to it, and, in some sense, claim maintenance from it. In fact its Rector received a yearly contribution of 490 xeraphins from the Assalona Estate, which was within the jurisdiction of the Province of Goa. In Portuguese times, when Goa controlled the pearl fisheries, and protected the fishermen from Moors and Malabar pirates, the Paravas had agreed to pay a kind of tribute, which the King of Portugal had decreed should go to the maintenance of the Missionaries. But now that the Dutch had taken possession of the pearl fisheries, many Fathers thought that it was not right to press the Paravas for payment. The Provincial Padre Domingo d'Almeida (1693-1697) could not settle the point, and so turned for advice to Very Rev. Fr. General. He told him bluntly that a Mission must have some revenues. The income from Assalona was totally inadequate. If the tribute from the fisheries was given up, how could he maintain the Missionaries? Certainly they could not live on air.

In a letter of the Provincial Padre Manoel Pereyra (1711-1714) we find the same point touched upon. In the same letter there are *other questions*, which the reader may find interesting.

(1) The General had asked: What to think of the tithes which the Paravas used to pay to their Pastors? The Provincial answers that, after consultation, some Fathers thought that the Jesuits ought to give them up, for the Society could not receive stipends for the ministry. Besides, since the Paravas were very poor, the King had exempted them from payment.

(2) Some time before Fr. Antonio Barros had been robbed of a considerable sum of money. The harassed Provincial did not know how to get on. Perhaps he could invest the money they had in Goa, and distribute the interest among the various Missions and Colleges, provided each one kept accurate accounts of what they received. This was the opinion of the consultors.

(3) Fr. General had asked why they did not invest money inland. The Provincial answered that it was difficult and risky to do so in the South, on account of the constant wars. In Goa the Religious had now been forbidden to acquire more land.

(4) Was it true that the Bishop of Cochin used the fines to maintain the Missionaries? The Provincial answered that he did not know for sure. That was the rumour, however. Yet even so, the money gathered from the fines imposed for misdemeanours was insufficient even to feed the poor.

(5) Why do you not put in the Banks, or lend out to interest, the money you have in Goa? The answer was that favourable opportunities were wanting. (Yet, as we shall see, the opportunities presented themselves later on.)

(6) And what of the money collected from alms-boxes? There are no such boxes, is the reply, except in Tuticorin, Manapad and Punical. But the Christians will object if the money is touched, even for the maintenance of the Fathers.

We have already spoken of the dissatisfaction Joao da Costa caused when, at Rome, he insisted on the union of Malabar with Goa. He was a very able man, but he did not know how to command affection. On the 5th of October 1702, Padre Barros, in proposing the names of possible Superiors spoke of him as follows: "I absolutely refuse to propose Padre Joao da Costa, for, though he is a very gifted man, his character is implacable,

and restless. He is always devising some new plan. Moreover he is easily roused to anger, inclined to vengeance and extremely suspicious, so that he always takes in bad part what others endeavour to do; he is odious almost to everybody".

Yet, either the Provincial exaggerated, or others wrote in a different strain, or perhaps, when in Rome, Padre João created a good impression; the fact is that they made him Provincial. In a letter, dated 2 Nov. 1715, he asks that the following points be settled: (*a*) That the Mission of Nemam (of which we shall speak later) be joined to the College of Ambalakad. If that is not possible the Mission has to be abandoned, for it is not possible to maintain the Missionaries. (*b*) The same with regard to the Madura Mission and the College of Manapad. (*c*) The Mission of Madura complains that alms gathered by Father (Saint) John de Brito, have been used by Padre Luis de Silva for his personal needs. The consultors are of opinion that the Province owes nothing to the Mission, for the money was not spent for the general needs of the Province. Madura also claims some alms given to it by Rev. Fr. Assistant. (*d*) The Provincial asks for all the faculty to consecrate chalices. (*e*) The last point to be cleared is whether the Fathers are bound in justice to have care of souls. If the answer is in the negative, the souls will suffer, for zeal will slacken. If positive, will the Fathers be bound to obey the Superior in this matter? *Do they get from him the commission to care for souls?*

The last point is noteworthy, for it shows how the question of jurisdiction was beginning to make itself felt among the Missionaries. That the regular Superiors were responsible for the observance of the rules of the Order was plain. But did their obligations extend further? Were the regular Superiors or the Bishops responsible for the evangelization of the heathen? From whom then were the Missionaries to receive orders—from the Bishop or from the Superiors? The matter is clear now; but it was not so in the XVII and in the XVIII centuries. We remember the unedifying fights with the Bishop of Cochin at the beginning of the XVII century. Similar—though less violent—were the troubles with Bishop Pacheco, both with regard to Calicut and the Fishery Coast. Tactful Superiors and tactful Bishops succeeded for a time to avoid friction; but since the canonical principles involved were not clear, disagreements were bound to break out. The matter was complicated by the attitude of the Portuguese authorities in the Mission, which helped the Missionary financially, but demanded in turn such obedience and submission as Rome would never have exacted and obtained.

We have seen how the Portuguese Missionaries were expelled from the dominions conquered by the Dutch. The expulsion was complete in Ceylon, Malacca, and the islands which came later to be known as the Dutch East Indies. It was not so complete in Malabar and on the Fishery Coast. *After the expulsion of the Missionaries came the attempted perversion of the Christians.* Their churches were destroyed or turned into preaching halls. The children were compelled to attend catechism classes, where — according to the Dutch Chaplain Baldaeus — they had to listen day in and day out to the refutation of Popish errors concerning Purgatory, the Mass, Indulgences, Auricular Confession, etc. Fines were imposed on those who did not attend Protestant services. In spite of this, the great majority in India remained steadfast. Often the Fathers disguised themselves to be able to reach their flocks in spite of the vigilance of the Dutch. And where they could not go they sent trusty Catechists.

It will not be out of place to give here some extracts from a letter written by Fr. Peter Martin from Camanayakenpatty on the 1st of June, 1701, to show the steadfastness of the Paravas under the Dutch. He writes: "Some years ago the Dutch took possession of the churches of the Paravas to turn them into storehouses, and of the dwellings of the Missionaries to lodge there agents. The Fathers were compelled to take shelter in the forests, where they lived in miserable huts, and so they could come and comfort their flocks. But the Paravas showed on this occasion a marvellous attachment to our

holy religion. Every Sunday they could be seen coming out of Tuticorin and the neighbouring villages in order to go and hear Mass in the woods. In the midst of the Gentiles the Fathers were more free to exercise their ministry than among the Dutch. The zeal of the Paravas shocked some of these gentlemen, who tried all possible means to pervert them. For instance they got a minister from Batavia in order to instruct these poor deceived fishermen — as they said — but the trial failed. At the first interview which the head of the Paravas had with the preacher, he confounded him in the following manner: 'You must know'— he told him— 'that though our caste had embraced the Christian Religion before the coming of the *Great Father* (he meant St. Francis Xavier), we were Christians only by name; in reality we were still pagans. The faith which we profess did not take root in our hearts before we saw the great miracles which the Father wrought in our midst. Therefore, before you tell us to change our religion, it is necessary, please, that first you work even greater miracles than those worked by the *Great Father*, and secondly that you show that your religion is better than that which he taught us. And so start away by raising to life at least a dozen dead bodies, for St. Francis has resuscitated five or six of them on this coast. Heal the sick; fill the sea with good fish. When you have accomplished all this, we shall see what is to be done'.

The poor minister, who did not know what to say, and who had never expected such firmness and courage among ignorant fishermen, re-embarked as soon as he could, for Batavia, whence he had come. However, before he left, he tried to get by force what he had been unable to obtain by persuasion. He endeavoured to compel the Paravas to attend the Protestant service. But the headman of the caste had the courage to put up a declaration on the door of the hall, whereby the Paravas were warned that those who dared to attend would be regarded as traitors of God and of their nation. No one put in an appearance, except a wealthy man, whose fortune depended on the good will of the Dutch. The headman was warned, and he set his own men outside the hall. The wretched fellow was

taken and put to death. Even the Dutch, who hastened to the rescue had to beat a hasty retreat, in order not to cause graver disorder".

Fr. Martin continues saying that "by God's grace these persecutions have now ceased. Other Directors have come to India, who are more reasonable and kind. They have allowed the Fathers to return among their flocks, and to fulfil the duties which they have ever attended to since the times of St. Francis Xavier. In fact I must say in justice to the Directors of to-day, that I have met some who are good and honest, who have gained the love of the people, who love the Missionaries; and these, on their side, have rendered them very valuable services".

7. TWO REMARKABLE PROVINCIALS.

It was our intention to speak in this chapter of various matters, which could not have been touched upon elsewhere, and which relate to the Malabar Province in general. Thus we said something about its ever dwindling numbers, and about the trials to which the various residences of the Fathers were subjected to, both on the part of the Dutch and of the warring Indian Rajas. Here and there we hinted at the financial difficulties, reserving to ourselves to speak about them more in detail in a subsequent chapter. Some queries of the Provincials to the General of the Order, and of the General to the Provincials, have been given, chief among them the matter of fusion with Goa. From the correspondence available one can see how strong was the attachment of the Fathers to the Malabar Province, and how they looked askance at a possible reunion with Goa in spite of undeniable advantages. Nothing, however, has been said about jurisdictional difficulties with Bishops, for the matter, however insufficiently, has been treated elsewhere; nor have we spoken about the ever recurring controversy on the Malabar rites, because a whole chapter will be devoted to it. We regret we did not find it possible to speak of the examples of exalted virtue which the Fathers of the Malabar Province have left us. But the short notices about the Archbishops of Cranganore, St. John de

Brito, Father Provincial Freyre, Padre Beschi, Fr. Hanxleden and others, must suffice. The life of relative comfort in Colleges or archiepiscopal residences, was unknown to them. They lived with their converts in far away villages, often hidden in forests, or tucked away in remote valleys. No pleasant intercourse with the learned, no fine books or rich libraries. Most of their time taken up in repeating the Catechism to ignorant villagers or dirty and half-famished children, or in settling interminable quarrels, and listening to garbled complaints. No European food, however modest, but plain rice, seasoned, when available, with a little curry. Even the habit of the Society had to be exchanged with the garments of the Sannyassi. And then the opposition of the Brahmins, the violent hatred of Rajas or Nabobs. Not infrequently were they thrown in prison, beaten, threatened with death. To this add the suspicions and banishments on the part of heretics, the snares of schismatics, the misunderstandings with Propagandists, or inexperienced Missionaries, only too ready to condemn what they did not understand. As the years roll on, even the Portuguese Government, which had ever been a pillar of strength to the Catholic Missions, turned against the Jesuits, denied them financial support, and in the end, imprisoned most of them, and transported them to languish for years in the dungeons of St. Julian. But of this later.

In the Appendix to this chapter we shall give the names of the Provincials, who ruled the Jesuits in Malabar from 1650 to 1760. The list is incomplete, both as to numbers and dates. Others, to whom more documents are available, will complete it. Here we shall speak about two Provincials, who stand out more prominently above the rest. And first.

Padre Ignazio Bruno (1576-1659). Of him mention has been made in the first Volume of this History (p. 396). "He was born in Italy, in the Diocese of Nocera, and came out to India in 1603, barely fours years after he had joined the Society. From 1608 to 1611 he worked in Ceylon and again from 1624 to 1633. In the intervening years he was in India, at St. Thome and on the Fishery Coast. From 1633 to 1638 he was Rector of the Jesuit College of Malacca; and then back again in Ceylon, till the year 1646, when he was made Provincial of Malabar. After four years he became Rector of Cochin, where he died after having worked 57 years in India. However, four years before he died, though he was 79 years old he was called again to rule the Province as Vice-Provincial, in 1655. The years were very difficult, and the Fathers needed the comforting advice of the experienced old man, who had laboured in nearly all the wide fields of the Malabar Province. But we do not wish to speak of his activities as Superior. Rather we desire to call the attention of the readers on the impulse he gave everywhere to the study of Tamil. Padre *Maracci* in his *Relazione* (1651) says that Padre Bruno had written "several useful books which help conversion", and Padre Bruno himself, in his letters to the General, often speaks of a *Vocabulary* which he hoped to publish. Already in 1628 he pressed Rev. Fr. General to send to the Missions only those who are keen on learning the Indian languages, and who have an aptitude for it. "There is in these parts"—he says—"a great scarcity of those who know the language well, and the fervour of the old Fathers on the Fishery Coast in studying the language is lacking in these parts (i. e. in Ceylon)".

During the wars in Ceylon, the Superiors appointed him to teach Tamil to his confreres, and he reports to the General: "Now that the Fathers of the Mission are all here together, the Rector ordered that there should be a class of Tamil, a thing which is extremely necessary. I was appointed for the work and I am now explaining to the Fathers the grammar of the Tamil language. All the Fathers are studying with great diligence and fervour". And now a few words on

Padre Manoel Rodriguez. He was one of the greatest Missionaries of the Trichinopoly District. In the years 1663-65 he was working there with Frs. Antonio de Proensa and Manoel Alvarez. The country was ravaged by the horrors of war. Vanamian, a very able general of the Idalcan, attacked the city with great violence and laid waste the surrounding villages. Though the churches were destroyed none of the Fathers lost

his life. The terror of the Moors was such that 400 women burned themselves to death, rather than fall into their hands. After having extorted a considerable sum of money from the Nayaker Soccalingam, the Moors withdrew. In spite of all these troubles, the baptisms in Trichinopoly were 1107, and in Candelur, where Fr. Manoel Rodriguez was working, 584. The people were so attached to the Fathers, who never abandoned them in their dire necessity, that they considered them as their own compatriots.

In 1681 four armies were encamped near Trichinopoly, where was the Nayaker of Madura: the Mysoreans, who were pressing him on two sides, then the soldiers of Gingi, led by their king Samboji; thirdly the Tanjoreans, under Ecoji, and finally the Maravas, who had come to help their liege, the Nayaker. One may imagine the desolation of the country. Padre Rodriguez had to leave Candelur. He went to Aur, but feeling he was not safe, he found shelter at Maleyadipatty. Some years before he had been named Visitor of the Mission, and it was his duty to see the Missionaries, to sustain them in their difficulties, to tender them his experienced advice. It was at this time that he was taken by the soldiers of a certain Eleanayaken, who led him into a forest determined to put him to death. They found nothing of value in his baggage. They ordered him to kneel down. But such was his courage and piety, that they were moved to pity and let him go.

In the year 1682 he was made Superior of the Madura Mission, and in the same year he registered at Candelur 1169 conversions. The next year he was appointed Provincial, and in the year 1694 he was Provincial of Goa, where he died on the 28th of August of the same year.

The *Annuae* often speak of this great man, of his zeal, his piety, his invincible courage. They describe him at home, in his little church, ever busy with his Christians, who flocked to him to have their quarrels settled, who asked his protection against the Zemindars, who begged for a little medicine. And he, ever patient and kind, not only instructed them in the ways of God and taught them how to pray, but gave them the little

help he could afford in their endless troubles. One of his chief works was the training of catehists, on whose zeal, tact and goodness depended to a great extent, the progress of the Mission.

In this fragmentary chapter we have chosen to speak only of two Provincials. But we would never end were we to relate the Missionary labours of a Padre Andre Freyre, and Domingo d'Almeida, and Christobal Semedo and many others. Fr. Besse, in his History of the Madura Mission, mentions some of them, but his narrative is in a foreign language and is, besides, a little confused, to create the right impression. We would suggest a series of pamphlets, each illustrating the life of these great men. We believe their deeds—which alas are hidden in musty documents and rare letters—would be a source of pride and inspiration to their followers in the XX Century. They carried on the work of Christ amid the greatest difficulties. They made themselves all things to all men. They spoke, and ate and dressed like Indians. They sowed the seed in a land, which was often stony and full of thorns. They watered it with the sweat of their brows and with the blood of their hearts. No wonder that the seed sunk deep, and could not be destroyed by the surrounding paganism or by the attacks of heresy. It lived on even when the labourers were removed. It lived on tended by faithful catechists, watered by humble men and women, who often ignored the glories of their country, but were proud of the Cross, which they carried on their foreheads; and, according to the custom of their caste, wanted impressed on their arms and on their breasts. The old Fathers taught them how to pray in their own language, they trained them to sing the praises of Mary and of the Saints in their ancient music they encouraged them to dramatize the Bible and the Gospel in their endless plays, they made them feel that Christianity was their own—and not lent, or imported, or forced upon them. The old Fathers understood them and loved them, and gave everything for them. No wonder that the Christians returned this love, and, through the Fathers, their love welled up even to the Heart of Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX I—STATISTICS

Years	Priests	Schol. Coad.	Total	Admitted	Dead	Cochin	St. Andrew	Santiago	Vaipicota Cranganore	Coulam (Quilon)	Fishery, Manar	Colombo	Negapatam	San Thome	Calicut, Tanore	Madura	Jaffna	Bengal	Pegu	Malaca	Moluccas	Goa	Remarks
1600	—	—	—	—	—	23	1	1	9	9	—	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1601	—	—	—	—	—	27	1	—	—	8	—	4	2	7	2	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	
1602	64	33	97	—	1	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1604	78	50	128	12	3	—	—	—	—	8	17	7	2	9	—	—	—	—	2	5	10	—	
1605	75	53	128	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1606	88	62	150	11	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1607	88	62	150	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1609	90	56	146	10	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1610	81	52	133	8	7	66	1	2	9	9	—	12	4	8	1	3	—	—	4	13	8	—	
1611	80	52	132	5	6	—	—	—	6	5	—	15	3	9	—	4	—	—	4	11	7	—	
1612	83	53	136	4	6	69	2	—	6	4	—	17	4	7	4	4	—	—	5	9	8	—	
1613	81	54	135	6	4	62	2	3	7	5	—	17	5	7	4	4	—	3	2	8	8	—	
1615	80	61	141	5	4	67	—	—	5	5	—	15	5	7	2	4	—	6	1	10	9	—	
1616	87	52	139	5	4	67	—	—	7	5	—	16	5	6	—	4	—	7	1	11*	10	—	*4 From Japan
1617	80	53	133	—	7	62	—	—	9	5	—	18	6	8	—	3	—	7	1	14*	10	—	*3 ,, ,,
1618	72	64	136	7	5	63	—	—	8	4	—	15	4	7	—	3	—	8	1	13*	10	—	*2 ,, ,,
1620	87	62	149	—	—	69	—	—	9	5	—	16	5	10	2	3	—	9	1	12	10	—	
1623	—	—	141	—	—	—	—	—	6	8	—	18	4	7	—	3	4	4	1	7	5	—	
1626	98	67	165	4	10	63	—	—	10	9	13	19	4	4	—	4	14	7	1	7	2	—	

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Years	Priests	Schol. Coad.	Total	Admitted	Dead	Cochin	St. Andrew	Santiago	Vaipicota Cranganore	Coulam (Quilon)	Fishery, Manar	Colombo	Negapatam	San Thome	Calicut, Tanore	Madura	Jaffna	Bengal	Pegu	Malaca	Moluccas	Goa	Remarks
1627	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
1628	—	—	167	—	—	73	—	—	9	8	14	17	4	4	1	4	17	7	1	7	4	2	3 in the Cathay Exped.
1630	—	—	164	4	5	70	—	—	7	8	13	12	5	5	1	4	15	7	1	12	4	12	—
1632	—	—	180	—	6	80	—	—	10	11	14	7	4	9	3	4	14	8	1	7	2	—	28 Scholastics
1633	—	—	140	—	9	52	—	—	7	10	13	20	4	6	—	4	14	2*	1	7	6	—	* Fall of Hoogly 1632
1634	97	51	148	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	
1640	124	36	160	—	—	48	—	—	10	10	16	10	3	8	—	4	13	3	2	6	4	12	
1642	83	61	144	—	—	53	—	—	8	20	25	17	3	5	—	4	—	4	2	3	—	—	
1643	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	5	13	—	2	—	—	—	
1644	102	43	145	—	—	34	—	—	—	10	—	6	—	7	—	4	15	—	2	—	—	—	
1648	94	48	142	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	6	—	5	15	—	2	2	2	—	
1654	—	—	—	—	—	64	—	—	7	7	14	6	3	6	—	5	13	3	1	—	1	3	3 Prisoners at Kandy
1655	—	—	—	2	2	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	4 Prisoners at Kandy
1667	36		36	—	—	—	—	—	5	10	10	—	—	3	—	11	—	3	—	—	—	—	24 Students at Goa
1674	42	12	54	—	—	—	—	—	6	9	11	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
1677	50	14	64	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	14	Dismissed 1 Novice, 1 Professed
1688	49	—	49	4	4	—	—	—	10	10	9	—	—	2	—	8	—	4	—	—	—	5	At Rome 1
1694	37	10	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1697	—	—	46	2	5	—	—	—	4	7	6	—	—	5	—	7	—	4	—	—	—	12	

APPENDIX I—STATISTICS

Years	Priests	Schol. Coad.	Total	Admitted	Dead	Cochin	St. Andrew	Santiago	Vaipicota Cranganore	Coulam (Quilon)	Fishery, Manar	Colombo	Negapatam	San Thome	Calicut, Tanore	Madura	Jaffna	Bengal	Pegu	Malaca	Moluccas	Goa	Remarks
1705	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	15	11	—	—	2	—	7	—	2	—	—	—	12	At Rome 2 at Pondichery 1
1708	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	13	11	—	—	3	—	9	—	1	—	—	—	9	At Rome 2
1718	—	—	54	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1729	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	11	7	—	—	2	—	9	—	2	—	—	—	4	At Rome 2
1730	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	1	—	—	—	4	
1731	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	9	13	13	—	—	1	—	9	—	1	—	—	—	4	At Rome 1
1734	—	—	56	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	Dismissed 1
1737	—	—	59	—	10	—	—	—	13	14	11	—	—	2	—	9	—	2	—	—	—	5	At Rome 1(?)
1738	—	—	58	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1740	—	—	62	—	3	—	—	—	16	13	9	—	—	1	—	12	—	1	—	—	—	10	
1742	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1743	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1746	—	—	49	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1752	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	4	Dismissed 1
1756	—	—	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1761	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	2	14	8	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 Dismissed; 6 Invalids
1775	24	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	7	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 at Raichur; 3 at Mysore
1780	22	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	5	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 do ; 3 do

REMARKS

Regarding these Statistics we make a few remarks, and

1st. As to the numbers of Jesuits in the Province. It starts with 64 in 1602, and it ends with 22 in 1780, after the Suppression. The maximum ever reached was 180, in 1632. Therefore, compared with modern standards, the Province was small. Yet its extension was enormous, for its members worked in Malabar, on the Fishery Coast, in Ceylon, in Bengal, in Malacca and in the Moluccas.

2nd. The proportion of Priests to Scholastics and Coadjutors is a little less than two to one in 1602. In 1618 there are 72 Priests and 64 Scholastics and Coadjutors. Again we find 83 Priests and 61 Scholastics and Coadjutors in 1642. The last numbers belong to the year 1694, when we have 37 Priests to 10 Scholastics and Coadjutors. To have an idea of modern standards, the Calicut Mission of the Society in 1949 had 70 Priests; 53 Scholastics and 35 Coadjutors. The Priests, who in the old Mission were always a majority are now a distinct minority. But, what may be considered an advantage of us moderns over the ancients is that whilst in 1949 the *proportion of Indians to Europeans* was nearly three to two, there were no Indian Jesuits among the old Fathers, or rather there was one by the name of *Pero Luis.* He was a Brahmin, born at Quilon in 1532. He was converted when scarcely 15 years old, learnt Latin under Fr. N. Lancillotti, entered the Society in 1562, was ordained Priest 12 years later, and died at Cape Comorin in 1596. The repugnance—for it cannot be called anything else—of the ancient Fathers to open to Indians the gates of the Society, had disastrous effects especially in Ceylon. In fact all European Missionaries were compelled to leave the island, when the Dutch conquered it. Had there been a fair number of natives among them, presumably they could have remained to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord. As it was, the island was abandoned for nearly forty years, till the Ven. Fr. Vaz went there from Goa, and became the Apostle of Ceylon.

3rd. The distribution of the Jesuits in the old Province is also interesting. In 1600, of 48 Jesuits, Cochin alone claimed 23, and Vaipicota 9. The latter attended to the Missions among the Syrian Christians and to the education of the Clergy. The former worked mainly among Europeans and Topazes, or hat-wearing people. In 1610, of 133 Jesuits, 66 were in Cochin. Some manned a school, others worked in the church of *Mae de Deus,* and many were Novices and Scholastics. Complaints, however, were made by Archbishop Roz, that the tendency among some Fathers was to work in Cochin rather than elsewhere. Life was more comfortable, no other language besides Portuguese was needed, the people appreciated their labours better.

In 1606 we find two Jesuits in Madura and they never exceed 5 till 1654. Padre De Nobili—the founder of the Madura Mission—died in 1656. Then

the numbers for Madura show an increase. Eleven in 1667, 10 in 1677, 16—the maximum—in 1771. On an average, however, the Madura Missionaries were about ten. And their work was so marvellous and the conversions so numerous that at the time of the Suppression of the Society, the Christians in the Madura Mission were nearly 150,000. In fact, the Missionaries of Ceylon and of Madura were the glory of the Province. Ceylon was lost at the advent of the Dutch, but Madura continued, and the fear that Madura might suffer was one of the chief reasons for opposing union with Goa. Goa, the comfortable, the rich, the magnificent, had no attraction for the Jesuits of Malabar. They preferred the mud-hut of Topo, where the Provincial resided, to the splendour of the Bom Jesu. They preferred to possess the spirit of St. Francis rather than his body, and they thought with indignation of the manoeuvres of Fr. Joao da Costa, who in Rome proposed the fusion of Malabar with Goa and nearly carried it through. It was mainly due to the fairness of Rev. Fr. General, who desired that the Malabar Fathers should be consulted, that the blow was averted.

4th. As to the number and nationality of Provincials. They were 29 in 110 years that is, they ruled on an average about 3 years and 8 months each. Now the period is usually longer, and it has distinct advantages. With the exception of two, all the Provincials were Portuguese, as was but natural in a Portuguese Province. This policy, however, was practically forced upon the Society by the Government, which could not tolerate that the Rectors of the Colleges or the Provincial should be other than Portuguese. Here is a letter of the Viceroy, Conde de Linares, to the King (30 Nov. 1630): "It is absolutely necessary that the General of the Society of Jesus should order the Provincials to fulfil the commands of Your Majesty; for without such order of the General, there might spring forth some differences (between them and this state).

In point of fact the Provincial of the South writes to the effect that without an order of the General he will never change the Rector of the house of Cochin, who is at present a foreign Father appointed to this post by the General. I had already decided to suspend him and to withdraw the ordinary allowances given to that Province in case they did not fulfil the orders of Your Majesty. But in the meantime this foreign Father passed away, and the question settled itself. I expect nevertheless a new order of Your Majesty for my guidance in the future".

The letter speaks for itself, and needs no comments.

APPENDIX II

THE PROVINCIALS

1. Padre Andre Lopez (1650—1654)
2. Padre Ignazio Bruno, Viceprovincial (1655)
3. Padre Francisco, Barretto (1655—1658)
4. Padre Giraldo de Rocha (1659)

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5. Padre Francisco de Oliveira (1667......)
6. Padre Joao de Maya
7. Padre G. Alfonso Alvarez [Later on Bishop of Mylapore]
8. Padre Manoel Notticitt
9. Padre Manoel Rodriguez (1683—87)
10. Padre Andre Freyre (1687—1692)
11. Padre Domingo d'Almeida (1693—1697)
12. Padre Andre Gomez (1697—1700)
13. Padre Christobal Semedo (1700—1702)
14. Padre Andre Gomez Viceprov. (1702)
15. Padre Antonio de Barros (1702—1705)
16. Padre Christobal Semedo, Prov. again (1705—1708 ?)
17. Padre Ignazio da Costa (1708—1710)
18. Padre Hieronymo Telles (1710—1711)
19. Padre Manoel Pereyra (1711—1714)
20. Padre Joao da Costa (1715—1716)
21. Padre Antonio Dias (1716—1722)
22. Padre Luis de Silva (1722—...... ?)
23. Padre Luiz Franco (1729—1730)
24. Padre Joao Antunes Jun. (1732—......?)
25. Padre Francisco Cardoso (1735—1737)
26. Padre Luis Vasconcellos (1738......?)
27. Padre Salvador dos Reis (1750......?)
28. Padre Jose Silveiro (1757—1761)
29. Padre Lourenso Mendes (1761)

CHAPTER II
THE COLLEGE OF AMBALAKAD
INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fra Paolino's map (see Vol. I) puts Ambalakata a few miles north of "Angamali", and nearly due East of Cranganore. Adrian Moens speaks of "Ambelcatte" a village three hours beyond Cranganore. Dr. W. Germann says that Ambalacada was at the foot of the Angamale Hills, a quarter of a league distant. The natives knew it as Sampalur or town of St. Paul, from the name Paulistas, with which the Jesuits were called in India before the suppression of the Society. The Malayalee scholar, Dr. P. J. Thomas, says that the place is still well known in Malabar, and bears the traces of a large edifice. He regrets that the Archeological Department has neglected it, as many other places of historical interest in Malabar. Grierson, in his *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1906, p. 301, mentions Ambalakad, and places it near Cranganore.

My sources of information on Ambalakad are

1. THE ANNUA of 1667. Fr. H. Heras, S. J., in his articles on *The Syrian Christians of Malabar* (Bombay *Examiner*, especially 7-V-1938) makes use of the same. He modernizes the names, which I do not think necessary, for in Malabar they are easily identifiable and elsewhere they don't matter.

2. FRA PAOLINO DA SAN BARTOLOMEO'S INDIA ORIENTALIS CHRISTIANA, esp. p. 87. His *Viaggio Alle Indie Orientali* could be consulted with profit.

3. G. T. MACKENZIE, CHRISTIANITY IN TRAVANCORE— Trivandrum, 1901. esp. pp. 66, 67, 79.

4. Interesting information is to be found in a youthful article by Prof. *P. J. Thomas* in the St. Joseph's College Magazine for Sept. 1915: *The Literary Activities of Catholic Missionaries in S. India.*

5. JOSEPH DAHLMANN, S. J. in *Die Sprachkunde Und Die Missionen* (Freiburg in B., 1891). He says: (pp. 9-10) "Besides a College there was also a famous press at Ambalakkata near Cochin. It has earned (in the art of printing) the same renown as Goa. Ambalakkata, so often mentioned by travellers of the 17th and 18th centuries, is nowadays searched in vain on most of the maps. Recent scholars have conjectured that its site has fallen into utter oblivion, and that therefore any further investigation about it is useless. In fact, however, this famous place is still existing as a small village. Formerly a magnificent church dedicated to St. Thomas and a Seminary were standing there, and since 1599 Ambalakkata was one of the most important Missionary stations. Sanskrit, Tamil, Malayalam, and Syrian were studied with great success by the Jesuits of that place, and several important works were printed, of which we possess only the names". (Cfr. *Trubner, American and Oriental Record*, 1872, p. 258).

Ecclesiastical students of History in Rome can have access to numerous documents which are unavailable here, and could prepare a learned *Thesis* on Ambalakat.

6. Some information about Ambalakad can be gathered also from Dr. *W. Germann's Die Kirche Der Thomaschristen*, pp. 504, 505 (Gutersloh, 1877).

7. THE TRAVANCORE STATE MANUAL by *V. Nagam Aiya*, Trivandrum, 1906, has a short reference to Ambalakada and especially to Fr. Hanxleden. See pp. 192, 193.

8. TWELVE LETTERS by Fr. *Jacob Hausegger, S. J.* (1700-1765), have been published in *Welt-Bott*, Nos. 636, 724-736. Unfortunately they are not available in India.

On the College of Ambalakad we have the following paragraphs:

1. *The foundation of Ambalakad (1662).*
2. *Dutch persecutions.*
3. *The Jesuits are banished, but then return to the Serra.*
4. *New persecutions.*
5. *The Collegium Maximum.*
6. *The Press.*
7. *The Seminary.*

1. THE FOUNDATION OF AMBALAKAD. (1662).

Before Cochin fell to the Dutch (1663) it was besieged five times. Similarly Cranganore was attacked several times before it was finally conquered. Fearing the worst, the Jesuit Provincial, Padre Francisco Barretto, decided to build another house for the Fathers, beyond the reach of the Dutch, so that they could remain and continue their work in Malabar. The

Caymal of Curugura - a vassal of the Raja of Cochin - was approached and he granted some land at Ambalakad - eight Portuguese miles from Cochin - where the Fathers built a mud house, covered with palm leaves. But they did not move there before 1664 or 1665, and the first Superior was Padre Antonio Machado.

Soon a large church was added. Gradually the house grew, and we shall see how it became a missionary and literary centre for all Malabar. To mention only two of the most famous Fathers who worked at Ambalakad: the first was Padre Beschi, the great Tamil scholar, and the second, Fr. Hanxleden, still remembered in Malabar as *Arnos Padri*.

2. Dutch Persecutions.

After the fall of Cochin and of Cranganore, some Portuguese and Indian Catholic families withdrew to Ambalakad, where they could freely exercise their religion and receive spiritual help from the Fathers. But the Dutch, brought up in the Protestant tradition of prejudice and blind hatred against the Jesuits, viewed with suspicion their remaining in Malabar. They approached the Caymal of Curugura and promised him great favours, should he agree to expel the Jesuits. He curtly refused. They had no better success with the Lord of Chanota, who was also Dewan to the Raja of Cochin.

On the 4th of March 1663 peace was concluded in Europe between Holland and Portugal, and the peace was proclaimed also in Cochin. But the Jesuits were to be excluded from its benefits. "They are the devil's brood" said the Dutch General to Padre Joao de Santiago, the Franciscan Commissary; and to the Raja of Chanota he said: "I would rather allow one thousand Portuguese to stay near Cochin than one single Jesuit".

At that time a letter from the Jesuit Visitor—who was then at Goa—reached Padre Machado, Superior at Ambalakad, wherin he was asked to see that an important document was sent to the Provincial, who was staying at Cangaracottei, near Quilon. The Father decided to go personally to Cochin, where he would find a trustworthy messenger to deliver the document. For this purpose he wrote for, and obtained, a safe-conduct from Rudolf Van Coestre, Dutch Governor of Cochin. When the Father reached Cochin he was treated "*most kindly*" by the Governor, and he was allowed to stay with the Franciscans, who were the only Religious permitted by the Dutch to remain in the city and minister to the Topas, or hatwearing people. (*)

Having concluded his business, when he was about to return to Ambalakad, the Father was arrested at the old Bar, brought to the Raja's palace, and confined in a tower, without being able to guess the reason for this tyrannical procedure. From a Canarin, who was a Corregidor of the Dutch, he came to know that he had been arrested by order of the "*kind*" Governor.

Meanwhile the Franciscan Commissary complained to the Governor that a Jesuit furnished with a safe-conduct, should be a prisoner in the Raja's palace. The good Governor feigned surprise, and wrote to the Raja a letter which to all appearances seemed to favour Padre Machado, but in reality was against him. On the morrow one of the chief Dutch Counsellors—Henry Van Roey—went to the Raja's palace to instruct the Raja how to conduct himself in this shady business. The result of his wily negotiations was that the Father was informed that the Jesuits, being very friendly with the Portuguese Captain, Don Ignacio de Sarmiento de Carvalho, were not welcome in the Raja's dominions, and had better leave Malabar. Padre Machado replied that, since he had fallen into the trap, he would leave, but he could not oblige the Fathers to do the same. To which Van Roey; "What? We know how the Society is governed. You have only to give the order, and the Fathers will obey. Should you refuse, you will never leave this prison".

The Father decided to yield. After having been detained for ten days, he was brought back to the Franciscan Convent,

(*) The etymology of *Topas* is not from *Topee* (hat), from *dvibhas* = double language. In fact the Topas used both an Indian and a European language, as is now the case with Eurasians and Anglo-Indians.

from which he communicated to the Fathers at Ambalakad the order to leave. The Caymal was pained. He pleaded with the Fathers to remain. Many Christians shed tears when they heard that their beloved Fathers had to leave the Serra and go to Goa.

Mar Chandy, Bishop of the Serra, pleaded in favour of the Fathers; but all in vain. After a fortnight the Dutch sent a detachment of soldiers to take the Fathers, and it was from among them that the dangerous prisoners said goodbye to those Christians for whom they had worked so long. The people in tears accompanied the boat a good distance.

In Cochin the Jesuits were the guests of the Franciscans, whom they helped in hearing confessions, for in the city there were only five Franciscans, and the Catholics were more than 10,000. Our Church of the MAE DE DEUS had been the first to be pulled down by the Dutch. The Fathers stopped in Cochin 37 days, always under guard. Finally they were put on board a ship bound for Goa. There they were received with the greatest charity by their brethren.

3. RETURN TO THE SERRA

After a while it was decided to send 11 Fathers to the South, to help the Malabar Province, which for the last 20 years had suffered so much at the hands of the Dutch. Down to Barcelor they went by sea, in spite of the dangers from Moore pirates and Dutch filibusters. They travelled by foot through Kanara till the Mysore boundary, where, weary and sad, they separated. In Kanara they exercised the sacred ministry on behalf of the numerous Christians, who, since the death of Padre Spinola, were almost abandoned by priests (*). The Fathers, touched by the needs of these good Catholics, wrote for help to the provincial, Padre Malpica. It was, however, his successor, who remedied this state of affairs by

(*) Some Historians, deceived by the similarity of the name, have identified the great Missionary of Kanara, with the Martyr of Japan. Blessed Charles Spinola died in 1622. According to Franco the Kanara Missionary came to India in 1665. The writer hopes to speak more at length about Padre Spinola in a little work he is preparing on the Mysore Mission.

sending to Kanara Padre Temudo, and, later on, Padre Gaspar Affonso (1666).

After a journey of two months and a half, through forests and mountains infested with wild beasts, the Fathers reached Ambalakad on 1st May 1665. They had left it 18 months before, but the Caymal had kept the house in good repair. Bishop Chandy sent them his hearty welcome. Numerous Christians came for confession; in fact the Fathers could hardly cope with the work. The Seminary soon filled up, and the more sanguine hoped for the Archdeacon's submission.

4. NEW PERSECUTIONS.

No sooner had the Jesuits returned than the Dutch, and chiefly Henry Van Roey, tried to have them banished again. Of course the Fathers had left Cochin and Cranganore long ago; but why should they be in Ambalakad? The Dutch invited to their palace of Chanota the Rajas of Cochin, Cranganore, Mangate, and others, trying to put them up against us. Cranganore refused on account of his friendship for the Caymal. Mangate said he was living far away and was not interested in the matter. But he suggested that the Jesuits might be cajoled to go to Corati, where it would be easy to seize them, give them over to the Raja of Cochin and then banish them again. The Dutch promised the Company's friendship to the Raja. However, the Raja of Corati, being a great friend of Padre Machado, would not consent to be a party to such machinations, and so the Dutch plan failed.

Soon after another occasion arose. Among the Dutchmen of Cochin some were Catholic, or had married Catholic wives. Their children, however, had been entered into the Company's books, and the Company insisted on their being brought up in Calvinism. This created much discontent. Further, the rumour was spread that all the Catholic families would be transported to Ceylon, where they could not attend Catholic services and would be daily exposed to attacks from Protestant Pastors. The Catholics were grieved, and decided to withdraw to Ambalakad where the Fathers would minister to their religious needs; or, should they be unable to remain there, they would proceed

to Palghat, and thus escape from Dutch intolerance. Padre Machado, on being acquainted with all this, told them that he could not, for the good of a few, risk the spiritual welfare of many. Twice the women came to see the Father, and begged of him with tears in their eyes, to allow them to come to Ambalakad. He was adamant. On a third occasion he could not resist, and promised he would find a Brahmin, who, on a certain day, would meet them and would guide them to Palghat. They fled. On the morrow the Dutch discovered their flight, and suspected the hidden hand of the Jesuits. They put pressure on the Caymal, but he resisted. Then they imprisoned a Brahmin and a Nayar, and through their families again insisted with the Caymal that he should expel the Jesuits. He said that at the moment it was impossible, but in three or four months something would be done. Thus he would gain time, and in the end he would foil their plans. Towards the end of July 1666—when Padre Braz de Azevedo wrote the narrative which has been summarised here—the Caymal was still working to avert the storm; and the Fathers, after six months of Dutch manoevres, were still at Ambalakad. In June, however, they were overtaken by a great misfortune. Their Rector, Padre Machado, who had protected them in so many trials, who had suffered so much with them and for them, died. He was only 41 years of age, 25 of which he had spent in the Society.

5. THE COLLEGIUM MAXIMUM

The *Annua* of 1667 says that, when the Dutch took Cochin, all the Fathers of the College of *Mae De Dews* were imprisoned except four, who succeeded in making good their escape to Ambalakad. We have seen how they established themselves there, and how they were subsequently expelled. They returned in 1665. But while the buildings at Cochin and at Cranganore rivalled the best Colleges in Europe, Ambalakad was very poor. *Baldeus* speaks of the great libraries of Cochin and Cranganore; in Ambalakad there were not even sufficient text-books for the Scholastics; but with characteristic industry the Jesuits built little by little a great centre of piety and learning in Ambalakad as well.

And first they secured from the King of Portugal the revenues of the Caraveja and Assalona Estates, with which they could maintain some Scholastics and help the Fathers who still ventured to give Missions to the Christians of Malabar.

Fra Paolino speaks of the fine buildings at Ambalakad. How these buildings arose we learn from a letter of 1732, written by the German Jesuit Bernard Biskoping. He says: "In our hard times, God seems to have chosen by a special Providence Padre Luis de Vasconcellos Rector of this College. He is a man of quick perception, generous of heart, and invincible amongst difficulties. Chief among the many discomforts that awaited our Fathers out here in India, was that of being exposed to the inclemencies of air and rain, even under the very roof of the College. Father Rector, unable to endure any longer such a state of things, decided to rebuild the College. He has conquered all difficulties, and happily accomplished his work. It is, no doubt, to the indefatigable labour of the Father, and his long experience of the country, that we owe this magnificent building, which has sprung up in 18 months. It awaits our new recruits and companions from Europe, to equip them with all necessary knowledge. His zeal did not stop here. He heartily desired the beauty of the house of God. Therefore he raised the sanctuary of our church and decorated three altars and the pulpit with gold and various colours. He built workshops, constructed again the compound wall, which was falling to pieces. In a word, he has given to Ambalakad the appearance of one of our Colleges in Europe. Although engrossed by so many household duties, he alone fills in all the offices, administers the Sacraments to the sick, attacked by that hideous disease, the small-pox, reconciles enemies, and does not refuse to go on a long journey on foot to deliver a sermon."

The number of Fathers at Ambalakad in 1667 was only 5. In 1677—when the College became a *Collegium Maximum* for the South, the number rose to 14; then 10 in 1688 and only 4 in 1694. We lack more precise information for later years. However, as the years passed, the number of Italian and Austrian Fathers increased. This was due to the persistent opposition of the Dutch to the Portuguese.

Among the Italians we may mention Padre Beschi, who was appointed Visitor to the College towards the end of his life. We may take it that, eminent as he was in Indian lore, he must have given a great impetus to the study of Indian languages. Padre Brandolini, who worked for some time in Calicut, and who was sent to Rome to represent the Jesuit point of view in the thorny question of the Malabar rites, lived also in Ambalakad.

The most famous of the German Fathers who studied in Ambalakad was *Arnos Padri* or Father Ernest Hanxleden, of whom we shall speak more at length later. Among others we may mention Fr. Bernard Biskoping (1692-1746), of Borken in Westphalia, who was Professor of Philosophy and Theology and Rector at Ambalakad. A letter of his has been published in *Welt-Bott* No. 601. He helped Fr. Hanxleden in preparing the *Dictionarium Samscradamico-Lusitanum*, to which he added Fr. Hanxleden's Grammar, and a Catechism in Malayalam.

Another Professor of Theology and Vice-Rector at Ambalakad was Fr. Stephen Joseph Bremer (1660......?), who went to Rome in 1705 by order of the Archbishop of Cranganore. Fr. Jacob Hausegger of Schemnitz in Hungary (1700—1765) was Rector at Ambalakad. He copied out Fr. Hanxleden's Dictionary and Grammar. Twelve letters of his have been published in *Welt-Bott*, Nos. 636, 724-736. Fr. Joackm Jakesh, a Bohemian, was teaching at Ambalakad in 1739. Fr. Joseph Kreningh of Lille (1705—1789) taught Theology at Ambalakad and then served as a Chaplain to the Portuguese troops in Travancore. He wrote *Conquistas Na India Em Apostolicas Missoes Da Comp. De Jesus......Ateo Anno* 1744. (Lisboa 1750)

6. THE PRESS.

In the first Volume of this History we have spoken of the Jesuit Lay Brother, John Gonsalves, who in 1577 cast Malayalam-Tamil types in Cochin. In 1578 Padre John de Faria, on the Fishery Coast, cast Tamil types and published the *Flos Sanctorum* and other devotional books. In 1602 Padre

Laerzio set up a press with Chaldean characters in Vaipicota, where several liturgical books were published.*

During the rebellion of the Thomas Christians Padre Giacinto de Magistris, S. J., went to Rome to represent Archbishop Garcia's case. Upon his return to Malabar he brought a set of Tamil types, together with some copies of Abraham Echellensis *Linguae Syriacae Sive Chaldaicae Perbrevis Institutio* which had been printed in Rome in 1628. In 1670 the Ambalakad Press was busy printing the works of Padre De Nobili. In 1679 the native Christian Ignatius Aichamoni prepared the type for the printing of a Malayalam Dictionary. The Carmelite Fr. Mathew of St. Joseph testifies that in Tuticorin he was shown 16 or 17 kinds of Tamil religious books, which had been published in Ambalakad.

There is a current notion in Malabar that the Protestant Dr. Gunther was the first Malayalam Lexicographer, and that the first Malayalam Grammar is to be ascribed to Drummond. This is not correct. Dr. Buchanam, one of the early Anglican Missionaries in Malabar, writes that he found in Malabar several Grammars and Dictionaries, written by the Jesuits. Later we shall speak of the work of Fr. Hanxleden.

The Catechisms and other devotional books were the first prose works in the language. As Dr. *P. J. Thomas* remarks: "The native writers were not at all accustomed to prose compositions in those days, and it was only very recently that they took up this literary form. It is true that Christian prose works have not directly influenced the evolution of the present Malayalam prose, which is not more than 60 or 70 years old, yet it cannot be denied that the Missionaries were the first to write prose works in the language".

And Ambalakad greatly contributed to this development.

7. THE SEMINARY.

The house of Vaipicota was founded in 1577. In 1581 a Seminary for the Thomas Christians was added to it. In 1584 Padre Francisco Roz—who later on became Archbishop of Cranganore—added to the course of Theology a course of Syro-

* See Vol: I p. 470.

Chaldaic, of which he himself was a Professor. Most of the Cassanars received their training at Vaipicota. The Jesuit Scholastics were trained in Cochin. Similarly boys of Portuguese extraction got their schooling at Cochin. Provision for the education of Syrian Christian young men was made at Cranganore. After the Dutch conquest the Seminary of Vaipicota was turned into an asylum for lepers, while the colleges of Cochin and Cranganore served for other purposes.

At first the Jesuit Scholastics were sent to Goa; later on they were brought down to Ambalakad, where many of the Missionaries of Madura and the Fishery Coast were trained. They lived on what remained of the revenues of the College of Cochin. Since its estates were in the North, the Dutch had been unable to confiscate them. Upon the fall of Bassein to the Marathas, most of these revenues were lost. We find that in 1677 there were only 6 Theologians among the Scholastics. Later on Philosophers and Juniors joined the Theologians.

The Seminary for the Syrian Christians was different from the Jesuit house of studies, though the Rector was the same. At first the number of students was not more than 20; later on it rose to 50. They were taught gratis.

We read in the Memorandum of the Right Worshipful Adrian Moens of the 18th of April 1781 that the Jesuits in "Ambelcatte" "teach the Malabar youths all sciences and languages for nothing; so that just about all native priests are imbued with their principles. Since for some years they have not received their annual allowance from the King of Portugal, and the money which they received from their fellow Priests at Goa for their journey to Lisbon is much reduced, and probably finished, they have to live very frugally; for they have only a very small income from their churches."

Since the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773, and expelled from Portuguese dominions before 1760, Moens must refer to the first half of the XVIII Century. Some Jesuits, however, seem to have carried on in Ambalakad, even after the Suppresion of the Society; in fact, as late as Tippu Sultan's Malabar raid, when the College of Ambalakad was destroyed.

So the Jesuits worked for the formation of the Syrian Christian Clergy. On the East Coast, the ex-Jesuit Pere Vernet was entrusted with the training of the young Levites by the Missionaries of Paris, and Fra Paolino has left us a long description of that Seminary (*). The Carmelites in Malabar endeavoured to train the Clergy of the Latin Rite. Fra Paolino informs us that the Latin students did not study Syriac. Provision was made for 24, some of whom paid for their own maintenance and some were helped by Propaganda. According to Fra Paolino (**) the study of Latin, Catechism, the Breviary, the Ritual and Moral Theology, was their only occupation. "*Tarda Enim Sunt Eorum Ingenia*, he says, and the damp heat enervates them". (*) Hence he advises some exercise, lest the mind should become torpid and the body weak, and also "*Ut Pigritia, Seu Inertia Illa Indica, Magnum Nationis Malum*, should be overcome early in life". He continues: "Since they have very few books, and no compendium of Moral Theology, and the climate itself is a great inducement to laziness, no wonder the Clergy is so ignorant, and many are the errors they make in the adminstration of the Sacraments". For more than one century and a half, the Carmelites have worked strenuously for the training of the priests of Kerala. Great was the work done by them at Puttempally, and greater still is the work they are doing now at *Mangalapuzha*, in the splendid Seminary they have built there by the munificence of Pope *PIUS XI*.

(*) Cfr. Launay—op. cit. p. 9

(**) *Notitia* Topographica etc. p. 21.

(*) My personal experience with Malayalee studbnts is quite the contrary. Their minds are definitoly not *tarda* or sluggish.

CHAPTER III

PADRE COSTANZO GIUSEPPE BESCHI.

1680-1747

1. Principal Dates in the Life of Padre Beschi.

Costanzo Giuseppe Eusebio Beschi was born on the 8th of November 1680 at Castiglione delle Stiviere, the native town of St. Aloysius. He joined the Noviciate at Novellara (21 Oct. 1698), where he remained for two years. In 1700-1701 he taught Grammar at Ravenna. In 1701 he was sent to Bologna, where he remained till 1710. He did there his Philosophy and Theology and was ordained Priest in 1709. He was the only Jesuit Missionary to sail from Lisbon in 1710 and reached Goa

in September or October of the same year. After a short while he sailed down from Goa to Ambalakad, wherefrom

2. He was sent to the Madura Mission.

On the 4th of Nov. 1711 he wrote from Aur to Fr. General Tamburini: Most Rev. Father in J. C.,—I feel myself under the obligation of returning infinite thanks to Your Paternity now that I am in the dear Mission for which I have longed so much. Scarcely had I reached this Province.........when I was told to prepare myself to join the Mission. This I did on the feast of the glorious St. Michael, the 8th of May. God alone knows how happy I am in this country, where my constitution adapts itself easily to a mode of life so different from the one we follow in Europe. My health has been good during the six months I have been in the Mission. God grant that I may not be unworthy on account of my sins to live in it until my death. etc."

3. Conditions of the Mission.

At the beginning of the XVIII Century the Madura Mission was attached to the Province of Malabar. It counted about 150,000 Christians, 100 catechists and only 10 Fathers, 3 of whom were Italians, viz. Padre Bertoldi, the Superior, Padre Capelli, and Padre Riccardi. The veteran Padre Borghese had just left the station of Gurukelpatti in the Tinnevelly Dt. where Padre Beschi was posted.

At Tanjore the Raja Shahji died in 1711, just when Padre Beschi entered the Mission. He had been a relentless persecutor of the Christians, 12,000 of whom bore the brunt of the persecution unflinchingly. His successor Sarboji showed himself tolerant at the beginning, but before long changed so much, that the Christians began to regret the death of his predecessor. In Trichinopoly reigned Vijaya Ranga Chokkanathan, a worthless prince. In Marava, the murderer of St. John de Brito passed away in 1710. In a letter of Padre Martin (1713) is described the *Sati* of his 47 wives who mounted the pyre with his corpse. He was succeeded by Vijaia Ragunatha Sethupathi (1711-1725), who also harassed the Christians.

4. FIRST MISSIONARY LABOURS.

The first few months in the Mission were spent by Padre Beschi in learning Tamil; then he was posted at Ayyampet. The *Annual Letter* of 1712 says, that "towards the end of the same year Padre Beschi, in order the better to provide for the good of the Christians of the Coromandel built a new church at Eylur, in the territory subject to the Mogul, and what is more extraordinary, at the cost of the Mogul Governor himself...During the years 1712-1713 he often visited the Christians. I know" says the Annalist", all the inconveniences he experienced in those excursions; for I have lived there myself. One has to live in the huts of those Christians, which are more like stables than houses, to sympathize with the missionary. There is scarcely room to say Mass. The ministry is exercised during the night, and one must be careful to avoid gatherings of Christians. During the day one must not show himself, as the country is hostile, and yet one must instruct the Christians, who are very ignorant, settle their quarrels, and always in a hurry, stealthily, with more trouble than fruit. Hence the Christians get accustomed to neglect their duties; they expect that the Missionary will bring them everything. Were it not for the sake of the sick, I think that it would be better to abstain entirely from such excursions. Whilst engaged in these arduous labours, Pardre Beschi got a carbuncle in the back, which made him suffer much and even put his life in danger. However, he got better and was finally cured". This letter gives a glimpse of a Missionary's life in those days.

5. HE IS ARRESTED.

On the 28th of October 1714 Padre Beschi took his Last Vows in the presence of Padre Antonio Brandolini Brolla, and soon after he was arrested and sentenced to death. The event is described at great length in various contemporary documents. We shall summarise Padre Brandolini's letter, which may be found in Fr. Besse's Life of Padre Beschi. Padre Beschi frequently stayed at Cayetar, where the Church was one of the safest in the Mission. There he had baptized one

Succuservaicaren, brother-in-law of the commander of the Fort or Palayam, and one of the chief men of the place, *Anandasi Pillai* by name. This roused the anger of the Brahmins, who brought their complaints to the Governor of the District, a certain Loganathan, a sworn enemy of Christianity. Meanwhile a Pariah, who had been baptized on the Coast, appeared at Madura, dressed like a Fakir, and posing as a Hindu, a Muslim or a Christian, according to the people he was staying with. This man was found out by Padre Beschi's Catechist, who gave him a sound thrashing. The false Fakir complained with Padre Beschi, who promised to investigate the case, but the rascal, hearing that the Mohammedan army led by a Brahmin. *Ellamarajayer*, was in the neighbourhood, hastened there, and roused the cupidity of the General by describing the wealth of the Father, and the anger of the soldiers, by expatiating on his wrongs and on the audacity of the Christians. Some 200 infantry and 40 horses, led by the General's son, left for Gurukelpatti, where the Father then was. They reached at night. The guilty Catechist, fearing the worst, jumped over a wall and escaped. Padre Beschi and two other Catechists were arrested and taken to the General's tent. Meanwhile the General's son plundered the Church and the Father's house; they searched for money everywhere, but could find none. They got, however, a bag of shining medals, which, in the dark, they mistook for gold coins. The two Catechists were tortured, in order to make them disclose the place where the money was concealed, but all in vain. Then the Father was stripped naked, and threatened with death. Two noble Christians, having heard the sad news, hastened before *Ellamarajayer*, and pleaded for the liberation of their beloved Guru. The Commandant who had found out the worth of the medals, and who feared lest the General in chief should claim his share of the booty in real gold, released the Father and ordered that everything should be returned to him. While Padre Beschi was under arrest, *Loganathan* lost no time to excite the people against the Christians. The Church was plundered, and the Christians were threatened; but they all stood firm.

In Tenkasi the Christians were confined to their houses, they were insulted and ill treated. Even when Padre Beschi returned, the trials did not end. Some Christian houses were robbed; the Father himself was kept well guarded. Only when the blackguards saw that there was nothing more to steal did they depart and the people began to breathe again.

6. SOME OF HIS PROSE WORKS IN TAMIL.

Owing to the disturbed state of the country, which was overrun by the armies of various chiefs, Padre Beschi was mostly confined to his Mission Station, and he spent the time in the study of Tamil, in which he soon acquired wonderful proficiency. In 1715 he fell sick; and later on having somewhat recovered, he was transferred to Kalugumadai, which was vacant owing to the untimely death of Padre Capelli. But he could not go to his new post, and so was sent to Ellacurichi, where, in spite of ill health, he worked much for those good Christians. Soon after (1716) Padre Joseph Vieyra died at Madura, and Padre Baschi was appointed there. For some months he had no fixed abode, but journeyed here and there, like a good shepherd who endeavours to find his scattered sheep, till in 1717 he went again to Ellacurichi, where he was to remain for the best part of 23 years. During this time he started the work of *Retreats* for the Christians, and in a special manner for the Catechists. The zeal of the Father was very great, and in spite of indifferent health, he baptized every year a good number of converts. In 1726 or 27 Padre Dominic Madeira ordered Padre Beschi to write a refutation of Lutheranism, which had appeared not long before at Tranquebar. He wrote the *Veda Vilakkam*, or Explanation of Religion in 18 chapters," which, according to the Protestant J. Murdoch, are as many pointed arguments that pierce the Lutheran heresy. Probably in 1728 he wrote the *Vediar Olukkam* in 20 chapters for Catechists, and an Appendix, the *Gnana Kannadi* or Spiritual Mirror in 8 chapters. Rev. Elijah Hoole says of it: "It contains clear definitions, and presents powerful and affecting appeals with regard to the work in which the

Catechists are engaged". *The Grammar of Common Tamil* is dated 1728.

7. HE STEMS THE ONSLAUGHT OF HERESY.

The *Annual*, written by Padre Vincentio Guerreiro in 1730, speaks of a terrible famine that afflicted the Tanjore District in 1728-29. The scourge was awful. Numberless were those who died of starvation. Some weak Catholics, attracted by the abundant alms offered them by the Lutherans, left the Church. The sorrow of Padre Beschi was intense. To stop the apostasy he had recourse to Our Lady of Refuge, and established a great feast in her honour. The Christians flocked to Ellacurichi, they prayed, they received the Sacraments, and from that time there were no apostasies. The good Father did his best to intensify the spiritual life of his flock. He wrote books, he gave instruction, he established feasts and above all endeavoured to train his Catechists chiefly by means of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. A letter written by Padre Joseph Vieyra(18-6-1731) reports abundant fruits obtained in this manner. It was in the year 1730 that Padre Beschi published his grammar of *Sen Tamil* or *High Tamil*.

8. MISSIONARY LIFE IN THE XVIII CENTURY.

Padre Beschi himself wrote the *Annual Letter* for the year 1731. There he speaks of the peace that reigned throughout the Mission. No warring armies, no persecutions from the Pagans, no onslaughts from the heretics. Here is a description of Missionary life in those days. "The dress adopted by us in the Mission does not protect us from the inclemency of the weather. The diet is light. It consists only of rice, vegetables and milk. The climate, a burning sun and tempestuous winds. The water is bad. All this seems unbearable to the new Missionary. But with the help of divine grace, as the years go by, the burden becomes sweet. There is, however, a thing to which we can never grow accustomed, and that is lending a patient ear to the neophites, who crowd around us, and who with childish questions, worry us to settle their differences. Here each Missionary has the care of five, eight, fifteen and even twenty thousand neophites; how can he enjoy any rest? There is scarcely a

day in the year when he has not to hear confessions. Often surrounded by a crowd of penitents, he can hardly give his broken body the necessary food and sleep...It is easy to imagine how this kind of work has increased this year, owing to the large number of Christians, some of whom had not confessed for two or three years. To console the afflicted, to urge on the slothful, to reconcile enemies, to instruct the ignorant, to warm the tepid, to correct the negligent, in a word to give to one and all salutary advice, to dress sores and wounds several years old, such is the work which demands the utmost zeal and patience in the Missionary. To this must be added the labour of travelling...There are sick calls often from ten to twenty leagues distant, the paths most horrible, fatiguing, defenceless; and when we have paid to the dying the last tribute of piety and charity, we are summoned to another place for the same ministry"...

9. THE MAHRATTAS IN TANJORE.

The Father speaks then of the political conditions of the Tanjore District, how it had fallen under the Marasters (*Mahrattas*). He says of them: "As a race, they are faithless even to their friends, thirsty for gold, of a ferocious nature, less inclined to war than to nocturnal expeditions to obtain booty. Not to be betrayed at night by neighing horses when out on these plundering raids, they are said to keep only mares in the camp...The Mahratta Prince, who now governs Tanjore, is mean and miserly...He constantly fills the royal coffers with gold covered with the sweat and blood of the poor. He is not a shepherd who shears his sheep, but an executioner who does not scruple to flay them alive...Owing to his thirst for gold the King of Tanjore is little trusted. What increases the diffidence towards him is the deep hatred he entertains against Christianity...He does not tolerate the presence of Missionaries in his Kingdom. That is why the Church in a place called Cunampatti, was hidden away in the jungles inhabited by the Callers...under whom we live in peace. Yet all our Christians are not able to go to Cunampatti; hence the Missionary has a more important station on the Northern banks of the Coleroon, outside the borders

of Tanjore, in a village called *Ellacurichi*, which belongs to the prince of Aryalur". Padre Beschi then speaks of the great concourse of people to honour Our Lady of Refuge at Ellacurichi, and of her kind protection against Lutheran infiltrations. He had introduced there a remarkable devotion towards the Portuguese Virgin, St. Quittery, in whose honour he had composed a poem *Quitteriammal Ammanei*. "There are few Christians", he says, "who do not acknowledge to have received some favour at the hands of St. Quittery".

10. WAR AND PESTILENCE

In the *Annual Letter* of 1732 are described at length the civil wars which desolated the country. First the Moghuls against Tanjore, then Tanjore against the Maravas, and finally a third war even more disastrous that followed upon the death of the Raja of Madura. If to the wars we add the almost ceaseless persecutions we shall understand the troubles and worries of Padre Beschi. Yet he devoted much time to his studies and to missionary work. In that year he registered 205 baptisms of adults and 708 of children. 1733 was a year of famine and pestilential fevers. The soldiery harried the poor people in every way; towns were set on fire; cattle carried away; crops cut down. It was about this time that Padre Beschi met the Moghul General Chandra Sahib. Father Vieyra (*Annual* dated 22-X-1734) describes the meeting as follows: "Once, when he least expected it, Father Beschi happened to find himself in extreme peril. For the Moghuls, exasperated by the daring nightly raids of the Tondamans, who had stolen some oxen from them, not far from Aur, came one day, breathing vengeance and bent on destroying the village. Father Beschi, as usual, went to meet them. They loudly complained to him; more, they ordered him to give them back their oxen immediately, or to follow them to the camp as a prisoner. The Missionary followed them, heedless of their insults and threats. The soldiers, irritated still more by his courage, left him exposed to the cruel Indian sun. Finally, by order of the Commander of the Army, the case of the Father was taken up and dismissed. The Father asked to be brought to the presence of the General

in order to thank him. He was received with all the marks of benevolence.

The General tenderly embraced the Missionary and told him to sit by his side; then he protested that what had happened had been done without his knowledge. After a long conversation, he offered the Father some presents and begged him not to disdain to come often to see him.

This was the first acquaintance of Chandra Sahib with Fr. Beschi".

The soldier was greatly impressed by the knowledge and charm of the Father, on whom he bestowed the title of *Ismati Sanyassi*. Later on, when he became the master of Trichinopoly he made Father Beschi his Dewan and gave him a substantial pension.

11. THE ZEMINDAR'S DONATION.

The *Annual Letter* of 1735 (dated June 27, 1736) has the following about Padre Beschi: "The church of Ellacurichi together with its Missionary, Padre Beschi, was much honoured by the Zemindar in whose estates it is situated. The Prince came to see the Missionary, and after a conversation, which lasted part of the day and of the night, about our holy Religion, he made presents to the Missionary according to the custom of the country, and confirmed also the perpetual donation of the site on which the church and presbitery are built and of a vast plot of land around it; and in order that this donation should be known to posterity, he caused to be erected near the church an enormous stone, upon which was engraved in Tamil letters the said donation, and he bound himself and his successors by an inviolable oath". We find in the same letter how Padre Beschi averted a terrible persecution with which the Tanjore Christians were threatened, and how he effected the conversion of two Lutheran Catechists.

12. PADRE BESCHI THE FRIEND OF CHANDRA SAHIB.

In 1736 Trichinopoly was taken by Chandra Sahib on behalf of Bhangaru Tirumalai Nayaker; he then turned in vain against Tanjore, and in 1737 moved towards the South. Though he was well disposed towards the Missionary, he could not be every-

where to restrain the lawlessness of his troops. We lost the churches of Madura, Dindigul, and Tadicombu. But to Padre Beschi he ever was a kind friend and protector. 'Take these guards,' he told him, 'to protect your churches. It is to such soldiers that I entrust the safety of my own person'. He also informed the Fathers that he desired to be warned in time, whenever his army was on the move, in order to have our churches protected by chosen soldiers. As Chandra Sahib protected the Fathers so did also the Nayaker mentioned above, who was likewise a great friend of Padre Beschi. *In the Annual Letter* of 1736 we read the following: "Once the Father went to visit him (i. e. the Nayaker) and presented to him a genealogical tree which he had painted on paper. The leaves of the tree were designed in the shape of a throne; and on each of them were represented in a sitting posture the Nayaker Kings, ancestors of the Prince, who for the space of 222 years had occupied the throne of Madura. The Father gave him on this point the amplest explanations, which the young Prince listened to with eagerness. ...He accepted with joy and gratitude the gift presented to him by the Father, and openly declared his earnest will to defend the Christian Religion in these countries". Our holy Religion had penetrated even into the Court of Tanjore. Among the wives of the King two sisters had for a long time been asking to be admitted among the servants of Jesus Christ. To show their esteem and their love they often sent small presents to Padre Beschi. A little daughter of the younger of the two sisters was in danger of death. The child was baptized and called Saveriammal. Now through the intercession of St. Xavier, the child was cured, and she also recovered her eyesight, for she was blind. The mother sent presents to the church, among other things, golden eyes, in token of her gratitude. This favour kindled in the two sisters still a greater desire to receive baptism. But they have not yet mustered sufficient courage to overcome all difficulties." So far the letter for 1737.

In the years 1737-40 the Malabar Province was in very straightened circumstances. Hence the donations made by

Chandra Sahib, (which have been mentioned elsewhere) came as a God-send. Whether Chandra Sahib gave to Padre Beschi some *Manyams*, or lands tax free, we do not know.

This is not the place to relate the various misfortunes which befell Chandra Sahib and his family. In 1741 he surrendered Trichinopoly to the Mahrattas, and was carried away as a prisoner by Ragoji Bhonsla, to Satara, while his wife and children were honourably entertained at Pondicherry. (1742). Seven years later, at the request of Dupleix, Ragoji set Chandra Sahib at liberty, and he returned to Arcot with full honours.

Fr. Beschi also received signal favours from Doust-Ali-Khan Nabob of Ellore, and he wrote to Fr. General to thank the generous benefactor, and to send him some gifts from Europe. Doust-Ali-Khan was killed in the battle of Canamay on the 20th of May. 1742.

13. The Last Years.

After the downfall of Chandra Sahib Padre Beschi was transferred from Trichinopoly to Tuticorin, where he finished his *Tamil-Latin Dictionary*. Now he calls himself an old man '*fractis viribus*'; and indeed he had borne the heat and burden of the day. In 1746 we find him Visitor of the College of Ambalakad; and it must have been a delight for the old man to pass the last period of his life in the peace and tranquillity of this house of studies. We have no particulars of the last days of his life. He died on the 4th of February 1747. He had been 49 years in the Society and 37 in the Missions.

14. Padre Beschi's Character.

Of his interior life we have no record; but, if zeal for the spreading of the Kingdom of God, charity for the poor of Christ, unremitting labour to make truth known to all are a sign of virtue, his soul, must indeed have been beautiful and pleasing to God. In 1718 his Superiors wrote about him: "Padre Beschi is of a quick genius; but the maturity of the judgment is somewhat defective, not however in things of great moment. Let the same be understood of his prudence; there is hope, however, that he will become more prudent, with the advice of the Superiors, and with the experience he will acquire with years...He shows great aptitude to treat even affairs of great importance". The Catalogue of 1737 says of him: "He is not fit to govern...chiefly on account of a certan extravagance (*FASTUM*) in spending and building, and in visiting the great of the world rather too frequently". In fact Padre Beschi was never Superior, except for a short time towards the end of his life, when he was appointed Visitor. But then, a genius is rarely fit to be Superior. He has not the patience, the "*savoir faire*", the conformity to type, which are desirable in a Superior. Padre Beschi, however, served Our Lord faithfully, and if his charm made him the beloved of princes, he turned that to good account both for the protection of his poor Christians and the help of his Mission.

15. Padre Beschi's Literary Activities.

Now we must say a word about Padre Beschi's literary activities, which, even two centuries after his death, have made his name a household word in South India. The Rev. U. Pope, M. A., calls Beschi the greatest of Tamil Scholars. In a short notice about him he says: "Beschi was known by three names or titles. These are: *Dairya-Natha-Swami*, *Vira-Maha-Muni* and *Ismati-Sannyasi*. Of these the first was his official designation as a Christian Priest, and is a translation of Constantius with *Natha* (Lord) and *Swami* (the usual title of a Hindu Guru). The second title was given him by the Hindu Literati, and is also equivalent to Constantius, with the addition of the word "great devotee.', The third was given him by Chandra Sahib, and signifies the *Chaste or Noble Ascetic*, and is also intended more or less to reproduce his Christian name". Of Padre Beschi's poetical works, the *Thembavani* or *Immortal Garland* is the most important. It contains 3615 four-verse slokas, in 36 cantos. Oriental Poetry holds no great appeal to Westerners on account of its numerous allegories and images. Now the *Thembavani* is thoroughly Tamil in style, though the

Note—The Fathers in the Madura Mission usually took Tamil names. Thus Padre De Nobili was *Tottuva Podagher* (the Perfect Preacher), St. John de Brito *Arulanandam* (Infinite Grace), Fr. Bouchet, *Perya Paranjodinadar*, etc.

matter is Christian. The hero of the poem is St. Joseph, both in prophecy, history and legend. Bishop Caldwell (Protestant, and therefore presumably less biassed) writes "Fr. Beschi's prose style in the colloquial dialect, though good, is not of pre-eminent excellence, but his poems in the classical dialect, especially his great poem the *Thembavani*, a long and highly wrought religious epic in the style of Chintamani, are so excellent in the point of view of Hindu excellence, that is, they are so elaborately correct, so highly ornamented, and so invariably harmonious, that I have no doubt he may fairly claim to be placed, by the vote of impartial native critics themselves, in the very first rank of the Tamil poets of the second class; and when it is remembered that the first class comprises only three, or at the utmost, four works,—the *Kural*, the *Chintamani*, the *Ramayanam*, the *Naladyar*,—it seems to me wonderful, the more I think of it, that a foreigner should have achieved so distinguished a position". Of special interest to Italians is the *XX* Canto, which is a skilful imitation of the *Gerusalèmme Liberata*, Canto *XVIII*. It is said that when Padre Beschi presented the *Thembavani* to the Tamil Sanga of Madura, they could hardly believe that a foreigner could have written so excellent a poem. It was then that they conferred on him the title *Viramamuniver*, to which Beschi humorously answered:

"After all I owe you only one syllable *MA*; *Viren* is my name Constantius, *Muniver* the name of my profession; *MA* alone is added by you". The first printed edition of the *Thembavani* was published by Fr. Dupuis of the Paris Foreign Mission, at Pondicherry in 1851-53 in three volumes and even now the Trichy Radio Station transmits very often passages from the *Thembavani*.

The *Kitheriammal Ammanei* has already been mentioned. There are many other poetical works and hymns, a full list of which is given by Fr. Besse, pp. 188-193. The same gives a list of Beschi's Tamil Prose Works (pp. 193-209), of which we have already mentioned the *Veda Vilakkam* and the *Vethiar Olukkam*. Of his profane works the most famous is perhaps *Paramarta Guruvin Kadey*, translated in Latin and published in

Bangalore (1877) by Fr. J. Bareille; in English by Benjamin Babington (London, 1822), by W. A. Clouston (1888) and by Alf Crowquill (1861) under the title 'Strange surprising adventures of the Venerable Gooroo Simple and his five disciples. Noodle, Doodle, Wiseacre, Zany and Foozle'. There are also various French translations and at least one German translation of the same.

Padre Beschi wrote also a kind of perpetual Kalendar (in Latin ?...) of which he says: "I have at last finished the treatise of the Indian months and years; I say treatise because my work is longer than I thought at first. But I had to explain the system of the mathematicians and give the reason for their calculation which they do not know themselves. I consulted several Brahmins; scarcely did I find one who could tell me the things even materially. When I asked for the reason of it, they answered: "*Sic Voluere Priores*". I had much trouble for several months to put everything in the order in which you will find it".

From the *Annual* of 1731 we know that a School of Tamil Literature was opened by Padre Beschi at Ellacurichi. In fact he prepared several Grammars and Dictionaries. The Grammars have been translated both into Latin and English, and have been published several times with various modifications.

Considering Padre Beschi's numerous works and his untiring apostolic labours, one is at a loss to understand how he could find time for everything. De Sice gives the following somewhat fantastic explanation: "Beschi was always surrounded by five Hindu secretaries. Four wrote, each separately on a palm leaf, a verse of the quatrain, which he dictated to all at the same time, the fifth had to gather them up together and copy them out in proper order. A single secretary, however expeditious, would have never been equal to the task, such was the flow and the abundance of his diction. Every evening, before retiring to bed, he had the dictations of the day read to him". Well, I think a more likely explanation is to be found in this: no gossip, no newspapers, and a well-ordered life.

For the compilation of the above sketch use has been made of Fr. L. Besse's S. J. scholarly work "Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus; his times and his writings." pp. iv, 246. Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Ind. School Press.

Unfortunately we have been unable to consult J. Vinson's valuable articles:

(a) Le Pere Beschi et le MS. original de *Tembavani* (Rev. de ling 41. p. 225)

(b) Le Pere Beschi (Ib. 42. p. 97)

(c) Notice sur quelques Missionaries Jesuites qui ont ecrit en Tamoul (16. 33, pp. 1-48)

A fine appreciation of Padre Beschi's work is to be found in *Die Literaturen Indiens* von Dr. Helmuth von Glasenapp. (The article is by Dr. D. H. W. Schomerus)

NOTES

1. We add some interesting remarks on Padre Beschi by the Tamil Scholar Thomas Srinivasan, Professor at St. Joseph's Trichinopoly.

(a) PADRE BESCHI, THE GRAMMARIAN.

Beschi, with his mastery of European languages, was the first to reduce the rules of native Grammarians to an intelligible and consistent system. His *Grammar of Sen-Tamil* in Latin is a supreme achievement of conciseness and clarity which has not received its due as a brilliant anticipation of the science of Philology.

(b) PADRE BESCHI, THE LEXICOGRAPHER.

Beschi was also the first scientific Lexicographer of Tamil. He edited two Dictionaries, one Latin-Tamil, the other Portuguese-Tamil, and followed them up with one in Tamil the *Saduragaradi*...In this book, which was the first Dictionary in Tamil on modern lines, he set the standard for all subsequent Lexicographers. Rottler and Percival and Winslow and native Lexicographers have, with acknowledgement or without, drawn largely on it.

(c) PADRE BESCHI, THE PROSE WRITER.

His main works have been mentioned in the text. As a controversialist he is unsurpassed. See how he is arguing against the practice of private judgment: "The Bible is like the ocean full of rich pearls, but to get at them a man must be an experienced diver, else he will only vainly imperil his life... Is it possible for a washerwoman, for a *Panchama* woman picking oysters in a paddy field, to explain the Chintamani or discuss the *Tholkappyiyam*? Is it not proper that the Scriptures, like a tank of drinking water, should be guarded from the pollution of the unclean and the castleless, who shall, instead, be served with a potful by the guardian Brahmin?"

(d) PADRE BESCHI THE POET.

In the *Kitheri Ammal Ammalei*, (The song of St. Quittery) Beschi used *Ammanei*, which is a popular metre of the nature of the ballad... thus supplying one great desideratun of Catholicim in India—popular poetry.

The *Annaialuagal-Andadhi* (The sorrows of Our Lady) contains 100 verses in the Andadhi meter, in which the last syllable of every verse is taken up as the first syllable of the next. It was probably written on the occasion of a Passion Play.

The *Thirukavalur--Kallambagam* is in honour of O.Lady of Ellacurichi... In the hundred verses Beschi has given at least one specimen of each of the Tamil metres. Taste had considerably degenerated in Tamil poetry by Beschi's time, and poets had come to be jndged by the jingle of their alliteration, the acrobatics of their metre, the endless puns on words and foolish conceits. Beschi yielded to this facile temptation, but in the *Kallambagam* he shows himself equal to the cleverest versifier of them all. What imparts the additional quality of greatness to this tour de force is the loftiness of his ideas, the majesty of his cadences, and the purity of his literary manner.

But excellent as Beschi's minor poems are, his reputation as a Tamil poet stands or falls with the *Thembavani*...The first impression that the poem leaves is its utter naturalness. It is Indian, and Tamil, from the names to the entire atmosphere and background...In the fervour of his *Bhakti* Beschi finds his place with *Nammalwar* and *Manikkavasagar*. In pressing poetry into the service of Religion and Metaphysics he recalls the Buddhist epic *Manimekhalai*. In the purity and range of his diction, the variety and harmony of his verse, the splendour and truth of his descriptions, Beschi challenges comparison with Kamban and Thiruthakka-devar. No impartial critic, who has read all the three will hesitate to place Beschi alongside of the Vaishnavite Bhakta and the Jaina ascetic. His poetry is as good as that of any poet subsequent to the Sangam epoch, far more true than that of the elegent versifiers who wrote *Puranas* in plenty, the best perhaps that any man ever wrote in a language not his mother tongue.

FROM THE NEW REVIEW—CALCUTTA—AUG. AND SEPT. 1935.

2. From the *Sketch of the Life of Fr. Beschi* by Muthusami Pillai we take the following: "When at home he wore on his head a velvet cap, his forehead was marked with a large *pottu* of sandal wood. The remainder of his dress consisted of a cloth, with a narrow red border round the waist, *cavi* of colour; another cloth of a light purple colour covered his cap and his shoulders; he had sandals on his feet: his costume was the same as that worn by the Hindu devotees.

When abroad, he wore a long gown of light purple colour, with a waist band of the same colour; on his head was a white turban, covered with a purple cloth in his hand he carried a handkerchief of the same colour. His ears were adorned with a pair of pearl and ruby earrings; his fore-finger

with a golden ring. A long cane in his hand, and a pair of slippers on his feet, completed his outdoor dress. His conveyance was a palankeen, with a tiger's skin for him to sit upon. Two persons attended, one on either side of the palankeen, to fan him; a third person carried a purple silk umbrella, surmounted with a golden ball, whilst two others, carrying a bunch of peacock feathers, proceeded in front, and whenever he alighted from the palankeen, he sat down upon the tiger's skin.

An Episode from the same Author. Nine *Pandarams* of the sect of *Sadei Pandarams,*—thus called on account of their long matted hair—came to see him in order to discuss Philosophy and Religion. The discussion was to last for a month and the vanquished party was to obey the law of the victorious. In spite of their subleties and dialectic skill, the *Pandarams* acknowledged that victory was on the side of the truth advocated by Padre Beschi. Six of them embraced Christianity. The three others, in order to cover their shame, had their hair cut, and offered it to Padre Beschi as an act of homage. It was five or six feet long, and rolled up made a ball one foot and a half thick. The three coils of hair were deposited in the church of Ellacurichi; when seeing them — says the Tamil Biographer — one would say they are three bundles of hay placed one upon the other.

3. *On the Spiritual Exercises given to Catechists and to the People.* In 1909 there appeared in Belgium (Enghien) an interesting pamphlet by *Fr. L. Besse, S. J. on La Pratique Des Exercises de St. Ignace Dans L'Ancienne Mission Du Madure*, wherefrom much useful information may be gathered on this very important ministry of the Society of Jesus. Really the practice of giving the *Exercises* to the Catechists and to the people was started by Fr. De Nobili, the Founder of the Madura Mission. His successors continued it, and the Piedmontese Missionary Padre *Bertoldi* (1660-1740), who was known as *Gnanaprakasam Swamy*, describes the great fruits derived from it in three letters which he wrote from Aur (16-VII, 1719; 31-VIII-1720; 6-X-1720).

Fr. Beschi organized the Retreats both for the Catechists and for the people (Missions). At Vadugarpatty he gave a Retreat to 150 neophytes (1619-20). Ten years later he gave an eight days Retreat with three meditations every day to the Catechists of the Mission. Every day there was a special examination of conscience, on our duties to God, to self, to the family, to the priests, to the Church, to the pagans, to the dying and finally on the special difficulties and obstacles to be met with in the Mission. The fruits gathered from the Retreat were marvellous. The experiment was repeated at Ellacurichi and at Aur. Retreats or Missions to the people were preached at Tuticorin, Punical, Manapad and other places. The sins most common were then—as they are nowadays—hatred and enmities, impurity, obscene talk, superstitious practices, etc., and against these were directed the efforts of the preacher. Remarkable conversions were recorded.

CHAPTER IV

PATER ERNST HANXLEDEN—(ARNOS PADRI)

1681-1732

1. *His Vocation to the Society and to the Indian Missions.*
2. *The Sea Voyage.*
3. *The Land Journey.*
4. *From Bunder Abbas to Goa.*
5. *The Sanskrit Scholar.*
6. *The Malayalam Scholar.*

Notes on Fr. Hanxleden's Works.

7. *Fr. Hanxleden's Ministry, as revealed by his letter of 1713:*
   - (a) *Introduction.*
   - (b) *The Archbishop's Companion.*
   - (c) *Intervention of a noble Dutchman.*
   - (d) *Work at Diamper and Carathuruthy.*
   - (e) *At Corlangatti.*
   - (f) *Efforts to imprison Arnos Padri.*
   - (g) *He goes to Chetua.*
   - (h) *He goes to Muttete.*
   - (i) *A sad occurrence.*
   - (j) *In Calicut, and then back to Muttete.*
   - (k) *At Veilur.*
   - (l) *Other Troubles.*
   - (m) *The Propagandists.*
8. *The last years.*

Notes on Fr Hanxleden's Letter.

These Notes have been gathered by the Rev. Fr. Joseph Cortellini, S.J. who has kindly communicated them to the present writer.

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(b) The works:

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(c) Details over his life:

Welt-Bott 725, 12 ff.
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(d) Short Appreciations:

DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde u. Missionen, 16f.
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ANQUETIL DU PERRON in Voyage aux Indes Or. par le P. Paulin de St Barthelemy (3 Vols; Paris, 1808)
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Other Works are quoted each in its own place.

1. VOCATION TO THE SOCIETY AND TO THE INDIAN MISSIONS

Ernst Hanxleden was born at Osterkappeln near Osnabruck (*), in the year 1681. The Goan Catalogue (Goa 29) asserts he was born in 1680. He was nearly twenty and had just finished his Philosophy at Osnabruck, when he met Fr. William Weber, S. J. who was touring Westphalia in search of recruits for the Indian Missions. (**). Ernst had always loved the Society, and when still in his teens he had bound himself by vow to join it, in order to dedicate himself entirely to God's service in the Indian Missions. Therefore he was most happy to meet Fr. Weber, who was taken up by the purity and earnestness of the young man, and invited him to follow him to Augsburg. Ernst said good-bye to his family, and, without

(*) Fr. PAULINUS A. S. BARTHOLOMAEO in his INDIA OR. CHRISTIANA (pp. 191-92) says that Fr. Hanxleden was a Hungarian. His mistake has been repeated by Fr. Castets, S. J. (INDIAN REVIEW, June 1931), by V. Nagam Aiya (TRAVANCORE STATE MANUAL, pp, 192-3), by Prof. J. P. Thomas (St. Joseph's College Magazine, Trichinopoly, Sept. 1915).

(**) Fr. William Weber born at Erfurt the Capital of Thuringia, on the 21st August 1663, joined the Society in Mainz (15-7-1685), was destined by his Superiors to start a new Mission in the surroundings of Calicut,

delay put himself under the care of the good Father. In a week they reached Augsburg, and there, after a satisfactory examen, Ernst was accepted as a "*Candidate*" of the Society of Jesus. Fr. Weber promised to be a father to him, and during the voyage to India to instruct him in all the Constitutions, Rules and Customs of the Society. For this he had received special faculties from Fr. Thirsus Gonsales, General of the Society. (1). Many a time Fr. Weber did praise the brightness of the young man, his good conduct and modesty. He had good hopes that Ernst in the two years' probation would make himself fit to bind himself to the Society through his first Vows. In fact Ernst was always very zealous, not only about his Religious vocation, but also about the great grace of being called to the Missionary life in India. That is why, though several Colleges in Europe invited him to stay with them, and give up his journey to India, he always refused (*) Fr. Weber and Ernst were soon joined by another Father, by name William Mayer and by a certain Schillinger, a barber, who has left us an interesting description of the journey. (**). The travellers left Augsburg on the 3rd of Oct. 1699, directed to Livorno. They passed through Innsbruck, Trent, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna and Florence, and after four weeks they reached Livorno.

2. THE SEA VOYAGE

Here lay anchored a French trading ship. The Captain agreed to take the travellers to Alessandretta in Syria for 40 thalers. They had, however, to provide their food. Hence they bought one sheep and 48 fowls, the feeding of which was entrusted to the young novice. The sea voyage from Livorno to Alessandretta lasted six weeks. They left on the 3rd of November, touched Malta, Salina, Cyprus and finally reached

(1) Cfr. Heinrich Thoelen, S. J. MENOLOGIUM...der GESELLSCHAFT JESU, Roermond 1901; pp. 181—182.

(*) Most of these details are taken from PERSIANISCHE UND OST INDIANISCHE REISE by Franz Kaspar Schillinger, who travelled to India with Fr. Hanxleden. The book has been reprinted in WELT-BOTT, No. 93

(**) Fr. William Mayer was born at Deckendorf on the Danube in the Diocese of Regensburg in 1661. He entered the noviciate at Landsperg on the 14th August 1682, and was also destined to work in Malabar. Both he and Fr. Weber died during the arduous voyage, as we shall relate.

Alessandretta on the 15th of December. It was during this part of the voyage that Ernst Hannleden was actually received into the society of Jesus on the 30th November 1699. The Goan Catalogue asserts he was received at Cyprus.

The fellow-travellers—we are told—showed great respect for Ernst, on account of his virtue. In those days Moor Pirates infested the Mediterranean, and in fact our travellers sighted a Tunisian craft, from which they finally succeeded in escaping. The land journey from Alessandretta to Bunder Abbas lasted ten months. It seems that another novice, a certain Nicola Pieri—had joined them.

3. THE LAND JOURNEY

The caravan went on slowly, across plains and mountains always on the alert, for travelling in those lands was very dangerous, because the roads were infested by robbers and highway men. In Corsa, or Cars, so named from the river that passes through it, the travellers were examined very roughly by Turkish soldiers. They had just paid a heavy bridge-toll, when the two young men, Schillinger and Hankleden, were arrested. The charge trumped up against them was that they were slaves, who had run away from their masters. Both were to be taken before the Governor, who lived within the mountain fortress, there to be examined again, and perhaps thrown into prison. "Our dearest Fr. Weber"—writes young Schillinger—"was neither understood nor listened to; I trembled and feared for our lives. In such an extremity God enlightened the caravan leader, who spoke strongly in our favour. A little money brought the rascals to their senses, and finally they let us pass. Heavens! How happy we were to have escaped those wild bears. Fr. Weber and the two of us thanked the leader and paid him double what he had given to the Turks". Whether in the boat or on horse back, Fr. William never failed to instruct the novices. "Oftentimes"—continues Schillinger—"I have seen Ernst kneeling behind a rock, either reading his prayer book or saying his beads. When the Fathers recited their Breviary, he too said the small hours of the office of the Mother of God, or of other Saints". Ernst was wearing a kind of

Turkish dress; but later on he made to himself a habit of the Society, which he showed to all at Erivan, when, on the feast of St. Ignatius they stopped in the Jesuit Residence, where they heard Mass and received Holy Communion. When they reached Bunder Abbas, the little party got sick, owing to the very unhealthy climate.

4. FROM BUNDER ABBAS TO GOA.

The sea voyage from Bunder Abbas to Surat took five weeks and five days. But within four days, on the 25th and on the 28th of November Fr. Weber and Fr. Mayer died, and were buried at sea. "Now Ernst had to take care of their belongings. The chief steward took away the beds on which they had passed away. The Captain grabbed a most beautiful and rare pocket watch, and some other curios, which Fr. Weber intended to present to the Calicut King, in order to get permission to preach the Gospel in his dominions. Others wanted to rob everything, and it was almost impossible to prevent them".

The party reached Surat on the 13th of Dec. 1700, and from there they went on to Goa, where they arrived in good health at the beginning of 1701 (*). When the ship landed in Goa Ernst went to the College of St. Paul, and informed the Rector of what had happened. He was received with the greatest charity and allowed to continue his Noviciate.

It is probable that he soon proceeded to Ambalakad in Malabar, where he was ordained Priest. The talent he showed for languages must have decided the Superiors to sent him to Trichur, to perfect his knowledge of Malayalam and to be initiated into the secrets of Sanskrit.

5. THE SANSKRIT SCHOLAR.

In his *Examen Historico Criticum* of the Indian MSS of the Library of the Congregation of Propaganda Fr. Paulinus, under the title *Libri Grammatici Chartacei*, first describes the *Sidharubam*, or his own Sanskrit Grammar; next he comes to a *Grammatica Grandonica* or Sanskrit Grammar, written by Fr. Hanxleden. He says that "before him the study of Sanskrit

(*) In the June number of *The Indian Review* (1931) Fr. Castets, S.J., says that Fr. Hanxleden came out to India in 1705.

was almost impossible for a European,* owing to the great variety of its elements and the complexity and difficulty of its structure. He, however, did not flinch, but with the help of two Brahmins went through the formidable task. Hence he became proficient not only in Malayalam, but also in Sanskrit, as his writings do testify. From the Brahmin book called *Sidharubam* Fr. Hanxleden was the first to put together a Sanskrit Grammar.[†] If his Grammar is compared with that of Fr. Paulinus, which the latter received from two Brahmins of Angamale, *Kunhen* and *Krshna* by name, the elements and rules are exactly the same. Both Fr. Hanxleden's and Fr. Paulinus' Grammar are a synopsis of the *Sidharubam*. "This is not to be found in the Propaganda Library but is in the possession of Fr. Paulinus himself. The text he has is complete and correct". He then advices that the same text be procured in India, where "it will be easy to have it, if Brahmins are approached with some money, and chiefly with courtesy ".(*)

Benfey says of Fr. Hanxleden: "Had his Sanskrit works been published immediately after their composition, they would doubtless have proved an important factor in the XVIII Century, for the passion for linguistic researches was then at its highest"(**).

* It is well known that P. De Nobili, S.J. was proficient in Sanskrit. In the Padre Santos' Chapel, in Agra, there is the tomb of *Padre Heinrich Ruth Roa* S.J. (+ 20 VI 1668) a native of Dillingen (1620). He came to the East via Smyrna and Ispahan, whence he wrote a letter (1651) Bernier knew him and obtained from him abundant information on things Indian.

He was a Sanskrit scholar, and seems to have written a Sanskrit Grammar—" *Exactissimum opus totius grammaticae Brahmanic e cujus et rudimenta* is *primus Europae communicavit.*" He also wrote an account of the Christians in Kabul, whom he visited on his journey to Europe (1662). He returned to Agra in 1664. There is a *Relatio* by him in the Bibliotheque National, Paris, whilst in the British Museum in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, there is a map showing Roth's route from India into "*Mogor*" via *Visiapoor*, Ratipoor, Delhi to Agra, and another showing the route of Frs Grueber and Roth from Agra to Europe. Cfr *Christian Tombs etc, in the U. P.* by E. A. B. Blunt p. 36. Gov. Press. Allahabad. 1911.

* See Roman Edition 1792 pp. 51-52.

** Cfr. *Geschichte Der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 335. Also Friedrich von *Schlegel* speaks well of Fr. Hanxleden's Sanskrit lore.

The list of Fr. Hanxleden's works is given in *India Or. Christiana* by Fr. Paulinus (Romae, 1794), pp. 191-92 After having mentioned some Sanskrit Scholars, the Friar writes: "Hos scriptores omnes metri elegantia, linguas

6. THE MALAYALAM SCHOLAR.

Prof. P. J. Thomas writes "Fr. Hanxleden's contribution to Malayalam Literature is of lasting importance. He is the author of *Puthan Pana* (a poem in three parts on the life of O. Lord), *Marana Parvam* (a beautiful poem on the four ends of man (+). Its meter and imagery are inimitable. It is a work that proves his poetical genius), *Umma Parvam* and many other poetical works, all of which show profound scholarship and poetical gifts The late Valia Koil Thamburan, the literary dictator of Malayalam for the last half century, once remarked that the Padri's Parvams have been surpassed only by the *Ezhuthachan's* " *Bharatham*," which was his poetical model. His works are read in all Malayalee Catholic families during Holy Week. The Christian theme of the works probably stands in the way of their being

Sanscradamicae peritia, mira et incredibili diligentia longe superavit R. P.
Joannes Ernestus Hanxleden, Ungarus ? S.J.—Extant ejus opera manus-
cripta. I. *Grammatica Granthamica* prima quae apparuit in Europa; II.
Vocabolarium ; Malabarico—Samscradamico—Lusithanum ; *III. Grammatica*
Malabarico-Lusitanai ; *IV. Quator* insignes Cantus seu Tractatus Metro
Malabarico Scripti de Quator Norissimis *Nalaparva* dicti; V. Cantus de
S. Genoveva Germaniae Comito; VI. De Tristitia B.M.V. Carmen *Umade*
Dukham dictum; VII. Vita Christi Servatoris, seu 4 Evangelia metro facili
et eleganti composita, quae *Mishihade Pana* dicuntur; Hymnus *Ave Maris*
Stella metro Malabarico eleganter redditus, et alia nonnulla carmina; quae
omnia ln Malabaria vulgo canuntur, ac veluti tot optimi metri specimina in
scholis Christianis proponuntur, Christianis et Gentililus gratissima. Prima
Opuscula extant in Bibliotheca de Prop. Fide" We may be allowed to give
this long quotation from Prof. P.J. Thomas's Article: "There is a current
notion in Malabar that Dr. Gundert was the first Malayalam Lexicographer.
Yet from the *Annual Letters* of the Jesuits we learn that the first Malayalam
Dictionary was printed at Ambalakad as early as 1746. Even *Bhosha Charitram*
seems to admit this. The first attempts in Malayalam Grammar must also be
attributed to the Ambalakad missionaries. It is indeed to be regretted that
no copies of these works are extant. Probably some of them might be found in
the Jesuit Archives in Europe, or in the Vatican Library at Rome. Dr.
Buchanan, who was one of the early Anglican Missionaries in South India
remarks that he found in Malabar several Grammars and Dictionaries, the
work of Jesuit missionaries. Their contributions to Malayalam Literature
are certainly of very great importance. Though several European Scholars
have later on worked for Malayalam, none of them has succeeded in writing
poetical works in the language. Fr. Hanxleden's name and his poems will
be rememered as long as the language lasts". (Cfr. *The Literary Activities*
of Catholic Missionaries in South India by P.J. Thomas in the *St. Joseph's*
College Magazine, Vol. IV. Sept. 1915).

(+) Prof. Thomas means "the last four things"

sufficiently appreciated among Malayalees in general". (*)

7. Fr. Hanxleden's Ministry.

Having completed his studies, and being thoroughly conversant with the language of Malabar, Fr. Hanxleden was ready for the Ministry. His training has lasted from 1701 to the end of 1707. The Goan Catalogue for 1708 says of him: "Optimo profectu studia absolvit. Bona valetudine. Inter missionarios subditos Collegii Ambalacatentis "Missionarius Cranganorensis," socius A. Epp. Serrani. We gather much information about the nature of his work as well as about the condition of the Catholics of Malabar from a letter which Fr. Ernest wrote to a fellow Jesuit in Germany, and which we shall translate here. It will appear how difficult were the conditions under which the Portuguese Archbishop of Cranganore *Don Joao Ribeiro, S. J.*, had to live. We shall see also how fierce were the quarrels between Propagandists and Padroadists, and how unscrupulous were the machinations of one party to defeat the other. Meanwhile, some at least of the Dutch Conquerors seem to have become less bigoted against the Catholics in general and the Jesuits in particular. Most of the people were sunk in ignorance. Usually, however, they readily responded to the endeavours of the Missionaries to show them the right path. But let us give the letter itself:

(*) With regard to to the *Dictionary* thus writes Fr. Paulinus: "Huju Vocabolarii (sublimis Brahminici *Amarasinha* dicti) exemplaria tria ad manum habeo. Unum antiquum a Brahmane quodam in foliis palmae *Pana.* dictae minutissimo charactere Samscradamico Malabarico descriptum Alterum ego ipse ex vetusto codice Francisci Texeira, indigenae, Malabaricae linguae peritissimi viri, descripsi. Tertium denique *Omni Auro Pretiosius* exemplar hujus Vocabolarii primitus versibus compositi, manu ipsius et sacrae linguae peritissimi viri Rev. Patris Joannis Ernesti Hanxleden descriptum habeo". Cfr. *Sidhraubam* sive Grammatica Samscradamica a Fr. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo composita.—Romae, 1790; p. 13

The above in a foot-note. In the Text he writes as follows about the *Dictionarium Malabarico—Lusitanum*: "R. P. Hanxleden illud perduxit usque ad litteram T, reliquas addidit D. Ant. *Pimental* Archiepiscopus Cranganorensis, vir linguae Malabaricae et Chaldaicae peritissimus, qui ob hanc peritiam ab indigenis Malabaricis *Buddhimetran*, hoc est Episcopus sagax et doctus vocabatur". See *Examen Historico—Criticum*, etc. 55-56

(*a*) Introduction (1)

Reverend Father in Christ,

I owe much to the loving affection which Your Rev. has constantly shown to me, and which shone forth so beautifully from the letters you have recently written to me. I thank you for your remembrance, and for the little gifts you have sent me. They will spur me on never to forget my obligation to you, as in fact I have never forgotten it. I am happy to know that your life is an honour to the Province as well as to the whole Society; and I pray to God to preserve you to a ripe old age, and to bless you with the most abundant fruits of His grace.

(*b*) The Archbishop's Companion (2)

By God's grace I am pretty well, though my health has been broken (*infracta*) by worries and labours. For full four years I have been the companion of the Archbishop of Cranganore. I did not abandon him when he was trying to avoid the snares his enemies were laying him. He was living in a poor hut, which hardly afforded room for two.

(*c*) Intervention of a Noble Dutchman (3)

The persecution, however, subsided, owing to the kind intervention of the noble Geldrian Bernard Ketel. His Grace moved towards the South. I too, having first got leave to quit the Archbishop, travelled South in order to fight against a foreign Bishop, who under sheep's clothing, endeavoured to lead these poor Christians into Schism.

(*d*) Work at Diamper and Caraturuthy.

I stopped first at Diamper, and, having done my best to gain the favour of the Christians, I strengthened them in their obedience (to their legitimate Pastor). Then I endeavoured to keep the members of neighbouring parishes from falling away, and I succeeded. Then, against the will of all, I left them, and accompanied by the tears of the children to whom I had taught Catechism, I went to Caraturuthy. Here some received me with great love; others, on the contrary, did not hide their displeasure at my arrival. Little by little, however, they changed to better feelings.

(1) The Notes to this letter are given at the end of this Chapter.

(e) AT CORLANGATTI.

On a feast day I wanted to say Mass in the church of Corlangatti, but I did not get leave, so I had to be satisfied with saying it in a small chapel. Noticing how fierce the opposition was, I decided to leave the place, in order not to exasperate our enemies even more. Here the Carmelites who have been sent by Propaganda, favour the party who desires to receive the Schismatic Bishop. Perhaps Your Reverence will be surprised that I should speak like this; but all here—Christians, Jews, Heretics and even Foreigners—know how they endeavour to create confusion in this Diocese. Hence I did not hesitate to speak out, lest, if there be some loss among these Christians, it may not be attributed to the Jesuit Archbishop.

And so it was a matter of the utmost difficulty to frustrate their efforts. The more so that Fra Innocentius of St. Onophrius was saying everywhere that the pseudo Bishop was a Catholic and had his patent letters from the Congregation of Propaganda. This spurred on the Malayalees—who are by themselves much inclined to the Armenian Prelates—to join the Schismatics. (4)

(f) EFFORTS TO IMPRISON ARNOS PADRI.

Remembering that these people, as they flare up all of a sudden, they also cool down very quickly, I decided to move off, and to await for a more favourable opportunity to lead them to better feelings. I returned after six months. Their madness had abated, and the Christians were beginning to listen to better counsels, and to follow the truth. The greater part were inclined to obey the Archbishop. Some, however, spurred on by the Friars, were plotting to imprison me with the help of the Dutch Governor. The police had already been dispatched; but they did not catch me, thanks be to God. My enemies and the Governor himself were ashamed of their own behaviour.

At this time the Sacred Congregation, deceived by false reports, got a new Brief for the Bishop of Metollopolis—the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic, who upon the arrival of the legitimate Pastor had ceased to rule here—wherein he was allowed to exercise all the pontifical functions in order to lead the stray sheep back to their Pastor. Those who had followed the Friars

obeyed immediately. But those who, by the Friars' permission had followed the Schismatic, refused, because the Friars had led them to believe that he was a true Catholic Bishop. (5)

(g) THE FATHER GOES TO CHETUA (6)

Meanwhile, seeing that nothing could be gained in all this turmoil, and remembering that in the Fortress of Chetua—which had been taken by the Dutch—there were some Catholics without any Priest, I decided to visit them. So I moved northwards, and I heard the confession of many, who for several years had had no opportunity of confessing.

(h) HE GOES TO MUTTETE (7)

From Chetua I went to the Church of St. Thomas in Muttete, where my presence was needed on account of the great ignorance of the Christians, and the negligence of Priests. Confessions had been put off for four, seven and even fourteen years, marriages were contracted without a Priest, and often sacrifices were offered to the idols. I stopped there for about one year, and things changed in such a manner that the northern Christians, who were supposed to be among the worst, gradually came to be esteemed among the best.

(i) A SAD OCCURRENCE.

But something happened there which brought me great sadness. I had a neophyte, who by God's grace had been converted a short time before. He was most fervent, and he could not think of Our Lord's Passion without shedding tears. A drunken man met him one evening, and thinking he was his enemy, wounded him with a lance. I was distracted with sorrow, and did not know what to do. But my sorrow abated somewhat when I remembered what the poor man had often told me: that he preferred death to sin. I reminded him of it. Having confessed more than once—though he had scarcely any matter for absolution—the third day he lost consciousness. But even then he was heard to say that he was going to heaven; and taking this to be a good sign, I gave him Extreme Unction. The day before his death I tried to speak to him about Heaven, and he was very happy to think that soon he would be there. But then, thinking again on the Passion of O; Lord, he showed

such devotion as nearly to move me to tears. He went to heaven on the Sunday after the Ascension, having been baptized 33 days before.

(j) IN CALICUT AND THEN BACK TO MUTTETE

From Muttete the Superiors ordered me to go to Calicut, where I took charge of that church which had been left without a priest. After four months another Father came and I had to leave, though the Christians protested and appealed to the Provincial to leave me in Calicut. I returned to Muttete. Here I saw how deep was the ignorance of these poor people, and endeavoured to remedy the sad state of affairs by getting an invitation from some friends, and by arranging for the building of a chapel. They were delighted and showed themselves quite ready to help.

(k) AT VEILUR

We went to Veilur, but found the matter not so easy as it looked at first. The Raja, who had promised us a piece of ground, disappointed us. But we did not despair, for we had placed our trust in God. Dearly enough - considering our poverty—we bought the required permission from three Rajas, and set our hand to the work. But then the first Raja, who had already disappointed us, put spokes in the wheel, did his best to take our friends away from us, and opposed us in every way. Yet, we recommended the matter to St. Francis Xavier, to whom the chapel was to be dedicated, and all the success was due to him. All had abandoned us; the Christians thought the building would never come up, when the Lord (Commendator) of Cochin, D. Bernard Ketel came to the rescue. With great prudence and valour he had completed a war against the Zamorin, and, in spite of the opposition of the Cochin Raja, he bought over the native Prince and all the Pagans, who opposed us. Being very poor, we built a mud chapel and last year we blessed it and celebrated in it Holy Mass on the feast of St. Francis Xavier. Crowds were present, and all were rejoicing, for we had succeeded beyond expectation. The Raja and those who opposed us paid dearly, for they lost a lawsuit; and one, who had been the most fierce, died of an awful intestinal trouble.

A second one, who had instigated the Raja of Cochin to prevent the buildidg of the church lost his lands, owing to a kind of revolution among his people. In fact from the time he began his opposition to us, he was most unlucky, and all—even the Gentiles—attribute his misfortunes to the just punishment of God for his iniquity. Of late he seems to have repented, and has promised satisfaction.

I hope and see already much good springing from this work especially when I consider the past opposition and troubles. Here there are about 140 Christian families, if one may call Christians these people who are such only by name. They do not know even those things that are "*de necessitate medii*". They scarcely come to church once a year; some, even less, and I found one who had been to church only once in twenty years. They used to baptize the children six months after they were born, and some waited over three years. They went so far as even to neglect giving baptism to dying children. But now God has touched their hearts, and they themselves admit they have been converted.

(l) OTHER TROUBLES

After the past enmities from the pagans, there are other troubles from bad Christians. They tried to put up against me their relations, and to sow discord everywhere. They were helped by Schismatics and by bad priests. But by God's help they have not succeeded and I have smothered the spreading fire.

At that time another priest, who was fairly rich, but who had been removed from his parish on account of his scandalous life, rebelled against the Archbishop. He tried to lead the northern Churches into schism. I had a lot of trouble to stop him, but finally I succeeded with the help of Ketel.

A priest was endeavouring to get into the parish of Muttete. Since he was far from edifying, I opposed him, and by means of a few gifts I succeeded in sending him off and in re-establishing peace among the parishioners.

(m) THE PROPAGANDISTS

But to come back to the Propagandists: after Fra Angelo, the Bishop Metellopolitensis, had resumed the government of

the Diocese, he fell sick, and after 5 months he died. Two Carmelites carried on the administration; but, since there was no Bishop, they feared that the Christians might leave them and come back to the Portuguese Archbishop. Then they got a Carmelite Bishop who had done wonderful things in the northern parts. He had conferred Sacred Orders to men subject to the Archbishop of Goa, without the "*dimissorials*", and in spite of the fact that their conduct was not good. Here too he conferred Orders without Don Ribeiro's permission. He has stopped now, thank God, and he will leave these parts. This is why Fra Innocentius has invited that schismatic foreigner, Gabriel by name, of whom I spoke above. Should he listen to his advice he promised him the government of the Archdiocese. At the same time Gabriel should write to the Jacobite Patriarch, asking him to send here a Bishop and some Syrian schismatic priests. The letters have fallen into our hands.

These are the things I thought of writing about now, so that Your Rev. should know how I am getting on, and should recommend me to God in your Holy Masses. Believe me, I stand in great need of your prayers.

R. V. ae
In Christo
humillimus at obedientissimus servus
J. Ernestus Hanxleden, S. J.

One could not guess from this letter that Arnos Padri was a distinguished Sanskrit Scholar. The years passed at Trichur are not mentioned; no mention is made of his grammars, his dictionaries, his learned discourses with Brahmins. He writes as any other humble Missionary would have written, whose sole concern is the salvation of souls. But modesty is not the only virtue that transpires from this letter. Fr. Hanxleden appears also to have been a faithful and trusted friend. Archbishop Ribeiro could always count on him. Not only did the Father share a humble hut with the Bishop, he also defended him, and was jealous of his honour as well as of the honour of the Society of Jesus. Fr. Hanxleden seems also to have been a very lovable man. The children—and usually children are

good judges—were very fond of him; and a few months were sufficient for him to gain the sympathy of all. His tact gained him, also friends among the Dutch, who were usually very prejudiced against the Jesuits. Fr. Hanxleden, however seems to have disliked the Carmelites, or at least some of them. The friction due to the overlapping jurisdiction must have been very great indeed to have caused this regrettable estrangement.

8. THE LAST YEARS

Very little is known of Fr. Hanxleden's life during the next twenty years. He must have written much, studied more and always worked for his beloved flock. Whether he ever taught in Ambalakad we do not know. In Malabar his memory is still fresh, and many are the legends still current among the old folk about *Arnos Padri*.

The Goan Catalogue for 1715 says of him:

"Optimo ingenio, prudentia et iudicio. optimisque talentis praeditus. complexionis sanguineae." The 1722 Catalogue calls him "robustus". Prof. 4 vot.

In Veilur the writer saw the cot where Fr. Hanxleden used to sleep. On the floor is still visible a rough chess board, where Fr. Ernst used to play chess with some Brahmin friend. In the priest's house there are four or five copper plates, where, as I was told, are written out the grants of lands which the good Father got in favour of the church. Dr. Thomas says in the Article already quoted that "*Arnos Padri* is still famous for his repartees, which have become household words in Malabar". In the Note we give two of them, which not only show how quick witted he was, but also how he had entered into the very spirit of Malayalam. (*) For over thirty years he worked untiringly for the spread of the Gospel, and he became one of the brightest stars among Missionaries on account of his science and virtue. When his friend, Archbishop Pimentel

(*) Once a Brahmin bantered Fr. Ernst on his rat-like eyes, and said *Ganapati Vahana Ripu Nayana* (which means: "you have eyes like Ganapati's conveyance, i. e. a rat"), to which the witty Padri reterted *Dasaratha Nandana Duta Mukha* (you have the face of the son of Dasaratha, i. e. a monkey). At another time an *Elayathu* (a Brahmin sub-caste) said sportingly that Padiri (which in Portuguese means Father, but in Malayalam is a kind of tree) is good for making bows. To which the Father immediately: "Yes, but it ought to be young". Now young is *Elayathu* in Malayalam.

heard of his death, he wept; and a friendly Raja said: "The Missionaries have lost a great man, and Christianity, one of its main supports in these lands". Fr. Bernard Biskopink wrote of him to his brethren in Europe: "The splendid examples of Fr. Hanxleden, of this great Apostle of Malabar, should be a model to me and to all the Missionaries, and should rouse in us the desire to follow in his footsteps". (*)

NOTES ON FR. HANXLEDEN'S LETTER.

(1). This letter's original is in the Archives of Cologne in Germany. Its photograph is with the Rev. Fr. J. Cortellini, S. J., who kindly communicated a copy of it to the author. Apparently there are two other letters by Fr. Hanxleden in the Library of the *Ecole Ste Genevieve*, Paris. They could not be obtained in India.

(2) About Archbishop Don Joao Ribeire we have spoken already and have given the oath taken by the Christians of St. Thomas at Carturti.

(3) Barend or Bernard Ketel was Governor of Cochin from 1709 to 1716.

(4) The Schismatic Bishop of whom mention is made here was *Gabriel* of Odurbigam. In 1704 he sent to Rome a Profession of Faith, which was not accepted. *Elias* X, who was Patriarch of Babylon (Nestorian?...) from 1700 to 1722, sent Bishop Gabriel to Malabar. He sailed from Madras on an English ship, and landed at Quilon in December 1708. In a Profession of Faith which he wrote in Changanacherry, and presented to the Carmelites in 1712, he calls himself Archbishop of Jerusalem. The Schismatic Mar *Thomas* IV viewed Gabriel as a usurper, and in 1709 complained of his intrusion to the Patriarch of Antioch. As it appears from the letter of Fr. Hanxleden, the Carmelites were at first deceived, but little by little they found out that Gabriel was not to be trusted.

(*) Fr. Ernst Hanxleden's tomb can still be seen in the church of Pazhayur, south of Trichur, on the West Coast. The second Centenary of his death (1932) was celebrated there with great pomp, and a Library was opened to commemorate the name of the great Scholar.

The writer regrets he had no access to the *Jesuiten-Lexikon* (Paderborn, 1934) where there is an Article on Fr. Hanxleden by P. Lud. Koch.

Visscher in his *Letters From Malabar* (103) says "at present there are two Bishops, *Mar Gabriel* and *Mar Thomas* (the Schismatic), who do not agree well together, as each of them, especially the latter, claims authority over the other. Mar Gabriel, a white man and sent from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance, and dressed nearly in the same fashion as the Jewish Priests of old, wearing a cap fashioned like a turban, and a long white beard. He is courteous and God-fearing and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp. Round his neck he wears a golden crucifix. He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from animal food. He holds the Nestorian doctrine respecting the union of the two natures in Our Saviour's person.

Mar Thomas, the other Bishop, is a native of Malabar. He is dull and slow of understanding. He lives in great state; and when he came into the city to visit the Commandeur he was attended by a number of soldiers bearing swords and shields, in imitation of the Princes of Malabar. He wears on his head a silken cowl, embroidered with crosses, in form much resembling that of the Carmelites. He is a weak-minded rhodomontader and boasted greatly to us of being a Eutichian in his creed, accusing the rival Bishop of heresy. According to his own account, he has 45 churches under his authority, the remainder adhering to Bishop Gabriel".

Card. *Sacripanti* in a letter written to Verapoly on the 31st of Jan. 1722 orders the Carmelites to publicly declare Gabriel to be an heretical impostor, who had not kept his oaths and had deceived many. He died at Cotteta in 1731. (Cfr. *India Or. Christiana*. pp. 107-108. *G. T. Mackenzie*, *Christianity In Travancore*, p. 35 and notes 93,94).

(5) On this matter—which is rather obscure—cfr. also Chapter V.

(6) In 1691 the Dutch had placed Chetua or *Chettuvaye* in the hands of the Zamorin, who lost no time in fortifying it and using it against his old foe, the Raja of Cochin. War broke out, Chetua was taken, and the Dutch built a fort in the Northern part of the island, where the backwater has an outlet

into the sea. But the Zamorin retook Chetua and other places as well. In 1716 Councillor William Bakker Jacobtz took the field against the Zamorin and recovered Chetua. The war terminated in 1716-17 and Calicut agreed with Cochin to live in peace for ever. Only 25 years later war broke out again, but the English intervened and compelled the Zamorin to retreat. (Cfr. Padmanabha Menon. *History Of Kerala*, 1924, pp. 505—6).

7) " In the Kingdom of *Muttete* (or Muterte) the Jesuits had five churches and two Missionaries taking care of Christians. These owed their conversion to Fr. Jacob Fenicio"-so writes *Max Mullbauer* in the *Geschichte Der Katholischen Missionen* (Munchen, 1851 pp, 287-9). He adds that Fr. Fenicio worked there for 42 years. This is not exact. He says further that this Residence seems to have ceased to exist at the time of the separation of the Thomas Christians.

CHAPTER V.

JESUIT FINANCES.

Since the sources at our disposal are most inadequate, we thought at times it was better to omit the present chapter. Yet, incomplete as it is it gives some valuable information, and first as to the ideas of St. Francis Xavier in the matter of *Contributions from the King of Portugal* towards the support of the Missions. The Saint's opinion on the subject was stern and uncompromising.

In the first part of our study we deal with the King's contribution to the Archbishop of Cranganore. The information has been gathered mainly from *Mitras Portuguesas*, of which we have spoken several times in this volume. The Archbishops used the money for three chief objects:

(a) *Maintenance of Missionaries:*
(b) *Keeping in good repair the Archbishop's House ;*
(c) *Church building.*

The second part of our study deals with *Alms*—a source of income not inconsiderable in itself, but most uncertain. The alms came chiefly from the Archbishops of Cranganore—at least as long as they themselves lived in comparative affluence. Alms were also given by rich Portuguese—even from distant Mexico—and also from Indian Rajas and Nabobs. Celebrated among them was *Chanda Sahib*, the benefactor of Padre Beschi.

Of some interest will be the third section on *The Contributions from the People.* The system of fines was introduced by St. Francis Xavier himself but—as was to be expected,—led to considerable difficulties. Also the Travancore Rajas often empowered the Missionaries to collect fines. The *Vari*, or Stole dues, and the fulfilment of vows were another source of income. The Paravas paid the Missionaries a kind of tribute, as a return for the protection which they got from the Portuguese Fleet in the Pearl Fisheries.

If we had at our disposal the *Catalogus Rerum* for the Province, we could give fuller information on Jesuit finances. This *Catalogus* is a triennial report, which is sent to Rome by every Jesuit Province or Mission, and contains a description of the estates and properties belonging to the Province, of the moneys kept in banks, of the ways and means devised for the maintenance of Scholastics, etc. Unfortunately we have only incomplete summaries of the Catalogus Rerum for the years 1734, 1740, 1743, 1746. From them it appears that, *on paper*, Jesuit finances were flourishing but in reality it was quite otherwise.

Evidently, the Jesuits in Malabar depended on the Padroado; and therefore no one ought to be surprised that they received nothing from

Propaganda. The case was different for the Carmelites, who had been sent to Malabar by Propaganda, and who were maintained by the same.

The Chapter is divided into the following paragraphs:

(1) *Contributions from the King.*
(2) *Alms.*
(3) *Contributions from the people.*
(4) *Estates (partly bought, partly given by the King).*
(5) *Losses.*

1. CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE KING.

In modern times it is the Catholic people which largely contributes to the support of the Missions; in ancient times the Missions were helped considerably by Catholic Kings. Among them, the Kings of Portugal stand out most prominently. St. Francis Xavier was sent out to India at the request, and naturally, at the expense, of John III. Before the advent of Xavier, the Royal Preacher Master Diego, and two laymen, Miguel Vaz and Cosme Anes, the keeper of the roll, had banded themselves together and founded a Confraternity, the principal purpose of which was the promotion of conversions. They established a Seminary for the education of native Priests; munificent alms were collected for this object, and the Viceroy decreed an annual contribution out of the revenues of the suspended pagodas (*). Later on, when the Seminary passed under Jesuit control, the annual grant was continued. According to a letter by Fr. Lancillotto (1546) the grant amounted to "duo millia ducatorum redditus." In his third summarium of the Goa Province (1580) writes Fr. Valignano: "Tiene e Colegio de renta 7000 cruzados, poco mas o menos, de los quales ternaor como 3000 en las tieras de Bacain...y otros quinientos tiene en la misma isla de Goa en unas tierras que fueran de los pagodes, y otros 1200 tiene en outra isla...clamada Choran, y como 500 o mas tiene de alquileres de cosas en sa misma ciudad, y allende desto tiene los presentes que embian los reyes de la India a los governadores que valen mil cruzados cada ano poco, mas o menos...esta renta non basta" cfr. A. Valignano, S.J. *Historia del principio etc*—Edited by J. Wicki, S. J. Roma 1944. On the Fishery Coast a tribute of 400 gold pardaos was collected "for the slippers of the Queen of Portugal." which Xavier obtained

(*) Schurhammer—*St. Francis Xavier* (Herder, 1928)—p. 88.

should be devoted to the Missions (*). In two letters, one of which he addressed to the King himself, and the other to Simon Rodriguez, Simon Rodriguez, S. J. had been destined by St. Ignatius to go to the Indies with Xavier. He stopped in Portugal, where he became Provincial. Xavier did not wish to grieve the noble Prince who was "the most prominent and true protector of the Society of Jesus through his love and deeds". But he saw only one remedy for the Indian Missions: the King must command his Viceroy to provide energetically for the propagation of the faith, a mandate which he must impress on him under a sacred oath. And if the Viceroy failed in his duty, he was to be deprived of his goods upon his return to Europe and placed in chains for many years. "If the Viceroy realizes that you are in earnest about this oath", Xavier added, "then all Ceylon and many Kings in Malabar, Cape Comorin, and other lands will be christianized within a year. But as long as he is not seized by this fear, all orders which you may issue, and be they ever so many, will avail nought" (**).

Among the Royal letters we find one written in March 1602, where it is stated that Bishop Roz received an annual grant of 500 crusados from the Government. Since that was found quite inadequate, the King directed the Viceroy to pay him 1000 xeraphins every year for five years. Some time later the King increased this to 5000 xeraphins. The Viceroy also added two barrels of Mass wine.(†)

The King, of course, expected this money to be spent on the Missions. This naturally implies the education of the young Missionaries, and the care of the sick and of the old. But some of the usual "friends" of the Jesuits wrote to the Viceroy that in the College of Cranganore many useless persons were entertained. The King was duly informed and in a letter of January 1624, the attention of the Archbishop is called to this point. (‡)

Most of the grants received by the Archbishop of Cranganore went to maintenance of the Cassanars. Thus in a letter of the

(*) Id. ib. p. 100. (**) Id. ib. p 179—(†) Cfr. MITRAS, II, p. 37.—
(‡) MITRAS II. p. 40.

King of 3 March 1638 it is said that the State had agreed to give to the Archbishop of Cranganore 2000 xeraphins every year, i. e. 20 for each Vicar. But in reality the poor Bishop scarcely got 1000. Hence the worthy priests swore that they would not serve, and threatened that they would go back to the Babylonian rite. The Archbishop informed the King about his difficulties; he roundly accused the King's ministers of pocketing the money, and demanded some compensation. He further demanded that, just as at the time of Archbishop Roz, a *Manchua* (palanquin) and seven soldiers should be ordered to accompany him in his pastoral visitations. That would redound to the glory of the Church, and would not cost the Exchequer more than 120 xeraphins a year. The King insisted with the Viceroy that the Archbishop be satisfied (*). Yet there must have been some negligence in the matter of the escort, for in another letter (6 March 1651), the King comes back to it and tells the Viceroy to see that the Archbishop is satisfied so that he may visit his flock with the dignity and pomp that is due to his authority (**).

The Kings of Portugal considered it their privilege and glory to help the Missions. But it was not a privilege that could be used or left aside at will. More than a privilege it was a duty. In fact in March 1643 the King insisted with the Viceroy that he should pay more punctually to the Coadjutor Bishop of Cranganore 500 crusados every year. For, since the Pope had granted him the tithes in the East, he considered it his first duty to maintain the ministers of God (").

The money which the Government paid to the Archbishop of Cranganore was spent for various purposes, *and first and foremost the maintenance of the Missionaries.* The revenues of the estates of Caranja and Varca were destined to Cranganore, but now a drought, now a storm, now a pest, offered an excuse for the delaying of payments. The priests grumbled, the Bishop wrote to the King, but the Officials often managed to evade their obligations (†). Owing to this, instead of 20 pardaos, which should have been paid every year, each Vicar

(*) *Mitras, II. p. 41.*—(**) *Mitras, II. p. 41.*—(") *Mitras, II. p. 48.*
(†) Cfr. King's Letter. Jan. 14, 1645. *Mitras, II, p.* 43.

received only 10 (*). and instead of ten Jesuit Fathers, who were destined to work in the Serra, at times only two or three worked there. The grumblers threw the fault on the Jesuits, as if they were diverting the grants to their own private uses (**). The matter was otherwise, and the King knew it. In fact in a letter to the Viceroy (27-3-1647) the King tells him that the Religious of the Society deserve great favour for the great good they have done in these parts, even to the shedding of blood. The same favour should be shown to the Archbishop (‡). The Viceroy excuses himself, and taking the cue from the Archdeacon and his party, *who were the mortal enemies of the Jesuits,* writes that, while the Archbishop receives the money which the King has destined for the Serra, the Vicar are not paid ($). On the other hand the Archbishop writes that he rarely receives the grants regularly (20-11 and 1-12, 1649).

Another purpose which was served by the Government grants was to keep in good repair the Bishop's house. Thus in a letter of 25th of Febr. 1639 Antonio Pereira says that the Archbishop of Cranganore had informed him that he had to curtail his table expenses—and God knows they were poor already—in order to carry out some repairs in his house. (°). It happened also that owing to the negligence of the King's ministers, the Fortress of Cranganore was left to decay, and the Bishop—good patriot that he was—spent of his to put it in good trim. (†)

Last, but not least, a good deal of money was spent in building churches, in repairing the old ones and in providing them with vestments and furniture. In Cranganore a fine church was built in honour of St. James, not far from the river. Another church was erected in honour of St. John, and a third one, very high and spacious, built of stone and mortar, in honour of St. Thomas. (♆) In a letter of the King to the Viceroy of the 4th of March 1651 we read that the Archbishop of Cranganore had informed him that the late Archbishop had started building a beautiful church, for the old one was not fit to celebrate the

(*) Cfr. King's Letter 10-12-1644, *Mitras, II. p. 44.*—(**) See, King's letter Jan. 10, 1646, *Mitras pp. 43, 44.* (‡) *Ib p. 44*
($) Viceroy's letter, 26-11-1650 *Mitras,* pp. 45-46.—(°) *Mitras, I,* p 42.
(†) *Mitras, II,* p. 46.—(♆) *Mitras, II,* pp. 39-40. It quotes *Voyage. Aux Indes* by Gauth. Schouten I, passim.

Divine Offices in. The King ordered that a grant should be given for this purpose, because it would be a scandal if the pagan temples should be better adorned than Christian churches. (*)

The King's contributions to the Bishop of Cochin were larger than those made to Cranganore, but we need not enter into details. We may remark, however, that just as Cranganore suffered from the negligence or rapacity of officials, so did Cochin. In two letters (7-1-1614 and 21-2-1615) the King insists with the Viceroy that he should pay regularly the stipends to Bishop and Chapter. Owing to the fact that they had not been paid, the *Divine offices had been suspended in the Cathedral*. Evidently the Jesuits could never have vied with the Cochin Canons in business methods ("). In a previous letter (1606) the King directs the Viceroy to get back the silver and the sacred vessels, which the See of Cochin had to pawn for want of money (§). If things were so bad at the beginning of the century, when Portugal was still comparatively strong, what must they have been with the growth of Dutch power in India and the steady decline of Portugal? However, whatever may have been the shortcomings of her Officials, this noble nation never entirely forgot her duties to Religion.

Not only were the Bishops helped by the Royal Exchequer, but the Religious as well. The various houses and colleges received grants from Government: grants to build, to furnish churches, to carry on missionary work, to open schools. This was inevitable in those days. It contributed, however, not a little to establish a tradition, which, unfortunately, is still very strong in India, by which the Christians think themselves absolved from their duty to support their Pastors.

2. ALMS.

In the first volume of this work we have spoken of the great generosity of *Archbishop Roz* towards the Society (†). We presume his Successors were equally generous, though we find no written record of their benefactions. Similarly we have

(*) *Mitras, II*, p. 45.

(") *Mitras, II, p. 74*— (§) Ib.—(†) See p. 355—

mentioned how the *Zamorin* and the Raja of Tanur offered land on which to build the churches of Calicut and Tanur, and made gifts to the same (‡).

We know also that at the time of St. Xavier the *Raja of Travancore* befriended the Christians. In a letter of 7 Sept. 1544 to Mansilhas the Saint says that he is about to start for Travancore in order to obtain from the Raja a piece of ground in which the Christians of Tuticorin and Vembar could find sanctuary (*). Though the *Maravas* do not belong to Malabar, yet the Malabar Province worked among them, hence we mention here what we read in the *Annual* of Goa for 1601: "Since the distance of Tripalicori (*Tirupalakudi*) from Peryapatnam was considerable, the Fathers found it difficult to take care of the Christians there. The road goes through the jungle and is very trying. But it is becoming easier every day, for we build churches even in the jungle. Two have been already begun. One of the chief Maravas was so attached to the Father that on his own land he built a shelter, where the Father could rest on his way to Tripalicori. He proposed to gather here all the Christians dispersed among the Maravas whom the Father did not even know, for they were wild and scattered in the forests. Some Tevers (who are like lords among the Maravas) heard of the plan and made known to the Father that they approved of it and that he could build churches. They themselves would meet the expenses, and would even pay for the maintenance of the Fathers. The Missionary thanked them, but refused their offer 'for'—he said—'you are always at war, and the Christians cannot live in peace among you. The churches would be exposed to pillage; the Fathers to danger'. They answered that they would prepare a document, which they did, containing the following points: When at war and armed they would not cross the villages of the Christians. The church would enjoy the right of sanctuary. Should anyone violate it he would have to pay 100 pardaos to the church". ($)

(‡) See pp. 263, 266, etc

(*) *See L. Besse, S.J. La Mission Du Madure, p. 374*— ($) *Ib. p. 394*—

In the first volume we have mentioned the generous alms of *Antonio Guedes Morais* to the Colleges of Cochin and Vaipicota (†). Such magnificent donors were not frequent; yet the Portuguese never forgot their churches in life or in death. In a letter written by Fr. Beschi on the 29th of January 1731 to Rev. Fr. General, we find the following interesting details: "*The salary established for catechists* in former days is not sufficient now to give them even a miserable livelihood. It is now twenty years that I have worked in the Missions, and every year the cost of the necessaries of life has gone up, so much so that what we could once buy for one rupee, now costs two. On the other hand the Lutherans pay their Catechists well; they give to one what we do not give to four. I insisted with the Superiors that they should increase the Catechists' wages by one fourth at least. But they answer that they have no funds. But where there is a will there is a way. Last year the Governor of Manila sent a handsome sum of money to this Mission. In his letter to the Procurator he wrote that he destined it to the Mission of Madura and Malabar. Fr. Provincial kept nearly half of it. Which is that Mission of Malabar I do not know, unless it be the one called Nemam; in this, however, there are abundant revenues and only one Missionary.

Again I heard that an unexpected inheritance has come to the Mission from Goa. It is therefore for Your Paternity to see whether it would be for the glory of God to make use of your authority to urge the Superiors to have mercy on the Catechists, and to give them enough, not that they should live in plenty, but that they may at least live simply like the poor". *It was the Marquess of Villapuente*, a noble Mexican, who several times sent alms to the Missions of India and China. Two years later he will send to the Malabar Mission 4241 xeraphins (*). Fr. Beschi's concern for the Catechists was noble and large hearted; but, as we shall see by and by, the financial difficulties of the Malabar Provincial were so great that surely they could not be solved by merely appealing to Rome. A

(†) *The Jesuits in Malabar, vol. I. p. 275.*
(*) *L. Besse, S. J.—Fr. Beschi, S. J.* (Trichinopoly 1918) p. 106.

better, though temporary solution, was found a little later, when the *Moghul Nabob Chanda Sahib* became the ruler of Trichinopoly. He made Padre Beschi his Dewan, bestowed on him certain grants and a good annual pension. In a letter of the Provincial Louis de Vasconcellos, we read of his gratitude to Divine Providence "who sent us large alms through the hands of merciful men. Among them we must mention, in the first place, Chanda Sahib, who has become master of the Kingdom of Madura, and has given to the Madura Mission 350 *San Thome Xeraphins*, for he shows great kindness to our Missionaries" (*).

Other Mohammedan and Hindu Princes were friendly to the Mission. To mention only some: *Katta Dever Muttu Vijia Regunada*, King of Ramnad had the greatest admiration for the venerable Padre Bertoldi, who had foretold his accession to the throne. He invited him to his own palace, entertained him with the greatest respect and veneration and offered to build a church in his capital (*). The offer was not accepted. It was renewed later to Fr. John Alexander in 1731 ($). The same King gave permission, and helped Fr. Joseph Vieyra to build a church on the spot where Blessed John de Britto had suffered martyrdom (†). The Fathers were greatly helped also by *the daughter of the persecutor Vijia Regunatha Teven*, who was baptized by Fr. Vieyra (††). Only five years before Portugal expelled the Jesuits from India, the Marquess de Bussy Castelnau gave them 65,000 xeraphins, which served to buy lands for the Mission of Raichur (*Cfr. Mitras*).

Following the suppression of the Society all these estates and moneys passed to the Fazenda of Goa.

Though the Dutch persecuted the missionaries everywhere, yet, when Pombal deprived the Fathers of all help, some *Dutch merchants* were moved to pity, and succoured them with abundant alms (**). Similarly the *English Governor of Madras*

(*) *Fr. Beschi. S. J. pp 133, 158*—Note: A San Thome xeraphin was a golden coin worth 8s. 4d. (From *Fonseca, A Historical Sketch of the city of Goa*, quoted by L. Besse in Fr. Beschi's Life)—(*) Cfr. The *Annual Letter* for 1730, quoted by Fr. Besse in *La Mission du Madure, pp. 242-6*
($) *Ib. p. 251*—(†) Ib. p. 252.—(††) Ib. pp. 248-50,—(**) Ib. p. 475

Mr. Palk, prevented Pombal's emissaries from robbing the French Fathers of their possessions (§).

(3) CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE PEOPLE.

The pride of a Christian village is its church. In Europe sometimes, we find the most lovely churches in the tiniest villages. The early Portuguese Missionaries were great church-builders. Some churches, both in Malabar and on the Fishery Coast, were built at the time of St. Francis Xavier. Though the King of Portugal usually helped, yet the people also were taught to offer their mite. Sometimes they were compelled. Thus the women of Punicael were much addicted to drink. In order to cure them of this vice, St. Xavier ordered that *each one of them, if found drunk, should be fined one fanam*, which went to defray the expenses for the building of the church and for the maintenance of the Priest (‡). We read that in 1603 from Coulao (Quilon) to Comorin the Jesuits had 35 churches. The same year they built seven more. Similarly we gather that in 1607 they had 33 churches on the Fishery Coast and Ceylon, and 60,000 Christians; and in the same year the Christians whom they had newly converted in Malabar were 20,000, and the churches 45 (†). Towards this magnificent effort contributed, not only the rich Portuguese, but also the poor Indians.

The Rector of Topo, the Travancore College, received certain sums of money from the King of Portugal. Every month he used to give a certain amount of toasted corn (*Tritici Cocti*) to each Father for his maintenance, and some wine for Mass. The arrangement was found unsatisfactory, and later on we find that the Rector gave to each of his subjects a gold piece called a San Thome. To make up, the Raja of Travancore allowed the Fathers to collect the fines which were due to him for crimes committed by the Christians. This was a source of scandal and grumbling both for the Jesuits and for others. Under the Provincialate of Padre Emmanuel Rodriguez the matter was referred to Fr. General, who ordered the Provincial Congrega-

(§) *Ib.* p. 476.
(‡) Cfr. Besse—*La Mission Du Madure pp. 372,570.* Cfr. also *Schurhammer*—St. Francis Xavier, p. 110.—(†) Cfr. *Mitras, II, p. 71.*

tion to examine how the Missionaries could be maintained without the fines, which he called "*Peccatorum Praetia*", and which should be left to the poor.

The Provincial D'Almeyda, in a letter of 5th July 1694, says that he thought the delay too long to wait for the Provincial Congregation. He therefore consulted seven Professed Fathers, who agreed that the 1080 xeraphins contributed by the King should be divided among the six Missionaries in Travancore, each receiving 180 xeraphins. Since the Rector had to meet heavier demands on his purse, he should be given 340 xeraphins from the revenues of Assalona.—The Provincial submitted the decisions to the approval of Fr. General.

In 1705 the arrangement proposed by Padre D'Almeyda seems to have been approved by Rome; only that the Rector received 400 xeraphins instead of 340 (†). Besides the voluntary contributions towards church building, and the forced contributions derived from fines, the Christians helped towards the maintenance of the Fathers and the ordinary church expenses with what was called the *Vari*, or dues for funerals, marriages, Baptisms, etc. This Vari, however, had often to be remitted, and was often remitted, owing to the poverty or unwillingness to pay up on the part of the Christians. In some churches, like the shrine of St. Francis Xavier in Cottar, and several chapels, dedicated to St. Anthony, God showed his mercy in a special manner, by granting great favours to the people. Hence a peculiar kind of revenue due to the fulfilment of vows, or to offerings in thanksgiving for graces received. Thus the writer of the Annual Letter for 1712 says of Alantalai that, though the church of St. Peter had been begun long before, it was not yet open to the people; while the church of St. Anthony, that had been started much later, was finished already. Why? says he—because St. Anthony is a great wonder worker and St. Peter is not. In India it is very easy to gather money for a procession or a display of fire works, or some such external festivity. It is much more difficult to persuade the people to contribute something for the training of a Priest or for paying

(†) *Fr. D'Almeyda's* letter: 5-7-1694.

a Catechist. So we read with pleasure in a letter of Padre Proenza (1663) that two rich Paravas, Don Henrique and Don Gaspar De Cruz, volunteered to pay for the maintenance of a Catechist in the South.

We may conclude this section by quoting again from the letter of the Provincial Padre D'Almeyda (1693-1697) to Rev. Fr. General. He says that no Mission had any fixed income. The Missionaries either lived on alms or on the contributions which the Paravas had agreed to pay, as a kind of compensation for the protection given to them by the Portuguese fleet. But since the Dutch had taken possession of the Pearl Fisheries, many Fathers thought it unjust to press the Paravas for payment. The Provincial asks Fr. General to settle the case, and to see that "the Fathers have some source of income, for, indeed, as he remarks, they cannot live on air".

(4) ESTATES

A fully constituted Province of the Society of Jesus, besides Colleges and Residences, where the Fathers either attend to education, or work otherwise for the spiritual welfare of the people, must have houses regularly endowed where the young recruits are trained in the spiritual life and prepared for the ministry of the Society. In modern times, in India, a young Scholastic that is being trained in Philosophy and Theology costs on an average rather more than Rs. 60 a month. Hence a Superior who has to provide for some fifty of them must find at least Rs. 3000 every month. He must think further about his own establishment and often he has to contribute to the maintenance of old and disabled Missionaries. In the first volume we spoke of the misgivings of Fr. Viegas, the first Vice-Provincial in Malabar (‡) about the education of the young Jesuits in the new Province. The real founder of the Province, the large hearted Padre Laerzio, brushed all these difficulties aside, and went ahead. The difficulties and anxieties, though never totally absent, were not great till the forties, when Dutch successes crippled Portuguese commerce more and more. The troubles in the Serra had their repercussions also in

‡ The Jesuits in Malabar, I p. 270.

regard of the revenues of the Province. Then came the Dutch spoliations in Malacca, in Ceylon, on the Fishery Coast, in Malabar. After the fall of Cochin the existence of the Province was very precarious. The Scholastics had to be sent to Goa, as the Provincials had to shift as best they could. This went on for about a century, till the final blow was struck, and the Society of Jesus was suppressed. But let us give some details. We read that under the Provincial Padre *Andre Lopez* (1650-1654) the financial position of the College of Cochin, where the Provincial resided and the Scholastics were being trained, was becoming intolerable. The debts were mounting higher and higher. The poor, who somehow had to be fed, increased day by day. It was finally decided to send the Scholastics to Goa. From a letter of the Provincial Padre *Francis De Oliveira* (Goa, 19 Nov. 1670) we learn that the King had assigned 1000 xeraphins to the Travancore Mission, which, however, were not paid regularly. To the King's subsidy had been added the revenues of the property at Assalona, which yielded from three to four thousand xeraphins a year. Now the expenses of the Malabar Province, met from the Assalona Estate in the seven years, from 1664 to 1670, were 24732.686, pardaos,† *i e.* a little over 3000 pardaos a year. The Provincial, in writing to the General remarks that one single College in the Province of Goa had a higher income; and yet could the work of one single College be compared to the enormous work turned out by the Fathers of the South? Hence was it not just that the revenues of the Assalona Estate should be applied to the Malabar Province? But, of course, there were some in Goa, who grudged even this little amount and "*contra omne jus et contra charitatem*" wanted it for Goa. "It matters little",—ended the good Provincial—"while we of the South have in Your Paternity a dear just and kind Father, who, having a wide experience, can feel sympathy for all the tribulations of his children in Malabar".

(†) Linshoten says that the pardaos or xeraphins were struck at Goa. On one side there was St. Sebastian; on the other a sheaf of arrows. One pardao was equivalent to 300 reis, or about 1 Rupee.

We read in the same letter that the *Mission of Madura* spread through the Kingdoms of Madura, Tanjore, Gingi. It numbered about 40,000 Christians, and 32 public churches. Ten Fathers with three or four Catechists each, visited the Christians. Seven of them dressed in the Pandarams' fashion, two in the Brahmins', and one wore a black cassock. The latter lived in Madura itself, and was in the good graces of the King.

The Government paid to these Missions 600 xeraphins. A benefactor enabled the Fathers to buy a coconut plantation at Battim in Bardez; and the income derived from it made things easier for them. It was at this time (1669-1670) that Fr. Balthasar Da Costa was sent to Rome as Procurator. He brought to India Saint John de Britto. Fr. Da Costa, however, died during the voyage, struck by a contagious disease, which raged on board the ship (21st April 1673). In 1674 Tanjore falls to the Mahrattas, Gingi is lost to Madura, which remains the only principality to represent the Vijianagar Empire.

The Scholastics by this time had been brought back to the Province and were being trained in Ambalakad.

We shall now summarize the *Catalogus Rerum* for the year 1734, which was prepared by the Provincial Fr. John Antunes We learn there that the members of the Province were 56, distributed as follows: 9 on the Fishery Coast; 10 in the Madura Mission; 14 in Travancore; one in the Nemam Mission; at Ambalakat and neighbouring places 13; in the College of San Thome (Mylapore) 1; in Bengal 1; in Goa 5; in Rome 1; and 1 at Puducherry (Pondicherry). During the previous three years none was admitted in India and one was dismissed. If matters did not change for the better, the Province was heading for extinction.

The income of the whole Province was as follows:

PLACE	REVENUE	
From the Assalona Estate (Salsete-Goa)	8000	xeraphins
" Betim " (Bardez-Goa)	2500	"
" " Quirol & Sorrotor Estates (North Goa)	3500	"
" " Ganta Comprem Estate (Goa)	4300	"
" " King's Exchequer	750	"
" Damaun (King's Exchequer)	1500	"
" Bassein " "	1200	"
" the Island of Diwar (by the King's orders)	1654	"
	23404	"

The money was distributed as follows:

To the Madura Mission	9100	xeraphins
" Father in Tanur	150	"
" Missionaries in the Serra	600	"
" " "	1801	"
" " Ambalakat College	1800	"
" " Nemam Mission	1500	"
" " College and Mission of Travancore	4500	"
" " Fishery Coast	3500	"
" " College of St. Thomas (Mylapore)	3480	"
" " Bengal College	1200	"
	27631	"

The 4227 xerap. exr. were obtained—or should have been obtained—from other sources, for besides the income mentioned above, the Province had considerable sums of money lent out to private concerns. Thus:

in the northern cities	210000	xer.	Interest	14700	xer.
" "	111388	"	"	11138	"
" "	122000	"	"	9760	"
with the Procurator at Goa	1733	"	"	nil	
	445121	"		35598	"

The Provincial, however, remarks that of these moneys he is not quite sure. Nor does he know whether the interest is paid regularly, for the Procurators at Goa have not written. The apparent surplus (i. e. xer. 31471) was spent somewhat as follows, i. e. in maintaining the Provincial and his staff, in paying for the journeys of the Fathers, when they were changed from one

e to another, in paying for the voyages from India to Europe from Europe to India, in helping the poor, chiefly in times famine and pestilence, in litigation, in repairing ildings, etc. In 1732 in Goa alone were spent xeraph. 6073. 1733 the Province sent to Portugal xer. 9098 (about) in order to ay for vestments, wine, church furniture and so on. However, he expenses were not the same every year. For instance, in 730 they sent to Portugal only xer. 1437, after having ubtracted the cost of what had been brought from Lisbon that year. For the expenses to be met in Malabar, usually 2000 xer. were sent from Goa every year. The Provincial expresses his fear of losing some 58000 xer. for, some lands had been mortgaged, litigation was afoot, and nobody knew how things would turn out. Further, instead of money the Procurators at times received gold or precious stones, which, not infrequently, proved false. Losses had thus been incurred in the past; and, no doubt, would be incurred in the future as well. The Provincial adds three more items; the first about the Father in Calicut, who receives a special allowance from the King; how much, it is not stated. The second about the alms received from the Marquis de la Puente, which we have mentioned above; the third about 12227 xer. held in Portugal, and for which they could get only an interest of 5%, while the money put out to interest in India yielded 10% or even more. We are informed further of the large sums of money spent in wages to Catechists, and of the costly gifts that had frequently to be made to Rajas and Nabobs.

Now a few remarks: the gross income of the Province was about 60,000 xer. Some modern Superiors may be inclined to think this a princely income, when compared with their own. Let them remember, however, that the income was far from secure. Again, about 5000 xeraphins every year had to be spent on Catechists. Also, the various schools in Cochin, in Tuticorin, in San Thome, were liabilities, not assets. Further there was no organized State relief in case of famine. Now famines in those days were very frequent, and the starving people turned to the Missionaries in their distress. Marauding

armies often destroyed crops and houses, pillaged churches, spread terror everywhere. Often the Missionaries saw their churches destroyed and their people reduced to beggary. They pleaded for them. Sometimes they succeeded; more often they turned away empty-handed; not infrequently they themselves were beaten, imprisoned, despoiled of everything.

5. Losses.

The *Catalogus Rerum* prepared on the 31st of August 1740 by Fr. Louis De Vasconcellos informs us that the members of the Province were 62. The estates of Assalona, Bettim, Quirol, and Sorrotor, and Gauto Compren had been taken by the Mahrattas. Thus the Province had lost an income of xer. 18300. Further, on account of the war, the Royal Exchequer could not pay a sum of xer. 11854, which used to be collected from Diwar, Bassein and Damaun. Also the Province had lent out xer. 230,000, from which they expected an interest of 15860 xer. But the debtors were bankrupt, and all was lost. The interest on another 320,000 xer. could not all be realized, for the capital consisted partly of money, partly of goods, and some had to be spent as occasion arose, in order to provide the various Missions with what they needed. An interest of xeraph. 611 on the money invested in Portugal (of which we have spoken above) was realized. To carry on, the Provincial had to make heavy debts. God, however, did not forget his own, and, though the times were very bad, some alms did come in. Here the Provincial mentions Chanda Sahib's donation of 350 San Thomes.

In the *Catalogus Rerum* prepared by Fr. Cajetan Barreto in 1743, we notice that things had improved with regard to the properties held in the North, wherefrom the Province got, or ought to have got, an income of xer. 10232. But in the South the Raja of Travancore had destroyed the village of Collacheri, with the church and the house. The stipends of the Missionaries had to be curtailed. In Calicut we find Fr. Brolla Brandolini, and another Missionary. They received a special allowance from the King. Goa sent some help; however, *tenui sane victu aluntur omnes*: all had to tighten their belts.

In the *Catalogus Rerum* prepared by Fr. Salvador dos Reis in 1746 we find

From	Diwar	xer.	1654
,,	Bettim	,,	3000
,,	Panelim	,,	2000
,,	Chapora	,,	578
,,	Singuelim	,,	3000
,,	Assalona	,,	7000
,,	other moneys	,,	4000
	Total		21232

After this we have no other Catalogue. Further losses were, of course, met by individual Missions, owing to the wars among the Mysoreans, the Moghuls, the Tanjoreans, and so on; but we shall not dwell on them.

We shall now make a few remarks.

We notice that practically all the landed property of the Province was in Goa and in its surroundings, and in Bassein and Damaun. It was safer there. But when we remember that the properties of the Jesuit Province of Goa—and they were much larger—and of the Province of Japan and China were also in Goa, and so were the estates of other religious bodies, the impression was created that these Religious were very rich. The people did not stop to reflect that the Missionaries throughout Asia had to be supplied from Goa; they only knew that the Religious owned vast estates within a comparatively small compass.

Further, the religious landlords had great difficulty in getting their dues from their tenants. They had often recourse to litigation. And so they were hated. When compared with other landlords, they were kind and considerate. Still they could not in justice to their brethren far away, allow the unwilling debtors to have their way. Hence they were often called the pest of India. The flames were fanned by the King's Officials, for, rather than pay the Religious they would gladly have filled their own pockets. This state of affairs was bound to have a bad influence on the attitude of the people of Goa towards Priests and Religious.

The practice of Portugal to support the Missionaries, though highly commendable, had two unfortunate effects; the first was to accustom the Indians to think that the maintenance of their Pastors and churches was none of their business; the second was to create the impression that Religion and politics were closely associated, and that the Missionary is the emissary of his home government, rather than the Ambassador of Christ.

When we compare the ancient Malabar Province with the modern Mission of Calicut, we notice that both were comparatively stable, with regard to the finances, in the first fifty years of their existence. Then the troubles began; more catastrophic indeed in the case of the ancient Province, robbed by the Dutch, spoiled by the Mahrattas, and finally suppressed altogether by the Government of Portugal and the Holy See; less conspicuous, but no less distressing in the case of the modern Mission. Yet, just as the old Jesuits carried on their work steadily, till they were utterly extinct, so let their modern sucessors be constant in tribulation. They are in God's hands, and God's hands are strong and kind.

CHAPTER VI

EVANGELIZATION

(The Mission of Nemam)

Though something may be found in this Volume on the work of Evangelization by St. John de Britto, by Padre Beschi and other labourers in the Madura Mission, comparatively little is said about missionary work in Malabar. We shall therefore attempt to describe here the Mission of *Nemam* in Travancore. Though one of the most cherished in the History of the Society of Jesus in India, it is now very little known.

It was born in poverty, reared in persecution, watered by the blood of Martyrs. Noblest among them was *Devasagayam*. His martyrdom is still remembered in parts of Malabar, but almost ignored in the rest of India. We offer no apology for the few words we say of him. We wish we had room for more; and we regret that, while money seems always at hand in India for vain displays, no money is ever forthcoming to meet the expenses connected with the introduction of the Cause of Beatification of this hero. Documents are not wanting. What is wanted is leadership and union.

Many good and holy sons of the Society have worked in the Nemam Mission; Fr. Morato at the very beginning; Maynard, De Sa, Borghese, Martin, Carvalho, Vieyra, Calini, Bigaglia, Buttari, and last of all—bravely carrying on even after the Suppression of the Society of Jesus—Padre Tomassini; two Frenchmen, four Portuguese, five Italians.

Our main sources of information are the *Annual Letters*, which are quoted in the Text. An *Appendix* is added where we give a Summary of the favours which the Holy See used to grant to the Jesuit Missions in those days. Some may find it interesting. The full Document is to be found in the *Bullarium Portugalliae*.

The main object of Catholic Missionary Enterprise is the spreading of the Kingdom of God. India is ready to import cotton-fabrics, chemicals, motor cars, railway engines, even social and economic experiments and education of a kind. But she looks askance at the church of God prospering within her shores. "God's Kingdom is here already"—she will say—"and though India may lag behind in material progress, she has nothing to learn from others in spiritual matters".

May be her achievements in Philosophy and Art can vie with the achievements of Greece and Rome; but the gates of heaven are not open by Philosophy and Art. She can boast of a certain spiritual outlook, of a certain theoretical detachment from earthly things. But the spiritual outlook will mislead, unless it is polarized towards God; and a showy detachment will not help the soul to wing its flight to heaven.

Some Protestant Missionaries will be content to work for the social uplift of the masses; they open hospitals, rescue homes, model-farms; they start temperance campaigns, anti-vice drives. That is admirable; but it is only human.

The Catholic Missionary believes that what India—and not India alone—stands most in need of is the grace of God, which is offered to man through Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of the Father. Hence the only object of his life is to bring to India the grace of God through those means and channels which Christ Himself has appointed. This moved the restless spirit of St. Francis Xavier; this directed the steps of Fr. De Nobili; this brought Fr. Rudolf Aquaviva to the Court of the Great Moghul; this made Fr. Andrade look with longing to the snow capped Hymalayas and far off Tibet.

The second period of the history of the Malabar Province is not as brilliant as the first; it is punctuated by more crosses; it is underlined by larger failures. Yet the work of evangelization was ever carried on; quietly in Ambalakad, amidst the din of battle and the blood of persecution in Madura, among misunderstandings in the Carnatic and in Mysore and humbly, but steadily in the southern reaches of Travancore. We speak mainly of this last work, and first

1. THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE SANARS

The Sanars formed a numerous caste, whose villages were scattered from the foot of the Ghauts to Trivandrum. Their chief occupation was agriculture, and especially the cultivation of coconuts. The early Missionaries tried in vain to convert them. Sri Vira Ravi Varma, who reigned in Travancore from 1595 to 1607, was greatly frightened by an eclipse, which took place on the 29th April 1604. The Brahmins told him that the eclipse was a warning from the gods for allowing the Christians to spread in this kingdom. And so he ordered the destruction of all Christian churches. The Sanars were instrumental in carrying out the infamous decree, and within a short time they burned or demolished not less than forty churches.

The first to obtain some success among the Sanars was Fr. Peter Morato (1685). Some years later, (1698) the Provincial, Fr. Gomez urged the Missionaries of Cottar and Travancore to work for the conversion of the Pagans, and ordered the French Father John Maynard—*Impigerrimus semper Missionarius*—to devote all his energies to this work.

Walking in the footsteps of the Missionaries of Madura, Fr. Maynard donned the Indian costume, and tried to convert the high castes. A few were won over. But when they noticed that the Father gave Baptism to the low castes as well, they deserted him. Then he turned to the Sanars.

In 1699 Fr. Bernard de Sa joined him; but while Fr. Maynard remained at Cottar, Fr. De Sa chose Marungur as the centre of his labours. As he tells us in a letter of the 14th October 1713, "he established there a new colony, which was to be the foundation stone of the Malabar Mission. He built the church where the first conversions took place, and there he laid the foundations of a new building in which those whom neither the great Xavier nor his successors had succeeded to lead to the knowledge of God, had the happiness to be enlightened in the true faith by fathers Saverio Borghese, Peter Martin, Simon de Carvalho and others. These missionaries worked no miracles. By the help of divine grace they merely abstained from certain kinds of food, they altered the habit of the Society, and they conformed to certain usages, which were purely social".

So far Fr. De Sa.

After the foundation of Marungur he returned to Vadakenkulam. The Hindus, who thought he had plenty of money, and who viewed his success with deep hatred, plotted to get hold of him and torture him in order to make him give up his hidden treasures. Should he refuse, they would compel him to leave the country and thus conversion would stop automatically. One night, while he was down with fever, some soldiers dragged him out of bed, struck him on the face, tied him with ropes and brought him before the Governor. This man kept him in prison for some time and finally expelled him from the District. In June 1700 he was still suffering from the illtreatment, and Fr. Martin saw the traces of the beatings and how all his teeth had been knocked out. Later on Fr. Laynez interceded with the Queen of Madura, Mangammal, and Fr. De Sa was allowed to return to Vadakenkulam.

In the same letter (14 Oct. 1713) Fr. De Sa relates how a prolonged drought afflicted Marungur. The Hindus attributed it to the Gods, enraged at the building of the new Christian church. A day was fixed. If it did not rain before that, the church would be burned down. The eve came and the sky was as bright as ever. But during the night there was such a downpour that the ponds overflowed, and so the church remained intact.

Later on, at the approach of the car-festival, the Hindus insisted that the Christians had to take part in it, else they would be banished, and the church burned. Fr. De Sa asked his people to pray fervently, and somehow the car festival did not take place.

2. THE MISSION OF NEMAM (1701)

The Mission was started by an Italian, Padre Saverio Borghese, who, according to the letters already quoted, "was remarkable for his prudence in dealing with Indians." He was inspired to go into the interior of Travancore, dressed like a Sannyassi, and following the customs of the Indians. He thus

reached the Nemam mountains, very far away from his church, Marungur, and spread there the banner of the faith where infidelity had reared its impregnable fortress.

"At Nemam he entered into the good graces of a caste Hindu who allowed him to build a small church and a house on his property. The novelty brought many to see it. He preached to them the new religion; but the doctrine of the cross seemed folly to these blind souls and they went away faster than they had come, making fun of the preacher."

The experienced Fr. De Sa advised Padre Borghese to send a well tried Catechist to work among these people. The Catechist's name was Sattianaden. He disguised himelf as a Pandaram, and worked so well that within a short time he won over an idolatrous priest, who enjoyed considerable authority among the Malayalees. The priest was followed by some noble men, among others a minister of the Raja of Quilon, and Governor of Nemam.

Padre Borghese reappeared on the scene with great pomp, carried on a palanquin. He saw that the converts were well instructed and baptized some thirty of them. Then he returned to Marungur, filled with joy (1703). But his joy was short lived.

The first convert died of blood poisoning, only forty days after baptism. The people looked upon his death as a punishment of the Gods; superstitious fear did the rest, and many apostatized. Padre Borghese was plunged in sorrow. Only some months later did he venture to visit Nemam a third time. He was not persecuted, but the people looked askance at him. He gathered the scattered sheep, he encouraged them, he exhorted them to persevere. After two months he baptized some twenty persons.

3. PERSECUTIONS.

From Fr. De Sa's letter quoted above (14 Oct. 1713) we learn that the leaders of the Sanars Caste, enraged at the conversions among their own people, threatened them with torture and spoliation unless they renounced the faith. They boasted that they would kill the Father and offer him as a

victim to their Gods. Padre Borghese comforted the neophites of Marungur, many of whom suffered much for the faith. Only a few fell away. The Superiors, being afraid lest the Father should lose his life, recalled him to Madura. Meanwhile, they offered presents to the Raja's officers and succeeded in calming the storm that had broken over the Sanars.

Some time before 1700 the College of Topo in South Travancore had been built, and the Provincial of Malabar had his residence there. Towards the end of 1704 or at the beginning of 1705 the College was destroyed. The destruction is desribed in a letter of the Provincial Fr. Christopher Semedo dated 7 Oct. 1705. The chiefs of the Sanars who had persecuted their own people and threatened Padre Borghese with death, turned their hatred against Topo. They approached the usurper Rama Raja and told him "that the Fathers were plotting the ruin of the State. From their new house at Topo where guns were installed, they were helping the English. If they were not checked, the whole kingdom would soon fall into the hands of the English. The Fathers were very rich. If the Raja sent his soldiers before the English set up their guns on the roof of the house, they would find a vast treasure, not to speak of the furniture.

"Deceived by these tales, the Raja at the head of a posse of soldiers and of a huge rabble broke into the new house. Like raging wolves, they spared nothing. We had the sorrow to see them grab with their dirty hands sacred vessels and ornaments, slash the sacred pictures with their swords and rob and destroy our books.

"By order of the king the sorrowing Fathers had to leave the College, which was burned. Nothing could be saved. We are now deprived of the only meeting place we had. When the new Raja will come we shall beg to be allowed to rebuild our house. The number of conversions, however, has not diminished."

According to a letter of Fr. Luiz Gonsalves of the 5th Oct. 1705, the Provincial Fr. Barros should have listened to those who were warning him that something was brewing against

Topo. He should not have kept with him eleven Fathers from the District, whom he had called for a consultation. He could at least have saved some furniture. But after the event it is easy to be wise. Fr. Gonsalves tells us further that the Raja of Travancore refused to make compensation for damages. It is true that he ordered some of the Sanar chiefs to be beheaded but that was for some other offence.

4. FURTHER TROUBLES.

In 1705 the French Fr. Peter Martin succeeded Padre Borghese at Marungur. Malabar was then under the usurper Rama Raja. The King of Madura sent an army to help Ravi Varma—the legitimate Raja—to reconquer his kingdom. Profiting by the unsettled state of the country, the chief priest of a temple dedicated to Sivendiren, got some soldiers to break into the mission house at Marungur and plunder every thing. When the trouble was over Fr. Martin continued his work of evangelization. Instead of paying to the Catechists fixed wages he used to give them one fanam for every convert. Thus the Catechists worked with greater alacrity and the number of Christians increased.

Besides Marungur the Father visited Ajarippallam, a village situated in the present Diocese of Quilon and had there a church under construction. The church was burned. A short while before a fire destroyed also a church at Nemam, which Fr. Martin had nearly completed, on the ruins of the first.

The Prince Unni Kerala, who later on will succeed Ravi Varma (1718), distinguished himself for his unjust exactions. He ordered the Christians to be heavily fined in order to make them give up the faith. But Fr. Martin had powerful friends and knew how to plead so well the cause of the Christians with him, that Unni Kerala had to give up his plan. Some idolatrous priests, angry at the conversion of a few caste people and at the consequent loss of revenues, excited the soldiers to break again into Fr. Martin's house and rob him of the little he had. But God avenged his servant. One of the priests, who masqueraded in a stolen chasuble, was suddenly covered with leprosy and died, an object of horror to all. A short time after

two others died of an ulcer. A fourth one, being struck with a like sickness, was converted and got cured.

Meanwhile the news reached Fr. Martin that Fr. Bouchet of the Carnatic Mission, had been cast into prison. He left Marungur to go to his rescue, and succeeded in freeing him from jail (1708). He had not yet returned when the Provincial, Fr. Semedo, received a letter from the General, Fr. Thirsus Gonzalez, where he was exhorted to take special care of the promising Mission of Nemam. Fr. Semedo gathered his Consultors and it was decided to separate Nemam from Madura, to give it its own Superior and Missionaries and to assign to it separate revenues. Further it was agreed that some substantial sums of money that had been received from the Archbishop of Braga and from the Duchess of Aveyro, should be assigned to Nemam.

5. THE PERSECUTION OF 1708.

In 1708 Fr. Simon de Carvalho succeeded Fr. Martin. In a letter dated 23 June 1709 he writes: "The 14th day of June 1708 I again put on the yellow robe of the Sannyassi and entered Travancore by roads full of thorns and stones. I reached Nemam on the 16th. The night was far advanced. Padre Borghese's church consisted only of four walls. Time and thieves had done their work. The house was in the same condition. We passed the rest of the night—which seemed long indeed—in the rain and the wind. The head of the town offered us hospitality; and we stayed eight days in his house; that is to say, till some huts were made ready for myself and for my followers.

I began to teach and on the 2nd of July two young men received Baptism. On the 8th there were four more. Meanwhile the building of the church went on. I dedicated it to St. Joseph. On Assumption day I celebrated the first Mass there. It was a beautiful day and 12 persons were baptized. But I did not rest long before a terrific storm burst. All know the superstitious reverence which Indians show to the cobra. Two young men, who had been baptized by me, killed one on the threshold of their house. For this crime they were beaten, imprisoned and brought before the Magistrate who crossquestioned them about

their religion. They acquitted themselves well. Then they were questioned about their "Guru". He was the culprit. It was he that should have been summoned before the judge, but nobody had denounced him. My presence at Nemam was not publicly known. They did not think of me; they fell upon an old man, an excellent Christian. He was questioned, threatened, beaten, tortured, but he remained steadfast. His answers were admirable. This lasted several days and the valiant old man thought he was to die. But in the interval some of his relations and friends approached the Magistrate and obtained the martyr's release.

"The storm had just abated when the Mahommedans who are numerous at Nemam, began to give trouble. Their commerce with the Coast has familiarised them with Christian ceremonies and European customs. They watched me and noticed that the ceremonies I was performing were the same as those of the European Missionaries on the Coast. They concluded that I was a European disguised as a Sannyassi and published it far and wide. This was disastrous, for, those who were about to be converted stopped coming, and some of those who had been baptized went back to their idols. From the middle of August to October not a single Baptism. Then, when the rumour had almost been forgotten, 18 Baptisms."

At the beginning of 1709 Fr. Carvalho fell sick. He feared so much to be taken for a *Prangui* that he refused to call a Father from the Coast, rather, preferring to die without the Sacraments, if such was God's Will. But he recovered and he was made Secretary to Bishop Laynez, S.J., recently appointed to the See of Mylapore.

6. EVENTS AT NEMAM TILL 1713.

To Fr. Carvalho succeeded Fr. De Sa, who at Nemam converted many high caste people; but the climate was against him, and he decided to go and build a church in a village called *Sarruvadalicodu*, or "The Way of Almighty God". He did so, when the Hindus, afflicted by a fierce drought, turned against the Christians, prevented them from getting water from springs and tanks, and threatened to burn down the new

church. The poor people were planning to leave, when a copious rain fell and revived their spirits. Fr. Martin at Nemam had baptized nearly 1000 persons. Fr. de Carvalho continued to gather in the harvest. In 1711 Fr. De Sa administered Baptism to 233 persons.

About this time a *Guru* came from Madura to Nemam to levy the tithes from the people. Furious that many had become Christians, he wanted to outcast them. But a valiant Catechist took up the cudgels in their favour and the *Guru* was silenced. But on the sly he stirred up the feelings of the Hindus. The Catechist was beaten so cruelly that he vomited blood. Some Christian soldiers wanted to avenge the Catechist. But the *Guru* took good care to hide himself. A short time after he died of a shameful sickness.

Since the number of conversions in Travancore was fast increasing, the Provincial Padre Manoel Pereira assigned to the Mission a second priest, Padre Anthony Tavares (1713). Nemam then counted five churches, three in Travancore and two in Madura. More than 4000 Christians belonged to the Travancore churches, and their number would have been greater had not the country been harassed by constant wars.

In 1712 another storm burst on the Nemam Mission. The Pagan chiefs of the Sanar Caste, seeing that many were being converted, decided to approach the *Madambimars* or Travancore noblemen, from whom they bought the right to settle all caste quarrels. Then they gathered all the Christian Sanars of Marungur and declared them worthy of death for having abandoned their gods. They got up an army, broke into the houses, robbed, threatened, beat all; but in vain. The Christians withstood all this, they suffered patiently and even joiously for the faith. The persecutors threatened to burn down the church. Padre de Sa was advised to withdraw. But he refused, till somehow the persecutors dispersed.

7. MISSION OF THE SAVALAKARERS IN TRAVANCORE (1713).

The Savalakarers were people of low caste, mostly *Mucuvers* and *Paravers*. In 1713 they were living in 24 little villages of which Trivandrum was one. Formerly they had caused great

sorrow to the Missionary, but now, owing chiefly to the zeal of young Padre Joseph Vieyra, things had changed. In a letter of Padre Luiz Rodrigues, Rector of Travancore, dated 5th Nov. 1717, we read: "At Nemam the high caste, frightened by the threats of pagan Magistrates, do not come any more to be instructed. The humble tribe of the Sanars, from which one hoped great fruits, has been subjected to great persecutions. That is why they do not come, as formerly, to be regenerated in the waters of Baptism. Hence only two Pandaram Fathers suffice to cultivate this Mission; two other Fathers, dressed in European fashion, go up and down the country to visit the Maravers, who live scattered in the interior. Some are old Christians, some are new converts; but all have to be visited by Missionaries, dressed in European garb. That is because the Propaganda men, who see superstitions everywhere, so desire. If they were to come and work with us in this jungle of Malabarian Paganism, they would know what should be done".

In 1716 Padre Tavares was still at Nemam. He had some success among the Nayars and, notwithstanding polygamy and polyandry, he baptized 202 adults. The country, however, was ravaged by war. Sixteen Magnates had chased out the Raja who called Madura to his help. After several years of incessant war, the Raja failed to recapture his throne. It may be imagined how difficult it must have been to do any missionary work in the circumstances. Life and property were not safe. Looting and murder were the order of the day. Though the Fathers did their best to protect the people, their very lives were in constant danger. To this must be added the scourge of small pox, which is still so frequent in India. As usual, the poor victims were either abandoned to their fate and died in miserable huts, or on the road side; or were entrusted to mercenaries, who, however, kept as far as they could from the infection. The pagans invoked the goddess of small pox, went to the temples, asked what should be done to appease the anger of the gods. The priests answered that the best means of putting a stop to the scourge was to destroy the Christian faith.

Every means was tried to pervert the new converts, but with little success. A poor man came one day to Padre Tavares, to tell him how they had cut off his ears because he had refused to apostatize. They offered temple sweets to a woman, "Give them to the dogs"—she answered; and the Hindus beat her mercilessly.

The examples could be multiplied and are an eloquent answer to those proud pessimists who think that the Holy Ghost restricts the grace of martyrdom to a few chosen nations. On the other hand we know that even the natural virtues of the Sanars and similar castes, were of no mean order. In a letter of Padre Alessandro Calini, who worked long among them, we read that the caste of the Sanars was "*mire apta*" to receive the Gospel. "It is easy for them to keep the Commandments. Their women are naturally chaste. The men climb coconut trees and all cultivate the fields. This keep them busy and makes them avoid idleness, which is the origin of all vices.

In 1716 Nemam had 5 churches and only 12 Catechists. Its revenues (1500 xeraphins) came from an estate in Goa, and were scarcely sufficient for the pressing needs.

Troubles and persecutions were never wanting. Once a man died soon after Baptism. Contrary to custom, some Sanars wanted the body to be cremated. The Christians objected, "Everywhere"—they said—"you bury your dead, their feet turned North and their head South. The man shall be buried, not burnt". A fight followed, and the pagans swore to get the Christians out of Travancore. "If we do not succeed"—they foolishly boasted—"we swear to give our daughters in marriage to the Pariahs". They did not succeed.

Padre Calini relates an example of admirable fortitude, which we shall summarize here. A young Christian woman was sold by her brother to a pagan. To force her to marry a heathen and to perform acts of idolatry, she was maltreated and beaten, but in vain. After some time she succeeded in running away to Marungur, where Padre Brandolini dared not keep her for fear of greater evils. He exhorted the Christians to offer special prayers for the poor girl. A neophyte gathered some

alms, and ransomed her for 13 ducats. She was finally married to a good Christian. Padre Calini concludes that she assured him that during the ten years of her slavery she never performed one single act of idolatry.

Padre Calini worked in the Mission of Nemam till 1717 when he was transferred to Madura. He was succeeded by Padre Madeira and later by Padre Tavares, who died at Colachel when only 38 years of age. Then we have Frs. Bigaglia and Giuliani. The latter was known as *Pakiangder Swami*, and died in January 1733, of blood poisoning. He was succeeded by Padre Silveiro, who passed on to Vadakenkulam, where he remained till 1741.

8. PADRE J. B. BUTTARI (1707-1757)

Now a few words on the great Missionary, Padre *Giovanni Battista Buttari*, and the Indian Martyr, *Devasagayam Pillai*.

Padre Buttari—to be known later on as *Paranchodinather Swami*—was born at Osimo, in the March of Ancona, on the 22nd Febr. 1707. He studied in the Jesuit College of Macerata and went later to Rome, where his spiritual Director was Padre Francesco Maria Galluzzi. It was this experienced Father who carefully cultivated his vocation to the Society of Jesus, and who planted in his soul that tender devotion to Our Blessed Lady, which was to be his strength and consolation during his missionary life in India.

When just twenty he joined the Society (24-V-1727), and two years later he took his first vows. After studying Rhetoric and Philosophy he went to Ragusa, in Dalmatia, to teach Grammar (1731), and five years later we find him in Rome for his Theology. In those days the modern regulations about the study of Theology previous to Ordination were non existent, and Padre Buttari said his first Mass at the altar of St. Ignatius on the 25th Sept. 1737, not even one year after beginning his theological course. One month later he sailed for Genova, and then for Lisbon. The voyage took nearly two months. In the College of San Antonio he passed his second examination in Theology, in Febr. 1738, and in April he appeared for what then was called the exam *De Casibus*—which was required before one was allowed to hear Confessions.

A few days after he left for India with 25 other Jesuits. The voyage was short for those days. It lasted just a little over five months. They landed in Goa—all of them—on the 3rd of October, and Fr. Buttari was told to prepare immediately for his third Theology examination. He passed it in January 1739, and got his Theses (points) for his final. Of the 25 new Missionaries, 13 embarked for Calicut, where they were the guests of the Jesuit Missionary of the place. The voyage—which now takes less than 3 days lasted 17. Here the 13 divided; 8 received orders to go straight to the Provincial's residence—Padre Louis de Vasconcellos—and five to Ambalakad. The Provincial was staying at Colachel, and it was here that Padre Buttari passed his final examination in Theology. It had been a chequered course.

In August of the same year he left Colachel for Tuticorin, where he was to receive the final missionary training from the Superior of the Mission, Padre Bigaglia.

On the 27th Sept. 1739—the anniversary of the solemn approbation of the Society by Pope Paul III (1540), Padre Buttari donned the habit of the Pandaraswamis and went to Surugany. He must have learnt Tamil fairly well, for we read that on All Saints' Day he helped to hear Confessions—the total number was 1000—and so he did on the Feast of St Francis Xavier—1500—, of the Immaculate Conception—1000—, and at Christmas—1500—. These numbers are an eloquent witness to the devotion of the faithful and the activity of the Missionaries.

From Surugany he was sent to Aur (10-3-1740) where he was privileged to be present at the demise of his countryman, Padre Bertoldi. Next he went to Vaduguerpatty, where he fell sick. He had scarcely recovered, when he was almost submerged in the flood of the war. Together with his Christians he found refuge in the hills, where he lived for some time in a cave, hidden in the jungle. Then he was appointed to Tendu Kallu—the modern Dindigul. In 9 months Padre Buttari administered the Sacrament of Baptism to 100 adults and 400 children, and gave extreme Unction to 40 sick people. He draites that he heard about 30 Confessions every day.

During the Mahratta invasion the Father left Dindigul and found refuge in Pondicherry. In 1741 Padre Buttari was appointed to the Mission of Nemam, where there were about 9000 Christians. It was at Nemam that he took his last vows (1744). He had, however, been scarcely two years in the Mission, when a persecution broke out. A Brahmin suggested to a petty Raja that he could easily get a good deal of money by laying hands on the Missionary and his Catechists. But Padre Buttari warned the Catechists to seek safety elsewhere, and he himself found shelter among the Maravas, with his countryman, Padre Rossi. The Raja saw that he had been duped, and after a while the Swami was again among his beloved Christians. A second time a Governor threatened to burn down the church unless the Father paid him some money. But he was foiled in his plans, for the Raja, who had come to admire the blameless life of the Missionary, had become his protector.

Padre Buttari's devotion to the Blessed Virgin was truly remarkable. She was his refuge and protectress in every danger and tribulation. The constant prayers of his Christians to the Virgin averted another great persecution, which was about to be launched against the little flock by the Raja of Travancore.

In 1745 Vadakenkulam was under the Mahomedans, but the Governor of his district was a Brahmin. This man pretended to compel the Christians to contribute towards the restoration of a Hindu temple. He failed, for the Father threatened to report him to the Pasha, who was then at Tinnevelly. Yet the Catechist did not escape scot free. They caught him and placing some sticks between his fingers, they pressed his hands so cruelly that the blood oozed out. But the Catechist endured the excruciating pain with the greatest fortitude. Later on the Pasha, on being acquainted with what had happened, condemned the Brahmin to be slapped on the face in public by a Paria.

In another chapter we shall speak at length of the famous controversy on the Malabar Rites. Also Padre Buttari's neophytes felt the baneful effects of the storm, and by their stubborn adherence to their ancient customs, they created a good deal of trouble. In those days the English and the French

were fighting for supremacy in India, and the Raja of Tanjore was indulging in bloody persecution of the Christians. Padre Buttari could never settle down in one place, and led a wandering life. He stayed for some time with the Bishop of Cochin. Later on we find him at Serumpatty, the friend of French officers and soldiers, who used to visit him very frequently. But the English also befriended the kind Padre, and the Commandant of the Trichy Fort—Captain Caillaud—visited him several times during his last sickness. The Father died on the 19th May 1757—just two years before the decree of expulsion by Portugal—and it is recorded that Captain Caillaud shed tears upon hearing of his friend's death.

9. LAZARUS DEVASAGAYAM - MARTYR.

In 1908 Fr. *P. Dahmen*, S. J. published a translation of a letter by Padre Buttari, S. J. under the title: "A Narrative of the Life and of the Death which the Neophyte *Lazarus* (*Devasagayam*) stoutly suffered for the faith in the Kingdom of Travancore, East Indies, on the 14th Jan. 1752."

We propose to give here a summary of this very interesting document. It starts by explaining why, in spite of so many persecutions, so few actually suffered martyrdom in the Kingdom of Travancore. The reason was that the main object of the Rajas in imprisoning and tormenting the Christians was to deprive them of their silver and gold rather than of their lives. But in 1752 one fell to the wrath of the Prince. This good man, who had the privilege of shedding his blood for Christ, was born probably at Padmanabapuram, and, as he grew up and joined the army, became very dear to Raja Vanghi Martanda Varma. But fortune did not smile on him, and he suffered many losses. He became acquainted with the Valia Capitan, Eustache de Lannoy. The "Capitan" admired the sterling virtues of the soldier, and especially his great patience under the most trying circumstances. He instructed him in the truths of the Christian Religion, and exhorted him to go to Variguencola, where Padre Buttari was residing. He went, but the Father was not in a hurry to receive him into the Church. He tried his ardent desire to be a Christian, he completed his instruction, and finally

admitted him to holy Baptism. He gave him the name *Devasagayam* which means God's help. After Baptism he was most assiduous at Mass, even though at times he had to walk more than six leagues. He received the Sacraments very often, and, desirous to share his happiness with others, he tried to make new converts. His wife would not follow him into the Church, and for a long time he endeavoured to persuade her to give up pagan superstitions. Her mother stood in the way, but finally she received Baptism. However, during the long months of his torments she fell back into paganism. But it was not for long. She returned to the fold, and was banished from the country. Devasagayam often held disputations with Brahmins, and ever resisted their allurements and their threats.

The Elaya Raja had given a plot of ground to Padre Buttari who wanted to build a church. But he needed timber, and sent Devasagayam to the Minister (Delawa) who was the famous Rama Iyer (1737-1756).

This man had heard about Devasagayam's conversion and resented it. He was much prejudiced against the Christians, who—he thought—showed scanty respect to the gods. As is often the case in India, he did not immediately grant the timber, but started a discussion with the convert on the relative claims of Hinduism and Christianity. He was answered well, and lost his temper; in fact it is said that he threatened to expel all the Christians from Travancore. "You may start from me," said Devasagayam. Some friends who feared the worst, advised him to run away, but he refused. He was arrested on the 23 Febr. 1749.

De Lannoy, upon hearing the news, went to see and comfort the prisoner. In fact he succeeded to obtain an interview with the Jesuit Padre Barreiros, who heard his confession, and strengthened him in the faith. Next De Lannoy sent a faithful soldier, who should stay near Devasagayam, and should help him as well as he could. But Rama Iyer curtly told De Lannoy not to meddle. The Raja's will is law—he continued. We shall not interfere if the Missionaries confine their ministrations to low castes. But it is imperative that they should leave high

caste people alone. As to fishermen, let them do as they please We do not care.

The trial began, and Devasagayam was told that he would be released if he renounced the faith. He was adamant. He was then put in the stocks and thrown into a prison about three feet high, less than two feet broad and a little longer. He could neither stand nor lie down.

Except the fishermen, all the Nemam Christians were to be compelled to leave the faith. Some were tortured, others banished, some saw their houses burned, their crops destroyed or stolen. No wonder that some wavered and, at least in public, invoked the pagan gods. Many churches were desecrated and rased to the ground. Women had their *talis* snatched away and their rosaries broken to pieces. Many thousands were terrified and yielded. When the storm had abated, they came back to the Fathers, in order to be reconciled and readmitted to the sacraments.

Devasagayam was condemned to death and led to the place of execution. But a soothsayer predicted many disasters, if the sentence was carried out. So he was taken back to his prison.

Here a fisherman used to come and comfort him by reading the Passion of Our Lord. But his jailors devised some cruel torments to test his faith. They seated him on a buffalo, facing backwards, and marched him through towns and villages. He was the butt of the jeers and insults of the populace, he was beaten, he was wounded; pepper was rubbed on to his wounds. But he smiled bravely and said often that nothing was sweeter than to suffer for Christ Our Lord. The gruesome procession lasted 16 days. One day he was thirsty, and as they were walking along the sea shore, there was no fresh water to drink. He blessed the sea water, and it lost its bitterness. Noticing that his tormentors were tired of ill treating him, he urged them to rub some pepper in his eyes.

Some foolish person tried to make him give up the faith, but he rebuffed him, and he never came again. A Christian poet was imprisoned because he refused to celebrate the

shameful deeds of pagan gods. He was put together with Devasagayam, and they consoled and exhorted each other to suffer generously for Our Lord. They mistrusted their own strength, however, and they often prayed: "O Jesus, strengthen and save me".

He was again put in the stocks in Trivandrum. Many came to see him, and felt pity for him. He was taken away, tied to a tree in such a manner that he could neither stand nor sit down. For seven months he was exposed to the heat and the rain, and he gently prayed that his torments may end. He wrote to his friend De Lannoy, who could do nothing for him, but exhort him to put his trust in God. Soldiers built a little hut for him, where he was more comfortable; but then orders were given to diminish his pittance.

The people, however, brought him plenty of rice and alms, which he distributed among the poor. The jailor told them not to come in such big crowds. But he too was won over, for his barren wife, through the prayers of Devasagayam brought forth a son. Many pagans venerated him as a man of God. Father Fonseca used to come from Cottar—about a league distant—to hear his confession. He used to say that whenever he saw him he felt nearer to God. Father Barreiros also used to visit him and bring him holy Communion.

The persecution against the Christians continued, and Devasagayam was accused of urging the Christians not to pay the fines. Then he was condemned to die. But even the pagans protested that he was innocent, and the sentence was deferred. Then there was a dispute among the jailors. One wanted to kill him; another said he ought to be allowed to run away. He heard about it and wrote to his friend De Lannoy, who exhorted him to remain in jail. He evidently knew his man. After two years the Raja decided that he should be taken to the very end of his dominions, to one of the Forts, with which the great wall erected against Madura was interspersed. They built him a small hut of mud and palm leaves and the simple country folk began to come in crowds and to recommend themselves to his prayers. They brought him some rice and oil and fruit. Rumours were current of wonderful cures, wrought by his intercession. In

fact good Father Buttari remarks it was a wonder that he kept so humble among so much admiration.

He remained for about one year in his new prison. He was not allowed to take a bath—which is a great hardship in this country, and yet he always appeared quite clean. Morning and evening he held public prayers and reading. By God's grace he succeeded to bring many apostates back to the fold.

Reports were brought to the King about all these happenings. Other guards were brought in, more strict, who should not allow the crowds to visit the prisoner. They thought of secretely doing away with him. But he suspected that something was afoot and told his wife to run away. She eventually found shelter at Vedakankulam.

One day they came to him and told him to follow them. "I know where you will take me"—he answered, but he could not walk fast enough; so they carried him to the place of execution. He prayed some time, then he said: "I have done my duty. Do yours". They discharged three muskets, but the wounds were not mortal. Two more bullets finished him. He was forty, had been a Christian for seven years, three of which he passed in captivity. Death had deluded him a long time; finally he was released.

Next day they came and threw his body down a hillock, among shrubs and stones. The Fathers tried to recover the relics, but they found only some bones, which were buried in Cottar. The crime was committed near the Aramboli Pass, at the fifty first mile on the road from Trivandrum to Tinnevelly. The place is held in veneration even to this day, and pilgrims go on their knees from the Chapel of Our Lady of Dolours to the grotto, 300 feet away.

The tomb is now under the cupola of the Cottar Cathedral. In the old church it was under the high altar, or in the sanctuary.

About 1875 Father Emich searched in vain for the relics. According to Fr. Verdier, S. J. Superior of the Madura Mission, he found some ashes. There is a tradition that the Vellalam of Vedakenkulam burnt the bones and then carried the ashes to Cottar. But from the letter of Fr. Buttari which we have

summarized it appears that the tradition is unfounded. He says: "After some days a few bones were found and some small pieces of the skull. These, by order of the Provincial were buried with great pomp in the church of Cottar.

Again in April 1913 they dug up the floor of the church at the spot where it was supposed the sacred remains were resting. A tomb was discovered with some bones in it. Very probably they were the relics of Devasagayam.

When the Jesuit Bishop of Cochin, Don Clemente, heard of the martyrdom of Devasagayam, he asked his clergy to sing the *Te Deum* in their churches, in thanksgiving to God for the glorious death of a martyr. He held a solemn service and himself preached a panegyric in the Cathedral (*Cfr. Mitras, II. P. 84*).

Later historians have denied the martyrdom, but in vain. The letters of Padre Buttari are irrefutable proof of what we have related. True, the Rajas of Travancore have rarely persecuted the Christians. Yet, if the Rajas did not, their sectarian entourage often did so, as Missionary correspondence amply testifies.

APPENDIX

GRACES AND PRIVILEGES GRANTED BY POPE CLEMENT XI TO THE MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN INDIA, CHINA AND BRAZIL 1708.

1. PLENARY INDULGENCE (under ordinary conditions)

(a) to all who have converted anyone from idolatry and infidelity to the knowledge of the true God;

(b) to all those who—on four feasts to be specified—will visit churches of the Society and pray there for the conversion of pagans;

(c) to all those who may die at sea on going or returning from the Missions; or who may die in India, or in any ocean island, where they were working as missionaries;

(d) to students and sodalists, who on the feasts of the Annunciation and Assumption, should confess, communicate and recite the third part of the Rosary;

(e) to all the faithful—members of some sodality—who would confess etc. on the feast and octave of Corpus Christi—or on the point of death.

2. OTHER INDULGENCES to Sodalists who communicate on some feast days; to those who take part on the Friday Processions and pray for the conversion of pagans; who travel to India etc. in connexion with the Missions.

3. DURING AN INTERDICT, leave to say Mass (*Januis clausis*) in the churches of the Society, and to scholars, leave to attend.

4. OTHER INDULGENCES to those who should visit the churches of the Society, take part in Friday Processions, visit the sick in hospitals etc.

5. WITH REGARD TO MARRIAGES, the faculty is granted to the Provincials of the Society (*which they may communicate to their subjects*) to dispense in all degrees of consanguinity and affinity (except the first) in *foro conscientiae.*

6. WITH REGARD TO HOLY MASS, to consume the fragments—which may by chance have fallen—even after the Holy Sacrifice, according to the Rubrics of the Missal.

7. TO ABSOLVE FROM CENSURES their neophytes, where there is no Inquisition, or the Ordinaries are too far away.

8. TO USE THE PORTABLE ALTAR, and use the Sacred Oils even three or four years after they have been consecrated.

9. ONE ALTARE PRIVILEGIATUM in their churches.

10. Where the Ordinaries are too far, to dispense *in foro conscientiae* from the *Vow of Chastity.*

11. To come to an arrangement with regard to ill gotten goods, to dispense with regard to fast and abstinence, to allow in certain cases the reading of forbidden books.

12. To celebrate one hour before dawn; to be ordained one year before the canonical age.

13. DEFINITION OF THE TERM NEOPHYTES: not only recent converts, but also those who are born from Christian parents, or are of mixed blood.

14. Authority is taken away from Ordinaries or Judges to judge Jesuits about dispensations etc. granted in conformity to the above mentioned faculties.

The above to last for twenty years.

N.B. Some of these faculties were granted to other missionaries as well, but some (as f.i. No. 5) were granted only to Jesuits, on account of the peculiar esteem in which they were held by the Holy See. This, of course, gave rise to jealousy. Ordinaries at times felt that the Jesuits had powers equal to their own. Hence conflicts, of which examples have been given also in this history. At present some of these faculties remain, some are taken away, some are extended to all.

Cfr. BULLARIUM PORTUGALLIAE under the year 1708 (22 September).

PART III

CHAPTER I

PADRE ROBERTO DE NOBILI, S.J.

(1577-1656)

CONTENTS

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Constitution of Pope Gregory XV "*Romanae Sedis Antistites*", 31-1-1623.

2. Various Letters:

   of Fr. R. de Nobili to the Marquess Boncompagni. (3-12-1607)
   of Fr. A. Vico to Very Rev. Fr. General Acquaviva. (25-10-1610)
   of Archbishop F. Roz to Card. Bellarmin. (19-11-1613)
   of Fr. R. de Nobili to Card. Bellarmin. (27-12-1615)
   of Fr. de Nobili to his Brother. (20-2-1619)

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Before entering upon the controversy on the so-called *Malabar Rites*, it is necessary to speak of Father Roberto de' Nobili, S. J. of whom mention has already been made in Vol. I of this History. We shall not repeat here what has been told elsewhere. Only some details will be added, which will serve to clarify the subsequent history.

1. PADRE ROBERTO DE' NOBILI.

Roberto de' Nobili was born at Montepulciano in Tuscany, in 1577. It has been asserted that he was a relation of the great Cardinal, Saint Robert Bellarmin. But, according to Fr. Tacchi-Venturi, no other relation can be traced between the two, except that they were born in the same town, and bore the same name. We have also read that Pope Marcel II was uncle of the Indian Missionary. However, the careful historian Prete Giuseppe Franceschi, in his *Selva Cedua Poliziana*, does not place the Pope in the genealogical tree of the de' Nobili family. Cardinal Roberto de' Nobili was uncle to Roberto.

When still young, he expressed a desire to join the Society of Jesus, but he met with strong opposition. The reason was the usual one. The family wanted their gifted boy to shine in the world; to obtain honours, and wealth. But he longed to serve Christ in hidden and self-sacrificing devotion. Hence he decided to run away from home — and for a time he served in the house of Donna Anna Clarice Carafa, a daughter of the noble family of the Colonnas. Soon after his Noviciate, he asked for the Indian Missions. His relations — who had lost him for their family — endeavoured to keep him in Italy at least. But they failed. His argument was as short as it was cogent: "When there is question of obeying God, we must not mind any body".

From a letter which Roberto wrote from India (3-12-1607) to the Marquess Boncompagni, we gather that the voyage to India was long and painful. A great storm overtook the ship before reaching Mozambique. They had to stop there five months, and upon leaving, ten Fathers were shipwrecked. They managed, however to save themselves. The Viceroy, on the contrary, lost his life. They reached Goa on the 20th of May, 1605. Roberto was not well, and had to stop in the Capital for some months to recoup his health. He then left for Cochin.

In one hundred years (1500-1600) Christianity had conquered a few ports on the Coast of India, where it had followed the Portuguese flag. In every Fort of some importance there was a Chaplain and a little Church. A few servants and a few half castes had been converted. In the interior, at Agra, at Chandragiri, at Vellore...a few sparks; the rest was pitch dark. The Portuguese—noble, valiant and generous—were not known. Some adventurers, some deserters, some criminals, who had escaped the gallows, were all that was known of Christianity to the proud and isolated high castes in the temple cities and at the courts of Indian Rajas.

2. METHODS OF APOSTOLATE IN THE XVI CENTURY IN GOA.

The idea that the religion of the ruler should determine the religion of the subjects was widely accepted in the XVI Century. It is evidently a wrong principle, but it was not confined to Europe. Some of the Moghuls held the same in India, Aurangzeb being one of the worst offenders.

The great Albuquerque in Goa, aimed mainly at the destruction of the Muslim Power on the West Coast, and treated the Hindus mildly. He favoured intermarriages, holding that the children would make good Christians and staunch supporters of the Portuguese. They, of course, would adopt Portuguese manners and customs as to food and clothing. In 1546 King John III forbade the public exercise of Hinduism and commanded that in Portuguese territory all idols should be destroyed. Violent conversions, however, were discouraged and even forbidden.

Under the Viceroy Braganza Dominicans and Jesuits held public disputations in Goa, at which Hindu religious leaders were invited, and where they could state their point of view. Christian tenets were explained, and idolatry was held up to disapproval and condemnation. As was to be expected, most of these disputations were useless, both parties leaving the field clinging to their own opinions. Some forty influential Brahmins, more zealous, and less prudent than the rest, were exiled.

On the 25th June 1557 the Governor *Francisco Barreto* issued an ordinance whereby

1. No Hindu could hold public offices, but all had to be given to Christians;
2. Moneys left for Portuguese orphanages could not be given to Hindus;
3. Pagan rites and ceremonies (f. i. for marriages) were forbidden;
4. No convert could be disinherited owing to his conversion
5. Converts in Goa to enjoy the same privileges as the Portuguese.

Much opposition was raised against this ordinance, both by Hindus and Portuguese merchants. For some time it was not enforced. But on the 15th June 1559 it was confirmed by the Viceroy, D. Constantino de Braganza, who insisted on its observance.

In the various Portuguese Settlements a Father was appointed to be "Father of the Orphans", whose office it was to take care of waifs, to feed them to instruct them in the faith and to baptize them.

Baptisms in Goa were organized with great solemnity. The Catechumens were dressed in white and accompanied to the church by the College Fathers and their pupils.

The Goan nobility were all present; the Viceroy came in state. Usually the Patriarch of Ethiopia, or even the Archbishop, administered Baptism. In 1560 there were 12,967 Neophytes in the island of Goa, and by 1590 the whole district of Goa, with the exception of the island of Salsette were converted.

But there was a big but. In the *Informatio*, which Fr. de Nobili sent to Rome in 1613 he writes that the Portuugese not only endeavoured to Christianize the Indians, but they tried to Lusitanize them. They gave them the same dress, they often insisted that they should eat flesh meat, which was abhorrent to the Indians. According to him the method was "*execrable*," the more so that the new converts were not considered Christians, unless, before Baptism, they left their Caste. In fact they were called "*Columbucos*" or casteless.

Fr. Vico, the faithful companion of Fr. de Nobili, in a letter of 1615, says the same: "They (the Portuguese) thought they did a great favour to the Neophytes by allowing them to wear their national costume, provided it was made of cotton".

One of the questions in the Catechism was: "Do you wish to join the caste of the Pranguis?" It is needless to remark how in this manner the meaning of Christ's message was distorted and falsified.

The notorious Fr. Antonio Gomez in a letter to Simon Rodriguez (20-XII-1548) naively observes that he had tried his best to introduce in the College of Goa the customs of Coimbra. If Gomez meant to introduce in Goa the faith, the loyalty, the purity of Coimbra, it would have been splendid; but unfortunately the boys at Goa had to dress, to eat, to sing, to speak, as the boys at Coimbra, and this was the reverse of splendid. Of course in the College of Santa Fe Latin was taught, and taught well. Fr. Lancillotti—a companion of St. Francis Xavier—in one year explained the *Andria* of Terence, and the greatest part of the *Eunuch*, all Virgil's *Eclogae*, some Ovid, his two Epistles, *Cato*, and during Lent the *Epistles* of St. Jerome to Heliodorus and passages from *Erasmus*. In 1546 there were 54 boys in the College: 8 Canarins, 9 Malavares, 5 Canarese, 2 Bengalis, 2 from Pegu, 6 Malays, 4 Macassars, 4 Marathis, 6 Gujarathis, 2 Chinese, 2 Abyssinians and 4 Kaffirs.

How much these youngsters could profit by reading Terence is doubtful. But Gomez saw to it that Portuguese or Eurasians replaced them very soon.

Fr. J. Acosta S.J. in a famous book *De Procuranda Indorum*

maintained that it was lawful to wage war on pagans on account of their infidelity. This was good. But less good were the "raids" related by Fr. Dalmeida (1559) in *Nuovi Avvisi Particolari Dell' Indie Di Portogallo* (Venezia, 1562). He tells us how some soldiers, accompanied by one or two Fathers or Laybrothers, used to force their way at night into the houses of pagans, and destroy their idols and burn or remove their sacred books. If the people objected, they were punished, fined or banished.

The order to banish the obstinate came in 1563. Portugal was still in the ascendant, and, as usual with the mighty and the successful, was not overparticular about the use — or the abuse — of power. The Royal Prefect Fernandez, and Fr. Gomez went about the District and *manu armata* demolished some 280 pagodas or temples.

Good Fr. Lancillotti had his doubts about these methods, this brisk deindianization, and wrote that he had warned Gomez to go slowly, not to put new wine in old casks; but his warnings were of little avail.

Portuguese Army Chaplains did not dream of learning Indian languages. Portuguese would suffice even to hear Confessions, which were often heard through interpreters. Protests were heard, complaints were sent to Rome; but warnings were not minded. Fr. Henriquez was ordered to write a Tamil Grammar for the use of Missionaries, and the great Visitor — Fr. Valignani — founded a school where his men would have to learn Marathy, Konkani, Tamil (1575).

3. FATHER DE NOBILI GOES TO MADURA.

In the first volume of this work we have described how Fr. de Nobili obtained leave to go to Madura and carry there the message of Christ. Madura then was the Capital of Hinduism in Southern India. Her magnificent temples, her literary and philosophical achievements made a great impression on foreign visitors. Yet the Brahmins of Madura were living behind an iron courtain. They were little known outside India, and they themselves knew nothing of the outside world. Though brilliant in speculation and exegesis, they completely ignored History, Geography and the Natural Sciences. While

the West was stirred to its depths by the great discoverers who had opened the gates of America and Asia, while Galileo and Newton had revolutionized medieval thought, Madura remained entirely medieval in its intellectual, religious and social outlook. And coupled with ignorance, went exclusiveness and pride. The Brahmin was on the topmost rung of the ladder; the rest were *Untouchables*, to be ostracized in this life and in the next.

Fr. de Nobili was not the first to enter Madura. He was preceded there by Fr. Fernandez, who entered the proud city dressed in the black robe of a Portuguese Jesuit, and who did not dream of changing the manner of living he had followed in Goa or in Cochin.

He was admitted to visit the Raja, and began to talk of divine mysteries; but he was soon told to shut up, for the Europeans — or Pranguis — were deemed unable to understand these things. Such ideas are not rare in certain Indian circles even at the present day.

Fr. Fernandez — a very worthy man — carried on his ministry among such Pranguis as were to be found in Madura, as well as among low castes and outcastes.

A few Portuguese Missionaries — and more Italians — sensed that the soul of India could never be reached, unless the method of approach was entirely altered.

Did not the Son of God clothe himself in human flesh in order to save mankind? Why could not His Apostles clothe themselves as Brahmins in order to save Brahminhood? The Malabar Province — or the Province of the South — was just being established independently of Goa. Its first Provincial was a man of vision, with a large heart. His name was Alberto Laerzio. The Archbishop of Cranganore — who had jurisdiction over Madura — was a Spaniard, the indomitable Francisco Roz. This was very lucky for Fr. de Nobili. He wished to penetrate into the city of Madura, not as a Prangui, but as a Sannyasi. And Prangui — or Portuguese — he was not; and his life of poverty, of chastity, of utter renunciation, fully justified his claim to be a Sannyasi, or a man who has renounced the world to live a life of penance and meditation. Both the

Archbishop and the Provincial approved of his plans, and, unknown to all, as a man belonging to no nation, but only to the Kingdom of God, he made his entrance into the proud citadel of Hinduism. He appeared as the Teacher of the fourth Veda, a Veda revealed indeed by God not to the Rishis of India, but to the messengers of God's only Son.

A certain Hermecatti Naycken gave de Nobili a place where he could build his little house, and there he dwelt, in the secrecy of his room, in prayer and meditation. Soon they began to talk about the new Guru, tall, full of majesty, who could talk their language to perfection, who could sing the Sanskrit slokas, whose voice was like liquid gold, whose eyes were like the shafts of a god.

A young Guru ventured to visit the stranger. They spoke far into the night of the deepest problems of Philosophy, of Mathematics, of Astronomy; and the Guru discovered that there were many things which the sages of Madura had not yet fathomed.

De Nobili won the confidence of the young Guru. From Philosophy and Science they passed on to Religion, but gradually, step by step. First the unity of God, then his infinite perfection and so on, to the origin of things. All consists of *Padi* (God), *Pasu* (primeval spiritual substance), *Passam* (fundamental material substance). This had been taught in Madura; but the white Guru led his disciple onwards still. Either *Pasu* is eternal and then it is absolute and uncreated; it is God; or it had a beginning, and then *Padi*, or God, is its source. If we grasp the first horn of the dilemma, then all that is spiritual is divine, and we are led to the Upanishadic doctrine that the *Atma* or spirit of man is divine, a divine that is ignorant, weak, imperfect, a divine that is not divine. Or we take the second horn, and then we must admit creation in the strict sense; that is to say production *ex nihilo*. This was a stumbling block to the young Guru, who tried to wriggle out as best he could. But de Nobili had meditated long on these problems, and the Genius of Aquino had taught him, that the difficulty arose from a narrow conception of being. If whatever exists must be placed in the same category, so that the notion of being is *univocal*, no

doubt the concept of creation is to be given up. But if the notion of being is *analogical*, then the one and the multiple can be reconciled, and creation is seen to be logical and necessary.

Besides the young Guru, others began to visit de Nobili. He did not start by damning all that was not Christian; he saw much that was good in Brahmin culture and approved of it. *Maya* gave him an opportunity to speak of the vanity of things... of *things*, however, not of *illusions*. And from this he went on to discourse on death and judgement. But here there was another stumbling block. One of the fundamental tenets of Hindu Theology is Transmigration. For a Christian, death is a passage from the shores of time to eternity, and this mortal life is a period of probation, more or less protracted, but unique. For the Hindu, there is no passage to eternity. Life is but a phase in the eternal *Samsara*, and the living pass from one form to another, higher or lower, according to their *Karma*. De Nobili perceived that this way of thinking could not be upset overnight. It presupposed a conception of the nature of man totally different from the western conception. If the soul of man is imprisoned in the body, as a bird is imprisoned in a cage, then, when the cage is opened it may fly on the top of a tree, or into another cage. Its body is not really its own, or rather it is its own as a coat or as a hat. It uses it, but it does not make one thing with it. In substance, man is not one, but two. This conception had to be rejected before Transmigration could be discarded. Further the personality of God had to be established. Man is not at the mercy of impersonal, blind forces (*Karma*); he is God's; he belongs to Him, fully and entirely; not as a thing, but as a person. He is his servant, who is finally responsible to Him for his conduct; who is to be judged by Him, and rewarded, or punished, according to his infinite justice and wisdom.

From this Fr. de Nobili passed on to God's infinite love. This love had been dimly perceived by Indian Sages. Some Tamil Poets had sung it in their beautiful hymns. But for the multitude God was not a loving Father. Their hideous statues, their trembling sacrifices, testified their terror of the divinity;

not their love. Now the Word Incarnate is the most wonderful and touching proof of God's love for man.

And this message found an echo in the hearts of the proud Brahmins, who came to speak with the Father. They began to understand that Religion is more than Philosophy; that the approach to God is more than an elaborate ceremonial.

They were bound by caste, by tradition, by everything that a man holds dear upon earth. Their chains had been fastened slowly, ring by ring, through long centuries. Their dress, their food, their way of speaking, their names, their marriage customs, their initiation rites, their death, their burial were so different from those of other peoples; and they seemed so noble, so solemn, so mysterious. Had they to give up all this to follow this stranger? He was wise, no doubt. He spoke so well; he knew their language—even their sacred language—he quoted their poets, their philosophers; he showed that to follow him was not to disfigure their traditions, but to fulfill them; it was not to be false to India, but to crown her.

Some did follow him. But he could not take them immediately to the Pranguis; he could not make them cast away their signs of nobility; he could not make them worship in the same building with outcastes. No doubt, that would be temporary. When stronger in the faith they would better understand that in Christ there is no Brahmin or Paria; that salvation—even India's salvation—is not in proud isolation, but in incorporation of all men in God through Christ. But for the present this most important point could not be stressed. *Adaptation* was the method; adaptation, not betrayal; adaptation, not simulation. Be all things to all men, in order that all be saved in Christ Jesus.

4. CLOUDY SKIES.

The talks with the first Brahmin lasted about three weeks, and then Fr. de Nobili had the inexpressible joy of receiving him into the Church. At Baptism he was given the name of Albert. Through him others came—also a Nair, who was christened Alexius. The latter brought his mother and brother (Visuvasam) into the fold.

The enquirers were many. Fr. de Nobili classifies them as Polytheists, Theists, Materialists, Atheists. Some were curious and inquisitive, others lazy, a few really earnest. Some 30 miles North West of Madura, the Raja of Darguran showed a certain interest in the fourth Veda, explained by the new Guru, and De Nobili sent there some of his disciples. Some were sent to Manamadura's Raja, 9 miles to the South West. The movement in fact was spreading. The Father forbade idolatrous practices, polygamy, the wearing of the lingam, signs made with consecrated ashes. But the signs which only indicated a person's standing and caste were allowed. The *Kudhumbi*, or tuft of hair on the head was allowed. Caste, in so far as it implied a fundamental distinction between men and men, due to Karma, was condemned. It was allowed—or tolerated—as a social arrangement. Dresses or marks which were at the basis of a religious distinction, or which were directly used in religious ceremonies, were not allowed. The Brahmin chord was now made of five threads, to commemorate the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. Crosses and medals were attached to it.

And in Madura there were two Christian Churches: one for the Portuguese, officiated by Fr. Fernandez; the other for Fr. de Nobili's converts. Those who used to frequent the Portuguese Church were not satisfied. They felt they were slighted and put in a corner; they imagined that the other Christians looked down upon them. Even Fr. de Nobili denied that he was a Prangui; he insisted that he was a Sannyasi from Rome. When he visited Fr. Fernandez, he did so at night, and took good care not to be seen. If a Paria got sick, de Nobili would not see him in his wretched hut, but he insisted that he should be brought out of the house. He of course said it was only a concession to the susceptibilities of the new converts. Things would change as time went on, as the spirit of Christ struck deeper roots in the new disciples. But what kind of converts were these, who still clung to caste?...who did not want to be called by honest Portuguese names, but translated the names of the Martyrs into unpronounceable Tamil or Sanskrit equivalents?...if they were equivalent at all, or not rather names of pagan gods and

goddesses? And then, as to the food? Why all this squeamishness? What was wrong in a good beef steak? Why only milk and ghee and vegetables? Did not this savour of Manicheism?

The dissatisfaction at first was confined to Madura; but then—as it was but right—Fr. Fernandez wrote to his Superiors. Fr. Laerzio, who had visited Madura, and had approved Fr. de Nobili's new venture, was not much impressed by the arguments of Father Fernandez. Still less impressed was the Archbishop, Don Francisco Roz. In fact his answer was rather lively. But Fr. Laerzio's term of office was over and Fr. Francisco Pero succeeded him. In a previous volume we have related the measures taken by Fr. Pero, and we shall not repeat them here. Fr. de Nobili was forbidden to receive new converts. He obeyed, though it must have cost him blood.

But this was not all. The Madura Brahmins were stirred. They felt that an enemy was now within the fort; he must be expelled. A Sannyasi stirred up the multitude by attributing the drought prevailing to the new-comer. The gods were offended and had stopped the rain. Further, the foreigner was an atheist, he denied the Trimurti, he insisted that the sacred lingam must be put away, he corrupted the youth and thus prepared the final destruction of the state. How could a foreigner, an unbeliver, a Muslim, perhaps, be allowed to study the Vedas? All this must be stopped.

Fr. de Nobili's servants were frightened, and ran away.

But Hermecatti Naicke came to the rescue. He shamed the Brahmins and silenced them. That was only for a while. The more learned endeavoured to find de Nobili in error on the nature of blessedness and on the problem of good and evil. But Albert—the Brahmin—undertook to defend him in a public disputation, and he did it very well indeed. In 1610 a new trial. A Paria told the new converts: "You are outcastes now. You thought you could be Christians and keep your caste. That is impossible. You are under the Pranguis now, just like ourselves". Fourteen gave up coming to church.

Fr. de Nobili put up a public proclamation, wherein he affirmed under oath that he was not a Prangui, but a Roman Sannyasi, and that the Law he preached was neither Prangui nor Paria, it was a Law coming from God, revealed by God's Son, our Saviour.

The trouble quieted down, except among the Brahmins, who expelled one of the converts (*Deusdedit*) from their caste. Then they decided to speak with the Father, who succeeded to make them understand how rashly they had behaved, and who persuaded them to readmit Deusdedit into their caste.

A short time before (1609) de Nobili sent some of the converts to visit the Archbishop. They created an excellent impression and they returned with the Father of the Orphans, Emmanul Leitao, who visited the Mission.

But a far more important visit was that of Frs Laerzio and Buccerio, who came to Madura in 1610. They saw the little house where Fr. de Nobili was living a retired life, all given to meditation, study and instruction of the numerous inquirers. They saw his chapel, which later on would be modified, in order that Parias also may attend the sacred mysteries. They spoke with the new converts and confessed that, while on the Coast, most of the converts were coming to Christ via their own interests, here it was otherwise.

The persecution in Madura continued underground. Hermecatti's love for Fr. de Nobili cooled considerably. Some people persuaded the Raja to deprive the Father of the plot of land where his house was standing, but luckily this came to nothing.

In 1610 Fr. A. Vico was sent from Cochin to Madura to help Fr. de Nobili. In a letter which he wrote to Fr. General (25-X-1610) he first thanks him for having admitted him to the Profession in the Society of Jesus, though he would have desired to be left in a humbler position. He next begs for his prayers, that he may obtain the true spirit of the Society. In 1609 he taught Theology at Cochin and was spiritual Father to the lay students; then at last he was sent to the Madura Mission, for which he had been longing. Others had been destined to it before, but they had been unable to come.

He left Cochin on the 6th of September 1609, and during the journey from Cochin to Madura, he endeavoured to get accustomed to Brahmin food. In this he was successful, for he

says that "*videbar ad eam natus*", "I seemed to be born to it." He reached Madura on the 15th of the same month, and there he found Fr. de Nobili, who had been his companion and special friend in Rome, and with whom he had often talked about divine things, and the best ways of helping men to the knowledge and love of God. (*Studiorum in litteris conjunctio, et consiliorum in animarum salute procuranda communicatio, et animorum in fovenda in nobis ipsis pietate et amore divino mira consensio*).

He had always had the greatest esteem for Fr. de Nobili, but now, when he saw him so quick and ready (*praesentem*) in the most difficult problems of Theology; so happy and felicitous in explaining them both to the learned and the unlearned, so fluent in this most difficult language, (*tam affluentem in dicendo*), so sweet in recommending the most serious things with beautiful dignity (*mira quadam venustate et decore*), so appropriate and suitable in imitating the customs and manner of living of these people, and finally so efficient in moving the souls of men, both high and low, as he pleases; and when, to these praises, freely given, were added his wonderful accessibility, his modesty, his humility, his great piety and relish for spiritual things... well, when he saw him, and could live and converse with him, Father Vico was delighted (*in spiritualibus versari deliciis*). He wondered, however, why such a man should have to suffer so much, both from Pagans and Christians, and even from his own. But, no doubt, he was dear to Our Lord, who made him share his cross. The good Father added that all the virtues he had mentioned were very necessary in the new Mission. He hoped to acquire them; at any rate he would be ready to serve Fr. de Nobili in matters concerning his health and the management of the house (*in iis quae ad ejus corporis curam reique familiaris praeparationem pertinent*).

And so Fr. de Nobili was given as companion a man according to God's own heart, who understood him, who fully approved of his methods, and who defended him against all comers, both of the Society of Jesus, and outsiders.

5. The Storm.

In *The Jesuits in Malabar* (Vol. I, pp. 336—360) we have given a glimpse of the great opposition to the method of Fr.

de Nobili. Fr. Fernandez wrote to both the Superiors in India and in Rome. Cardinal Bellarmin was much distressed, and in a letter to de Nobili he reproaches him that he should have gone to India, not to preach the Doctrine of Christ, but to distort it. De Nobili answered on the 27th Dec. 1615. He complains that things have been told the Cardinal "*quae a veritate non parum deflectebant*", which differed from the truth not a little. If that had regarded him alone he would have kept quiet, but he spoke because the salvation of souls was at stake. He trusted that the Cardinal, seeing the opinion of the Archbishop (Roz), of the Provincial (Laerzio), of the Provincial Congregation and of various Fathers, namely that this procedure was lawful, and that what he allowed was really permissible would confirm it with his authority. He said he was writing from Cochin, where the Provincial, surmising that Fr. General's answer was at hand, had summoned him. The journey had been difficult, though the Hindus had made it lighter by offering him food, shelter and all that is usually offered to pilgrims. He had endeavoured to instruct them. He had been in danger of death; though death was delayed by the desire to accomplish that which had just been begun. *Exopto quam maxime*—he says—*immensas has regiones in baculo meo perlustrare et hos innumeros populos generare in Christo*. "I desire most strongly to travel throughout these immense regions with my staff, and to beget these numberless peoples to Jesus Christ".

Archbishop Roz had written to the Cardinal two years before (19-XI-1613): "*Ac in primis*: and first of all Your Lordship must know that Fr. Robert de Nobili till now not only has not done anything without his Superiors' permission, but he had for it my full authority. I on my part have sanctioned nothing without first consulting the Theologians of our Society. I can assure Your Lordship that in the affairs of the Madura Mission there is not and there never has been, any danger or scandal."

This was definite enough and so were the letters of Fr. Laerzio to the General of the Society, Fr. Acquaviva. But if the Archbishop and the Provincial had loyally defended Fr.

de Nobili's methods, others had not been less solicitous to write aganist them. There are four main Memoirs in defence of the great Missionary:

(1) *Responsio ad ea quae contra modum quo nova Missio Madurensis utitur ad Ethnicos Christo convertendos, objecta sunt.* The date given is 10th Oct. 1610, and it is signed by Fr. Robert de Nobili.

(2) *Responsio ad P. A. Buccerio* is dated Cranganore 1615 Fr. Robert starts by stating that "if all those whose business it is to judge of these matters had at least a smattering of Sanskrit (Grandanum Idioma), I would consider it useless to give an answer to the objections of Fr. A. Buccerio".

This Buccerio, who at first had been a warm admirer of de Nobili, later on became one of his most determined opponents.

(3) Before this we have *Informatio circa dubia quaedam attinentia ad conversionem infidelium in India Orientali.* This was sent to Rome in 1613.

Rome got excited. We have seen how Card. Bellarmin was disturbed at what he thought was a kind of betrayal of the Gospel. A Professor of the Roman College—Fr. Nicholas Godinho—undertook the defence of Fr. de Nobili. His defence is contained in the (4) *Consultatio*: An probari debeat modus quem servant PP. De Nobili et A. Vico ejus socius in conversione Brachmanorum...Concludes: *Debet.* (Rome. 1615).

One perhaps wonders at all this excitement. What does it matter if one eats meat or prefers vegetable diet? It he cuts his hair long or short?... If he daubs forehead with ashes or prefers it clean?...Nothing at all, would answer the light headed. And yet, it did matter. For the eating of this or that was really bound up with believing in this way, or quite differently. Does man occupy quite a unique position in the scheme of things, or are things living fundamentally the same?...Is life one or is there an indefinite succession of lives as is taught by Transmigration? Again, are all things good at bottom, or is there an irreconcilable difference between things?...Are we definitely Christian, or shall we revert to the Manichean error?...The cutting of the hair, or the daubing of the forehead with ashes, stands for caste.

But can caste be reconciled with the spirit of Christ? Slavery certainly could not. Who can say that caste can?...De Nobili's ways implied not merely a method, but an evaluation of cultures, a determination of a philosophy of life.

Of course de Nobili understood that certain practices were irreconcilable with Christianity, and he condemned them. Others—less objectionable—he would tolerate, hoping for better days, when the light of the Gospel would triumph over all prejudices, and his Christians would be Christian *tout-court*, and not Brahmin-Christians. But did he understand his Indians sufficiently?...Did he reckon with their extreme conservatism?...He allowed caste. But what would he have said now, in the XX Century, in free India, when so many Hindus condemn caste (in words at least), and so many of his Christians still cling to it, and not only do not intermarry, but do not eat together, do not deal with, do not touch people of lower castes or outcastes?...

6. EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER OF FR. DE NOBILI.

A breach had been made in the Hindu ramparts. Reckoned by numbers, the converts of De Nobili were not many; but the great thing was that there were converts at all. The opposition, however, was increasing. In a letter of Fr. de Nobili to his brother—who had great authority with the Pope and with Card. Borghese—he pleads for help, for his enemies are many. They were striving to dishonour him, as if he had turned Hindu (*Turpem infidelitatis et ignominiae labem imprimere conantur*). The devil was supplying with arms those whose main task should have been to defend him (*Eos milites armat et ordinat quibus maxime causae meae defensio incumbebat*).

No consolation any where, but envy and misunderstandings and calumnies, hindrances and poison of all things good (*Omnia tristia...undique livor, obtrectatio, calumniae, bonorum impedimenta ac venena*). The circumstances are most difficult; constancy is needed. Now we must get into the arena, and there stand or fall (*Nunc constantia opus est...in arenam descendimus...in hac palaestra aut standum aut cadendum*). The honour of God, the salvation of souls, the honour of our family is at stake...After God I put my hope in you. Not that I fear for the cause, but

I see so many clouds gathering, and the sky is so dark and threatening, that at times I am afraid, and tremble for the salvation of so many. (*Non quod causa diffidam, sed quia tot undique nubes ac nimbos cogi video, coelum adeo foedum ac imbribus gravidum circumspicio, ut miserandam ipsius causae ac proinde innumerabilium jacturam pertimescam*). Let the Divine Will avert the shipwreck, otherwise we are done for. But though I am in the midst of the most dangerous flood that envy has unchained, I shall go on steadily. My life is most difficult. To all appearances I have become a Gentile, that I may bring all the Gentiles to Christ. (*Ethnicis in speciem ethnicus factus sum, ut veros ethnicos Christo parerem*).

They think that the marks which I have allowed to the neophytes are superstitious. They have appealed to Rome, and Rome has ordered Cranganore and Goa to study the matter. In Goa I found as my defenders the Archbishop of Cranganore (who, though old, sickly and half blind had insisted on accompanying de Nobili from Malabar to Goa. Noble minded and generous Spaniard.) and the Inquisitor Don Joao Ferdinand de Almeyda and all the Jesuit Fathers. (*Goanum vero Antisteitm acerrimum hostem ac impugnatorem*) I found the Archbishop of Goa a most determined enemy and so did I find two Augustinians and two Franciscans (*qui nullis sane rationibus, conviciis innumeris me perstrinxerunt*). They had no arguments, but they worried me with numberless insults. How I did answer you may see from my letter to the Pope, and my reasons you can read in the Apologia. Do speak to the Pope and to the Cardinals. The Archbishop of Goa has written about me to the King. (*multaque me contra suam dioecoesim et communem reipublicae pacem moliri comminiscitur*). He imagines and says that I have set up many things against the good of his Diocese and the peace of the state. Do persuade Cardinals Sforza, Borghese and Bellarmin to write to the King that he may address the Archbishop and tell him not to prevent the salvation of souls, and to refrain from insulting me. In fact also in public discourses he most strongly attacks me alone and the Madura Mission, and most assiduously sullies my name and reputation. (*etiam in publicis concionibus in me unum*

et Madurense institutum acerrime invehitur, meumque nomen et aestimationem assidue mordet et vellicat.)

Fr. de Nobili ends his letter by asking his brother to write to the Inquisitor, and thank him; let him also obtain a letter to that effect from Cardinal Bellarmin. He exhorts him to guard against the dangers which beset a member of the Papal Curia, and to strive and follow in the footsteps of their uncle Cardinal Robert de Nobili. (From Goa, 20-2-1610).

7. THE NEW METHODS AND THE JESUITS.

In the letter just quoted Fr. de Nobili asserts that all the Jesuits were for him. This was so at the Goan Tribunal, but it had not been so before. We know already of Fr. Fernandez's opposition. The new Provincial Francisco Pero in a letter (15-7-1610) tells him plainly to stop these novelties and follow the beaten track.

Archbishop Roz called a Synod, which voted in favour of de Nobili. The Visitor Pimenta, however, and the Provincial Pero disagreed most emphatically. They succeeded in having the matter referred to Goa. There had just arrived a letter from Fr. Fernandez, which had created an impression wholly unfavourable to de Nobili. A consultation was held, and—as it was to be expected—its decisions were against de Nobili. But Archbishop Menezes declared himself in favour of the new methods, and said he would be ready to allow the wearing of 100 Brahmin chords for the salvation of one soul.

All sorts of rumours were circulated: De Nobili was offering incense to the idols, he was at war with the Society, he had left the Church. No wonder if in the letter we have just quoted he complains he is almost shipwrecked in a sea of envy and calumnies.

De Nobili lost a great friend in Archbishop Menezes, who was transferred to Braga in Portugal. His successor Christobal de Sa came to India from Malacca in 1616. He was violently opposed to de Nobili. Also the Visitor Pimenta reached the end of his office, and in his stead came Father Palmerio from Coimbra. In the beginning he was against the new methods,

and made no mystery about it. Some Goa Jesuits had described Fr. de Nobili to him as proud and stubborn. He wrote to him a very severe letter.

Now a certain Boniface—a new convert—went back to the old Hindu practices. Really he did not apostatize, but he performed certain superstitious ceremonies. De Nobili excommunicated him, and, of course, he took his revenge by spreading the calumny that the Father had suspicious relations with women. By order of the new Provincial Fr. Buccerio wrote to Rome. They should have investigated the matter before writing. Well, they did not. Fr. Robert was recalled to Cranganore, and there, abandoned by everybody, he wrote his *Apologia*. It is divided into four parts.

In the *first part* he explains why he called himself *Guru* and *Sannyasi*, and the converts his *Disciples*. Surely there was nothing pagan or superstitious in this. He was only following the customs of the country. Besides, the Archbishop of Cranganore and the old Provincial, Fr. Laerzio, had been consulted and had given their full approval. There was no dissimulation; nor was it a lie if he said he was not a *Prangui*, for Portuguese most certainly he was not.

In the *second part* he answers why he had changed certain names and designations. For instance Religion had been translated *Prangui Coulam*, as if Catholicism was a Portuguese monopoly. Naturally de Nobili changed that, and he did well. *Chortam* was to mean beatitude. But what a difference between the Beatific Vision, and a span of earthly happiness on the banks of the Ganges, which *Chortam* meant for a Hindu. And of course, de Nobili found a different name. Latin names with Portuguese terminations had been given to the Sacraments, de Nobili had recourse to Sanskrit, and found more suitable designations. These examples may be multiplied. They suffice to show that ignorance had been responsible for these mistranslations, and de Nobili wanted to put an end to it. But, everywhere, the ignorant are stubborn and easily offended.

In the *third part* he insists that both the "*Chord*" and the "*Kodhumby*" or tuft of hair worn by caste people are merely signs and marks of nobility. The Council of Goa had indeed

forbidden them, but the Fathers had been misinformed by ignorant Brahmins. The use of "*Sandal*" need not be religious; If used only as an adornment, it may be allowed. He did not allow the smearing of the body with sacred ashes. As to the baths, it is plain that they are a necessity in South India. Whether they be superstitious or not, it all depends on the intention of the bathers.

The *fourth part* is historical and shows how the adaptation method was used by the Apostles themselves, how many usages and customs in the Church had been taken over from paganism, how the basilicas had been adapted to sacred use from civil or political usage.

After some years de Nobili went to Goa (1619). The meeting with Palmerio was not encouraging, but after a while the Visitor understood, and became a staunch defender of de Nobili.

8. THE JUDGEMENT OF THE INQUISITION.

The Goan Inquisition had a tangled matter to unravel. The Inquisitor, however, was an honest and independent character. His judgement was as follows:

"After having studied the matter "*omnes censuimus*", we all judged that the chord, the tuft of hair, the use of sandal and the baths, which in the Madura Mission are used by Brahmins and others, are not marks of a false sect (*nullius falsae sectae protestativa sunt*) but are rather civil usages, something like a coat of arms or a crest to distinguish the nobles and high castes from those who are not." So judged the Inquisition, after long and often irrelevant debates. They affirmed that they had taken care to get information from Brahmins and from people who knew customs and usages of the lands of Madura. It was known—they remarked—that even people who were not members of the various sects often wore the same marks. In Madura f. i. there were some atheist Brahmins who did not profess any religious sect, and yet they wore the above mentioned marks. When asked the reason why, they answered: "We wear them in order not to lose our nobility and caste". This is seen also among Brahmins who honour and worship one only God. The Sadhus and Sannyasis reject the marks because they profess to reject all nobility and caste,

The judgement of the Inquisition was signed by thirty learned men (Bishops, Professors of Theology and others, thoroughly conversant with the customs of Madura). The document added that it mattered very little if the Archbishop of Goa was of the opposite opinion, for (*Patribus Societatis et praesertim Archiepiscopo Cranganorensi est valde infensus*) he is very much against the Fathers of the Society and the Archbishop of Cranganore. The latter on the other hand is much more to be relied on, on ccount of his knowledge of the languages and of his experience. (*Archiepiscopo Cranganorensi, ob eximiam ejus sapientiam, linguarum peritiam ac loci ad ejus Dioecesim pertinentis experimentum, major fides habenda est quam alteri*). We do not wonder if the Canons follow the opinion of the Archbishop. One of the Inquisitors (for, besides the Right Rev. Christobal de Almeyda, there was another) said that he had only the very slightest knowledge of the matter (*Fassus est vix se hanc controversiam summis tantum digitis attigisse*). The Monks also had voted against, because they were not friendly with the Jesuits (*Monachi, Societatis Religiosis sunt parum benevoli .....et ignari rerum et morum*). As to the secular Priests they frankly aknowledge that they only know Portuguese customs. (*Presbyteri tandem ingenue fatentur se Lusitanorum tantum mores callere*) As to the Brahmins' sect and customs they are absolutely in the dark. Therefore we must trust Fr. Roberto de Nobili, a Roman nobleman, remarkable for his virtue and wisdom (*virtute et sapientia praestanti*), who has lived for fourteen years in the land of Madura eating only their uncongenial food (*aspero tantum usus cibo*).....in order to lead those peoples to the faith of Christ."

Then there follow some objections, which are carefully answered:

(1) The Synod of Goa had forbidden to wear the tuft of hair.

Yes—answered the Inquisition—; but the prohibition was the result of inadequate information, given by men who were living in Goa, and who knew little or nothing about the Missions. Archbishop Menezes publicy confirmed the Zamorin's nephew, though he wore cast marks, for it was stated that they merely belonged to civil and social life.

(2) It is said that those who wear these marks acquire merit. Therefore the marks are religious.

Not necessarily, for even digging wells, building hospitals and similar charitable and social activities are said to produce precious merits for a future life.

(3) But no sacrifice can be offered without these marks.

And it may not be offered with torn dress. Who would then affirm that a new dress is essentially religious?

(4) For the tuft of hair and for the conferring of the chord some prayers are recited, which shows that the thing has a religious significance. Among a people so religious as the Hindus scarcely any thing is done without a prayer. There are prayers at birth, when the name is given, when a dress is put on for the first time, when a cow is milked. The mode of application and the intention may be superstitious, not the thing itself, which therefore ought to be permitted.

"Hence,"—concluded the Inquisition,—"we judge it altogether expedient, in order that our holy Religion may be propagated in those lands, that the Brahmins and others, who are being initiated, be allowed to wear those marks, which more than religious signs, may be deemed to be signs of caste, nobility or wisdom. If something superstitious has been added, let it be dropped, and let the intention be purified."

Fr. de Nobili had triumphed; yet the matter was not fully settled, and the Acts of the Inquistion were sent to Rome, which had to give the final decision. The Archbishop sent there one of his men, whose task was to undo the favourable report of Inquisitor de Almeyda. And then Fr. de Nobili wrote to his brother, who was very powerful at the Curia, begging of him to counteract the machinations of the Archbishop's party.

Meanwhile de Nobili went back to Madura, where Fr. Vico was waiting most anxiously. Boniface—the Calumniator—had repented and had gone to Cochin, where he tried his best to undo the mischief he had done.

One hundred and eight learned Brahmins added their testimony to de Nobili's and fully confirmed his interpretation of their marks and customs.

De Nobili not only wrote to his brother, but he sent his Apologia as well, which he had garnished with various drawings, showing the marks that should be allowed and those which had indeed to forbidden as idolatrous and superstitious.

9. ROME'S DECISION.

Pope Gregory XV gave the matter to be studied to a Dominican Peter Lombard the Archbishop of Armagh, and to the Lisbon Inquisition, which decided in favour of De Nobili.

The decision appeared on the 31st of January 1623 in the Brief *Romanae Sedis Antistites*, from which we have given 12 points in our work *The Jesuits in Malabar (Vol. I, pp. 493–497)*. "*Humanae infirmitati consulendo*, taking into consideration human weakness *quantum sine Dei offensione et populorum scandalo licet*, in as much as it is permissible, without sin and without scandal, desirous to favour the conversion of these peoples, who do not wish to give up the tuft of hair, the chord, the baths, the sandal, by which are indicated their nobility, caste and office, after diligent study and discussion, after having heard the opinion of various Cardinals, till we decide otherwise, by our apostolic authority, we allow to Brahmins and others to be converted, the use of the chord, and the tuft of hair, which serve to distinguish the various castes, and are a sign of nobility and social standing and office. Further the sandal, which is an ornament of the body, is permitted, and so are the baths, for health and cleanliness. In order, however, that the least semblance of superstition be removed:

"The *chord* should not be received in the temple, or from one of their priests, but from a Catholic priest, who, upon conferring it, should recite the prescribed prayers.

"The pagan prayers and *mantrams* which used to be learnt upon receiving the chord, should not be learnt, but rather should be confined to perpetual oblivion.

"Similarly the prayers and sacrifices which used to be offered upon conferring the chord, should not be performed.

"The chord, made up of three strands, should not be made so in honour of their idols, but rather in honour of the Blessed Trinity.

"The converts, who have already received the chord, should burn the old one, and receive a new one from the Catholic priest.

"The use of the *sandal* and the *baths* is permitted only for adornment, cleanliness and health's sake, rejecting all superstition, and avoiding the recitation of *mantrams* during the bath, and while smearing the sandal.

"All other things, which may have escaped the Cardinals, and which savour of superstition, to be avoided.

"Finally the new converts should guard themselves against superstitions of any kind, should not mix in superstitious practices, ceremonies, or sacrifices, lest their subsequent fault and sin be worse than the first."

Two currents of thought had met in the de Nobili controversy:

The first was that the faith must be kept pure from all superstition; it must be preached as it is, without compromise. Whatever is against it must be rejected, and strongly denounced.

The second was that not all that is believed and done under the aegis of pagan religions is wrong and false. The grain is to be separated from the chaff. What is good is to be kept and integrated into the Catholic Faith, which does not destroy, but fulfills, which does not condemn indiscriminately, but patiently separates the gold from the dross and the mud.

Further, Catholicism is not to be identified with any particular human culture and civilization. It transcends them all. It was wrong to present it then as the religion of the Pranguis, as it would be wrong to present it now as the Religion of the West. Catholicism is neither East nor West, Catholicism is Catholic.

Catholicism does not absorb and destroy; it takes whatever is good from anywhere, and it subjects it to a process of sublimation, rather than transformation. It has done so with Judaism, with the Graeco-Roman culture, with Germanism. It was the ambition of de Nobili that it should do the same with Hinduism, as it was the ideal of Fr. Ricci that it should so affect Confucianism. It was a grand ideal, which could not be realised in a life time. It requires centuries of unwearied labour and prayer. We are

painfully aware that even now we are just at the beginning. We seem to have been nibbling at the huge rock, rather than blasting it. Well...need it be blasted?...or simply cut into shapely blocks, which can be fitted into the mighty tower, that, in God's design—must join earth with heaven.

The Pope's Brief was an attempt at reconciling the two tendencies mentioned above. It allowed certain things, but with reservations and safeguards. It was a well balanced and prudent document. Yet it touched only the surface of things. The problem was much deeper than mere chords and hair-tufts and sandal smearing and baths. It was the meeting of cultures. Had one to be rejected entirely?...Was the Hindu Philosophy to be excommunicated, or baptized? ...damned or converted?...Was the Hindu social system to be cut down, root and branch, or what?...And what about Art and Literature? But this brings us to further study and research.

10. The Study of Sanskrit, and of Indian Culture in General.

It has been hastily asserted that before Fr. de Nobili no one — even the Jesuits — bothered much about Indian studies. This is untrue. Among Missionaries there were several who did their best to understand Indian things, who studied Indian books, and Indian Philosophy, not merely with the idea of refuting it, but with the desire of profiting by it. In Portuguese India, hardly seven years after the death of St. Francis Xavier the Fathers obtained the translation of a great part of the 18 Puranas, and sent it to Europe. A Brahmin spent eight years in translating the works of Veaso (Vyasa), (whom Fr. Frois in his letter of 24th Nov. 1559, calls their principal prophet) and other works of "their doctors" and masters. The same Father informs us that several Hindu books were got from Brahmin houses, and brought to the Library of the Jesuit College. These translations are now preserved in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (*Goa 46*).

Somewhat later (1577-83) the famous Visitor Fr. Alessandro Valignano, S. J. wrote his three Indian Summaries and his "*Historia del Principio y Progreso de la Compania de Jesus en las Indias Orientales*". The book (edited by Fr. I. Wicki, S. J. in Rome, in 1944) is of great value, not only for the History of the Society in India, but also for the knowledge and information it contains on the Geography, Ethnology and History of Indian things.

Of greater moment is the "*Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*", composed in Calicut by Fr. Giacomo Fenicio, S. J. and published in Upsala in 1933 by Jarl Charpentier. Of this work we have spoken at length in *The Jesuits in Malabar* (*Vol. I*), and we need not describe it here.

Important also was the work of Fr. Diogo Gonsalves, who was born in Mondego (North Portugal) in 1561, joined the Society in 1583, and came to India in 1591. After some work in Goa and Salsette, in 1597 he was sent South, and for nearly 40 years he laboured in Quilon. The "*Litterae*" speak of him with great deference and esteem (1633). He loved the people and was regarded by all as a saint.

He died in Quilon in 1640, eighty years old. He knew Malayalam well, and possessed detailed knowledge of the conditions of the people. This is embodied in his *Historia do Malavar*. The MS is in the Roman Archives S. J. under *Goa 58*. It consists of 88 sheets, of which, however, sheets 57-60 are missing. It is made up of four books. *The first* treats of such topics as King Paraxuramen, the Kings of Muterte, Lerte, Cochin, Parur, Mangate and of the kingdom of Porca. Then it describes the various marriage customs of Brahmins and non-Brahmins, the laws of succession among kings, and untouchability. Some chapters are devoted to the political government and to the government called *chanam*. The book closes with some notes on the administration of justice, and on the sciences and mechanical arts which were studied and practiced in Malabar. As it appears from this bare index, the book is a mine of information on the customs, traditions and conditions of Malabar in the XVI Century.

The second book is devoted to the religion of Malabar, to its gods, laws and ceremonies, to the doctrine of salvation, to certain ceremonies performed in order to get rid of sin at the various

temples, ceremonies and feasts. Next it deals with the dead, their burial or cremation, and the barbarous custom of the burning of widows. The devils are not forgotten, and the ceremonies and sacrifices are described, which are directed to pacify them. The last chapters (22 to 27) describe the principal cities of Malabar and Travancore, the kingdom of Coulao and Gundra, some legends and stories, and finally they give a short history of the origin of the Thomas Christians.

The third book is a refutation and condemnation of certain marriage customs, of untouchability, and of many injustices done in the name of caste.

The fourth book refutes the theological errors current in Malabar and gradually leads to the admission of revelation and to the truth of Christianity.

In an extract from XIV Vol. (1945) of the *Archivum Historicum Soc. Jesu*, Fr. Wicki gives an idea of the book and of its importance. Fr. Gonsalves had lived long in Malabar, he knew the language and had got his information both from personal observation and careful enquiry and research. Far from living within the narrow circle of the Portuguese, he moved among people of all conditions and castes, made friends with them, put them infinite questions, took notes and carefully compared them.

He is an example to many of us—both Indians and Europeans—who, though furnished with ample opportunities, know so little about India, its customs, its traditions and its beliefs.

Yet there is no evidence that the Fathers mentioned above knew Sanskrit. The first to study it thoroughly was undoubtedly Fr. de Nobili, and his example was not barren. Of his faithful companion, Fr. Antonio Vico, the Catalogue of 1628 says: *Callet linguam tamulicam et guirindanam*, and of the great Missionary Fr. Emmanuel Martinz: *Callet linguam malabaricam et dat operam guirindanae*: He knows the Malabar language, and is studying Sanskrit. Ten years later the Catalogue says of Fr. de Nobili, *Optime callet linguam tamulicam et guirindanam*; and Fr. Martinz had added to Malabar and Sanskrit also Telugu (Badagensis). The Catalogue of 1648 again affirms that Fr. de Nobili knew Tamil and Sanskrit, and it adds that in these languages he had written many very good books (*multos et optimos composuit libros*).

Of Fr. Antonio Proenza it is said that he knew Sanskrit and Tamil well, and in 1640 Fr. Maya writes of himself that he was studying Sanskrit and high Tamil.

In 1660 Fr. Giacinto de Magistris relates that he gave to the historian of the Society, Fr. Daniello Bartoli, a book of 174 pages, which had been given to him by Fr. Francisco Garcia. It is partly in Portuguese, partly in Latin. It contains the story of King Harichandra (pp. 1-30), the story of King Vikradamitya, or of the 32 statues (pp. 31-66) and various other stories and legends taken from Brahmin books (pp. 67-127). There are also discussions on the knowledge of gods, on the origin of the world, on caste, on the Rama legend. There are translations, from various Puranas (Sabha Purana, Aranya P., Vayrata P. Druma P., etc.)

Till recently the book was in the library of the Jesuits in Bonn. It is interesting to know that Fr. Schurhammer took from it his translation of the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

All this shows how the old Fathers were interested in Brahmin lore, and either read Sanskrit books, or had them translated for their own use. Elsewhere we have spoken at length of Fr. Hanxleden, the Sanskrit Scholar of Malabar, and of Fr. Bishopink, the author of Dictionarium Malab. et Sanscr., Tamil. Lusitanum, to which is added the Sanskrit Grammar of Fr. Hanxleden.

Fr. Calmette and his companions were putting together an Oriental Library, when the storm against the Society scattered their collections.

Fr. du Pons was the first European to understand and describe grammatical analysis as given by Indian Grammarians. In a letter to Fr. Holde (23-XI-1740) he speaks at length of the various branches of Sanskrit Literature, the four Vedas, the grammars, the six philosophical systems and the astronomy of the Indians. He in is many points far ahead of Sir William Jones.

Fr. G. Coeurdoux—of whom more in detail later on—indicated the relationships among Indo - European languages. His

note was published in Paris at the time when Hamilton and Schlegel were encouraging European Scholars to devote their attention to Sanskrit studies.

It has been said that a man who does not know Sanskrit will never understand the soul of Hinduism. Now, if that is not understood, how can we make an approach to the high castes and to the educated men and women of India? Fr. de Nobili understood this point, and he made his companions realize its importance. He studied Indian thought at its sources, and acquired a first hand knowledge of Indian glories and deficiencies. Thus he felt that broad minded sympathy for India which is the first requisite to bring India to Christ and Christ to India.

Two or three years after his arrival in Madura he made the acquaintance of a learned Brahmin, of whom in his letter of the 22nd of April 1609 he speaks as follows: "I can scarcely express how much obliged I am to this excellent Brahmin. Besides the knowledge of Sanskrit and Telugu, I am indebted to him for a knowledge even more precious: that of the most sacred mysteries of the Vedam. It is considered a crime for a Brahmin to write down the Vedam; they only learn it by heart at the cost of incredible labour; and it takes them ten or twelve consecutive years. My teacher has overcome his scruples on this point, which is a shining proof of his faith. He writes down all the laws for me; but this must be done quite secretly. If the Brahmins came to know of it, the least punishment they would inflict on him would be the plucking out of his eyes. We spurn the danger because of the utmost necessity of this means: *on the knowledge of these secrets depends the conversion of the gentiles.*"

In Figueroa's *Historia y Anal Relacion* we read that Fr. de Nobili had started to learn the Gueredan (Grandonic or Sanskrit) and now (1608) "he reads it and speaks it moderately well." Two years later (8 Dec. 1610) the Provincial Father Laerzio reports that de Nobili has "learned three very difficult languages, investigated to their very depths the sacred mysteries of the heathen and mastered them fully." In 1613 (19 Nov.) Archbishop Roz writes to Fr. Acquaviva: "I have conversed

with Fr. Roberto about the languages and customs of these peoples, and I was so much impressed by his knowledge, that I, who may, however, be said to know something of those languages, am ready to swear, every time I am asked to do it, that this Father cannot have acquired the knowledge he possesses through natural means, any more than he can, without God's special help, lead the austere life which he leads".

And Prof. Caland in his article on *R. de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language* (Acta Or. III, p. 51) writes: "We feel deep admiration for de Nobili's learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the Sanskrit literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least one of the Sakhas, the Yajurveda of the Taittiriyas".

11. MISSIONARY JOURNEYS.

Some time after his return from Goa, Fr. de Nobili undertook his missionary journeys. He was accompanied by Brahmins who carried the umbrella of honour, the skin on which he rested and meditated, and the camaldola, or water vessel. They went to Tiruchirapalli (Trichinopoly) and to Sandamangalam, where the Raja offered him a place to build a little house, with a chapel.

At Salem — about 60 miles north of Madura — they were not well received. In fact they were told to clear out, for surely they had gods enough in Salem and they did not need new ones. For forty days Fr. Robert lived in a wretched hut, where he fell sick. He recovered slowly, but meanwhile a man had come to admire his patience and fortitude, and offered him hospitality in his house. There people came to visit him and to discuss problems of philosophy and religion. First among them was the brother of the Naiack of Sattiamangalam. This is important for the subsequent history of the Mysore Mission, which was connected to Sattiamangalam in so many ways.

The prince — whose name was Tirumangala Naiaguen — become so friendly as to entrust the education of his four children to the Father. A courtier was afflicted with the palsy. The Father wrote out a text of holy Scripture on a gold leaf,

gave it to him, and told him to destroy the idols which he kept at home. He obeyed, and was healed. The Raja heard about it, and desired to see Fr. de Nobili. He excused himself profusely and arranged for some disputes with the Brahmins.

The question turned on *the nature of eternal bliss.* The Brahmins contended it consisted in the absorption of the ego in the divinity. The Father answered that if the ego's identity was not preserved, the Nirvana destroyed all bliss, and to talk of individual happiness was illusory. The Raja understood the argument and turned his sympathy towards Fr. de Nobili. It is at about this time (1623?...) that we meet with *Fr. Emmanuel Martinz,* one of the greatest disciples of de Nobili, and one of the most devoted Missionaries of all times. They returned to Madura together, where from de Nobili moved to Moramangalam.

But meanwhile the Salem Brahmins, turned the Raja against him, and especially against Prince Tirumangalam. This had to flee and he found refuge at Moramangalam. Here also the Brahmins molested him. They showed him what wonderful chances he was throwing away be renouncing the idols and following the foreign Sannyasi. Undoubtedly he had been bewitched. His brother Raja was old. The Kingdom was certainly his, if he only continued in the tradition of his forefathers, and worshipped as they had worshipped. He hesitated, he discussed, and finally agreed to have again some of the old idols in his house. When de Nobili came to him, he received him very coldly, and almost showed him the door. The struggle went on for some time, till finally truth prevailed. His children were instructed and received Baptism. Then the father, the mother, the wife and twelve others were baptized. The brother of the Raja of Moramangalam gave de Nobili a piece of land where to build a church. In a little book written in Tamil Fr. de Nobili had described the characteristics of the true religion. The booklet fell into the hands of a Guru Paria, who was so impressed by it that he asked to be instructed, and then received into the Church. He was given the name Muttu-Deiam or Hilary. He was a man of great influence, and brought 700 disciples to the faith.

Fr. A. Vico had fallen sick, and Fr. de Nobili, who loved him dearly, hastened to his side. Fr. Martinz came to Salem to carry on the work.

Fr. de Nobili, on his way to Madura, stopped at Trichinopoly, where he heard that Fr. Vico was better. Here there were many converts, especially low castes, menials at Court. Fr. de Nobili, who never neglected them, obtained a house and built a chapel for them. But the Provincial called him to Cochin, and his place was taken by Fr. Vico. Of course, the Brahmins were alarmed, and spoke to the King, and persuaded him to get rid of the Christians. A persecution broke out; boycott, loss of employment, vexations of every kind. In 1638 Fr. Martinz comes to Trichy and Fr. Vico goes to Madura, where Fr. de Nobili was threatened with blindness. Here 62 persons were baptized together, among them two dancing girls and their music teacher. One of them made the vow of chastity, and later they contributed much to put into music some Catholic hymns. Fr. de Nobili was a pioneer of Christian Indian Art. Unfortunately he has had few successors.

In 1638 a terrible blow fell on the new Mission: Fr. Vico was called to his reward. He had been the faithful companion of Fr. de Nobili for many years; he had understood him, and had defended him when all were against him. A good theologian and an excellent religious, he had thrown himself heart and soul into the work. The Christians loved him and admired his spirit of penance and his gentle humility.

Two main reasons brought Fr. de Nobili to Cochin: the first, to obtain a successor to Fr. Vico; the second to settle the policy of the conversion of the Sudras. In Trichinopoly many hundreds had joined the Church, and more would have joined had the number of Missionaries been greater. Yet, so far, the Fathers visited them only at night and instructed them in secret, in order not to wound the susceptibilities of the higher castes. Fr. de Nobili consulted the Archbishop and the Provincial, and they agreed that a second type of Missionary must be trained who could treat both with the higher and the lower castes.

To those who are surprised at the extreme caution of Fr. de Nobili we would say that the ideas of India in the XVII

century were not the same as those of Europe or America in the XIX, and we would remind them how slowly slavery was abolished in Christendom. Besides the Brahmin Missionaries, the *Pandaraswamis* were created, who were analogous to some Hindu Teachers who, in religious matters, could deal both with high and low castes.

The first Pandaraswamis were Frs. Balthasar da Costa and Emmanuel Alvarez. In a letter written by Father B. da Costa not long after he had started upon his mission we find some interesting news. He says: "Since the Parias are scattered far and wide, I run everywhere in order to administer to their numerous communities. This does not prevent me from instructing and converting people belonging to higher castes. Usually I travel on foot in these burning plains. The life is hard; yet I am quite well.

Father Manoel Alvarez has experienced the same thing. When he was on the Fishery Coast the doctors had declared him to be consumptive; now that he lives in a hut, and takes only a handful of rice, and drinks muddy water, and is exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, his health is excellent.

Our neophites help us in the work of instruction and even of conversion. We pay them a very modest salary. Constant, an ancient Yogy is always with me. Hilary—who formerly was a Hindu Pandaram—has many disciples. More than 700 have followed him to holy Baptism".

So far Father da Costa.

Fr. S. Maya accompanied Fr. de Nobili back to the Mission as a Brahmin Missionary. Persecutions and troubles of every kind awaited them. The Trichy Parias could not hide their contempt for the idols, and showed it in objectionable ways. The Hindus reacted violently. The chapel was plundered, five Christians were imprisoned and Hilary severely beaten.

In 1640 an influential heathen from Madura—a Paria—wanted to marry the daughter of a Christian. Since he was refused, he allied himself to the archenemy of the Christians—Vacandaraipulley—who was a great favourite of the King. Persecution began in right earnest. During Fr. Martinz' Mass

his Brahmin server was imprisoned. The reason given was that he had been working for the Parias and had preached to them. Fr. Martinz also was imprisoned, beaten, exiled. About thirty of his Christians were thrown in jail. He was sent to Gingi. Frs. de Nobili and Maya were not spared. Their house and chapel were plundered, and they were imprisoned. Freed for a short time, they were jailed again, and kept in confinement till 1642. The new converts showed their metal, and none apostatized. Since the Fathers could not be everywhere, and the number of converts was steadily increasing, the need of Catechists was keenly felt. They were carefully chosen and trained. Some worked only for high castes, others for Parias. Famous among them was Savery Rayen.

He was sent to Sattiamangalam, to prepare the way for the Father. He instructed 150 catechumens, who came to meet the Father. Fr. Balthasar da Costa—who had been there before—was delighted to see how eager they were to receive Baptism and accepted them into the fold. Gradually permission to build and to preach was obtained. But the Father could not stay there long, and the work was entrusted to Savery Rayen. He carried on most faithfully, till a year later Fr. Martinz was posted to Sattiamangalam.

Meanwhile Fr. da Costa went back to Trichy, where there were four chapels, and the number of Christians had increased to nearly 2,000.

In 1643 about 30 families were converted in Sattiamangalam, and later Fr. Martinz baptized 600 souls. The harvest was promising indeed.

In 1644 the Naiacker of Madura gave permission to Fr. de Nobili to preach, and ordered that house and chapels should be returned to the Christians. Though the order was not executed, it marked the return of better days. But things were not so good in Trichy, where Fr. Martinz was again cast into prison.

The Raja of Sattiamangalam, who had favoured the opening of the Mission in his dominions, died in 1648. His successor was a minor, and the Regency was violently opposed to the

Missionaries. Though Fr. Martinz was banned, yet the number of Baptisms registered for 1650, was 1500.

12. LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF FR. DE NOBILI.

Fr. de Nobili's eyesight had become worse and worse, and in 1648 he was compelled to leave the Mission. The Provincial, Fr. Bruno, tried to help as well as he could by sending there a Pandaraswamy, Fr. Joao de Silva, and a Brahmin Missionary, Father Estevao Area. Superior of the Mission was Fr. Martinz.

Fr. de Nobili was made Superior of the Mission of Ceylon, where he betook himself with four Brahmin converts. Their task was to help in the conversions and to assist the Father in writing his books.

But there was no improvement. He was practically blind. He was recalled to India; but instead of being sent back to his beloved Mission, he was sent to Mylapore. Here he devoted himself to prayer and penance. He lived in a little hut; some say he staid in the grotto of St. Thomas, on the Mount. He lived on vegetables and water. Then he lost his eyesight completely. He died in the College of Mylapore on the 16th of January 1656.

He opened the way to the conversion of the higher castes, but he did not neglect the lower castes. At first there were only two Missionaries in Madura; later on, four. A fifth was maintained by the Fishery Coast College, a sixth one by a house in Goa, for the Malabar Province was too poor to support the new Mission. With a handful of Catechists this little band wrought miracles. Thousands were brought to the faith.

Some help was given by Fr. Vico, and some direct by Fr. General; but it did not amount to much. Later some lands were bought in Bassein and Salsette, to support the Mission. The large hearted Fr. Laerzio seriously thought of opening a College in Madura. On the 10th Dec. 1610 he wrote; "In order to oppose to (the Brahmins) our own science, I earnestly desired that Fr. Robert should open a course of Philosophy for the Brahmins. Surely this would have been received with great satisfaction. But, after mature consideration we decided that it was necessary to wait some months more...Though Fr. Robert knows the language very well, though he understands it well, and speaks it with great ease, a special course in Sanskrit demands particular study, for new terms have to be gathered and new ones have to be coined, which are lacking entirely. This will not be so difficult, for Sanskrit is well adapted to the formation of new words; but time is needed.. The second reason is that much money is required for this purpose, and funds at present are very low".

But Fr. Laerzio ceased to be Provincial, and his successor, had different opinions on the new venture. The College ever remained a dream. Some Fathers thought of sending the most promising converts to Rome; but fear of publicity prevented this. No doubt, Fr. de Nobili did not posses the gifts of St. Francis Xavier. Both were pioneers, but in different fields. The Navarrine embraced the whole of the East, and aimed at opening it out for Christ; the Tuscan's outlook was more concentrated. He wanted that the light of Christ should enlighten proud and exclusive Brahminism. But while Xavier could rely on Portugal, Fr. de Nobili was often misunderstood, and almost rejected by the Portuguese. Xavier gave all to India, and took nothing from her. Fr. de Nobili saw that India had much to give. He did not reject it, but wanted to understand it and perfect it by the grace of Christ. Both were courageous large hearted, full of sympathy. Both had to suffer; but the sufferings of Fr. de Nobili were perhaps keener, for they often came from those of the household.

Xavier was ever Superior. and always enjoyed the confidence of the authorities in Rome and in Goa. Fr. de Nobili, though encouraged by Laerzio and Archbishop Roz, was misunderstood by lesser men, was thwarted, even persecuted. We have not read that Xavier was calumniated in his life time. Fr. de Nobili was calumniated, and the calumnies—though atrocious—were too readily believed.

Perhaps de Nobili misunderstood the Brahmins. He thought the spirit of Christ would gradually triumph over the spirit of caste, and would banish untouchability. He was mistaken, and caste even to this day is strong—too strong—among the children of his first converts. By granting them different churches and different priests he unconsciously favoured the introduction of

caste into the Church. This is against the obvious import of Catholicism, against the obvious import of the glorious doctrine of the Mystical Body.

No doubt St Paul accommodated himself to Judaism; but Judaism and Brahminism rest on a totally different conception of God and man. The first could form—and did form—the basis of Christianity; the second could never do so. Also Jewish and Gentile converts never had different churches; and it would have been branded as pure pharisaism to insist on the ministrations of different Priests.

In 200 years there have not been many converts from the high castes. Was this due to a faulty method, or to faulty Missionaries?...Perhaps the answer will be clearer after we shall have studied the famous controversy on the Malabar Rites. The first skirmishes took place at the time of Fr. de Nobili. The full battle blazed up some fifty years after his death.

Some think of Buddhism in this connection, and how it destroyed caste in its triumphal march. Why what was accomplished by Buddhism could not be accomplished by Christianity as well? The question is very complex. It is good to remember, however, that in India Brahminism had its full revenge on Buddhism. Buddhism that reigned once in Conjeeveram, in Madura, in Trichinopoly, has been swept away. Christianity, on the contrary, still persists, and spreads. And though a New India presents new problems, we trust that Christ will ever be better known and loved; and we point to the methods of Fr. de Nobili as worthy of study, of admiration and of prudent imitation, in the changed circumstances of our times.

APPENDIX

STATISTICS.

Year	Baptisms	
1607	10	
1609	63	
1610	8	
1611	16	(Prohibition by Fr. Pero)
1614	28	

STATISTICS.

Year	Baptisms	
1615	27	
1616	9	
1617	7	
1619	10	
1627	16	(At Trichinopoly)
1639	140	(At Trichinopoly)
	300	(At Madura)
1643	70	
		Christians in Madura, 320.
1644		High Caste Christians in Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Sattiamangalam: 1,000. Under the Pandaraswamis in the same places: 2,500.
1645		In Madura many apostasies; there remain only 26 Brahmins in Sattiamangalam.
1647		Number of Christians: in Trichinopoly: 3,000; in Tanjore: 180; at Sattiamangalam: 320
1652		Number of Christians: in Trichinopoly: 2,000; at Sattiamangalam: 500; at Madura: 320. A considerable number in Tanjore.
1654-1656		Number of Christians: in Trichinopoly: 1,240; in Tanjore: 985; at Satiamangalam: 800; at Candelur: 606; in Madura: 385

Baptism, in the Madura Mission from 1607 to 1660 11,198
„ „ „ from 1660 to 1700: 52,794
„ „ „ from 1700 to 1765: 401,176

Total: 465,168

STATISTICS

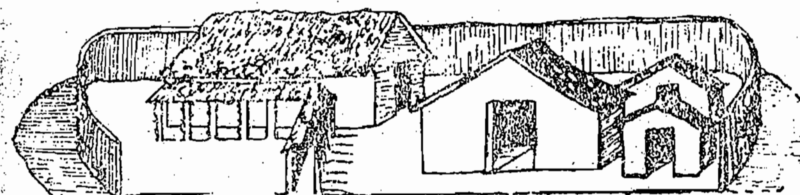
Christian population in the Malabar Province of the Soc. of Jesus in 1644:

Saint Thomas Christians:	80,000	
Madura Mission:	4,183.	
Fishery Coast:	26,218	(12 churches, 12 Fathers)
Cochin (4 Residences)	2,700	
Cranganore (2 Residences)	450	
Quilon (8 Residences)	14,700	
Mannar (5 Residences)	5,450	
Colombo (11 Residences)	11,150	
Jaffna (12 Residences)	33,300	
Mylapore	1,700	
Pegu-Ava-Bengal (4 Priests)	2,000	
Moluccas	12,600	
Total:	194,451	

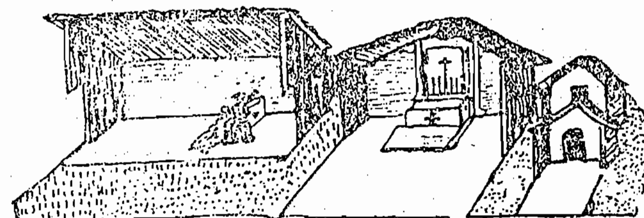
The latter Statistics have been taken from a Report of Fr. Lopez, S.J. on the Malabar Province of the Soc. of Jesus, published in English at Trichinopoly (1907), 36 pages.

The former Statistics were compiled by Fr. L. Besse, S.J. and have been taken from Robert de Nobili, S.J. von Dr. Peter Dahmen, S.J. (Munster, 1924) pp. 77-80.

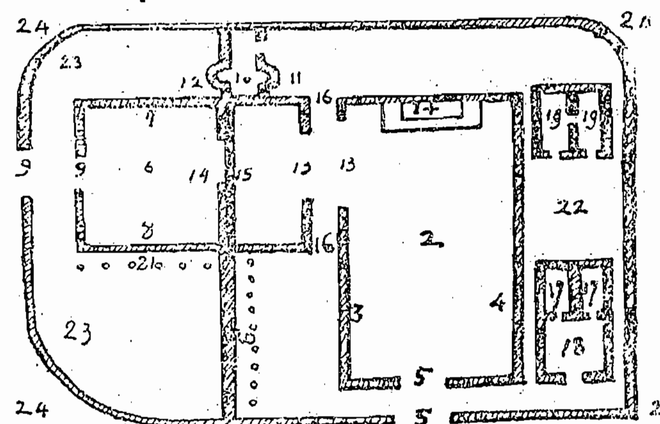
Elevation



Section



Ground Plan



No. 1. Altar 2. Church for High Castes 3. Place reserved for women 4. Place reserved for men 5. Church door for High Castes 6. Church for Pariahs 7. Place reserved for women 8. Place reserved for men 9. Church door for Pariahs 10. Room for hearing confessions 11. Place for hearing the confessions of High Castes 12. Place for hearing the confessions of Pariahs 13- Opening through which the Pariahs hear Mass 14. Communion rails for Pariahs 15. Place for High Castes and for the Fathers, while instructing the Pariahs 16. Passages between the two Churches 17. House for the Missionary 18. Porch where the High Castes are received 19. Kitchen and Refectory for the Missionary 20. Kitchen for High Castes 21. Kitchen for Pariahs 22. Courtyard for Missionary and High Castes 23. Courtyard for Pariahs 24. Compound wall.

CHAPTER II

THE MALABAR RITES

SOURCES.

1. Use has been made of the *Litterae Annuae* and of *Private Letters* of individual Jesuits. We believe Padre Angelo Franceschi's letter to Very Rev. Fr. General to have never yet appeared in English. We have translated it from a photo of the Latin Original sent to us from the Archives of the Society in Valkenburg (Holland).

2. We had no access to the *Collectanea* of the *Congreg. De Propaganda.* Only a few extracts were available. We feel that much more information could be obtained from the Archives of Propaganda in Rome. One who wishes to deal exhaustively with this intricate question should have an opportunity to consult them. There he will find accusations and counter-accusations. There he can examine the Reports of Jesuits and Capuchins in the original. There he will eventually see the minutes of the Cardinals, sittings, where the various Decrees were prepared and finally settled.

3. *Bullarium Portugalliae* could be consulted by the kindness of His Exc. the Bishop of Mylapore.

4. *Le Missioni Dei Minori Cappuccini* by P. Clemente da Terzorio (Vol. VIII—Roma—Curia Generalizia—1932). The third chapter shows that the Capuchins founded the Mission in Pondichery, and extended their work from the Coast to the Interior. The fact is that the Capuchins worked mainly for the French settlers and the Eurasians. Their work among the Tamilians was negligible. The author makes great use of the Memoirs of the violently anti-Jesuit Padre Norberto. He ignores the question of the Malabar Rites, just as he distorts the question of the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mylapore. He gives a wrong impression of Pere Esprit de Tours' work in Pondichery and of the reasons which led to his repatriation.

5. A fair, though limited, treatment of the work of Padre de Nobili and of the Malabar Rites is to be found in *L' India* by P. Mario E. Dottor Modaelli of the *P. I. M. E.* (Milano, 1937)—See especially pp. 259-265. I' is a pity that at p. 282 the author speaks of "*Riti Siro—Malabarici*". The Syrian Christians had no part in this controversy.

6. A well documented and reliable work on this matter is "*La Simple Verite Sur La Querelle Des Rites Malabares*" (1703-1744). Trichinopoly—St. Joseph's Press—1933. The pamphlet (only 68 pages) is by the late *Pere Jean Castets, S. J.*

7. Use has been made also of the first Volume of *Launay's Histoire Des Missions De L'Inde* (Paris, 1898) especially :

Introduction—II. La Question des Rites Malabares et Ses Consequences, pp. *XCIX—CXXVIII;* and *ChapitreII.* Coutumes Indiennes—pp. 98-111.

The Author is a real Historian. He had access to the Paris *Archives Des Missions Etrangeres,* and has made good use of the Documents. From this History it appears very clearly how most of the difficulties in this matter were raised either by young Missionaries, or by Missionaries, who had no direct contact with the natives—exactly as it was at the time of the Jesuits.

8-9. Neither *Pere Besse* (op. cit.) nor *Pere Castets* (The Madura Mission, pp. 1-88) deal with this question. Use has been made of both in the matter of *Statistics.* Pere Castets' estimate has been given in a note. Besides the difficulty which is always met with on this point, we meet here with a further obstacle—viz. the indefinite extension and the doubtful qualifications of the Missions concerned.

10. *Fra Paolino* deals with the Question of Rites in a note, where he roundly asserts: *"Hi inquam ritus ob intrinsecam superstitionis gentilicae malitiam corrigendi, expellendi et damnandi sunt".* No distinction between customs and rites, between social customs and customs having a religious significance. All is condemned as "intrinsically evil and superstitious". The good Friar was faithful to the tradition of Pedro Paolo, and betrays the ignorance of one who has studied the matter from books—but has never had first hand knowledge of facts. Cfr. *India Or. Christiana* pp. 155-6.—He is more to be trusted in the matter of Statistics; though he too is not quite definite about the boundaries of the various Missions. We think in those days nobody was.

11. *Pere Auguste Jean, S. J.* in his *"Le Madure"* (Desclee, 1894) is well informed. He defends the Jesuits, and shows how readily they obeyed the Pope's decrees. Besides the letter of Very Rev. Fr. *Francis Retz.* General of the Society, dated 10-2-1748, which we quote in the text, he gives also part of a letter *Padre Buttari* to his brother, where he tells him not be worried at the rumours, current in Europe, about the Jesuits' reluctance to obey. Such rumours, he says, are based on calumnies.

As to the value of the Constitution of Pope Benedict *XIV,* Pere Jean quotes the *"Civilta Cattolica",* which in an article of the 16th of November 1889, as serts that the "Decision of the Holy See about the Chinese (and Malabar) Rites has a dogmatic and therefore decisive value".

Whatever be the case about the Chinese Rites, we think the *Civilta's* conclusion about Malabar to be incorrect.

12. *Memorie Storiche Sopra le Missioni Dell'Indie Orientali*...presentate dal Padre Norberto Cappuccino...Opera divisa in 4 Volumi. 1754. Norimberga, a spese di M. Vaillant Libraio in Londra.

On the value of the deplorable work we speak in the text.

13, *N. N. Lettre* au Sujet de la Bulle de *N. S.* Pere le Pape du 12-*IX*-1744 concernant les Rites Malabares.

14. *Esame e Difesa* del Decreto pubblicato in Pundisceri da Mgr Carlo Tommaso di *Tournon* Patriarca d'Antiochia, Commissario e Visitatore Apostolico ecc. dell'Indie Orientali, Impero della Cina e Isole Adiacenti, Card. della S. Chiesa, approvato e confermato con Breve dal Sommo Pontefice Benedetto *XIII,* presentate alla medesima Santita Sua da Fra Luigi Maria Lucino, *O. P., M. S.* Th., e Commissario Generale del *S.* Ufficio. In Roma nella Stamperia Vaticana *MDCCXXVIII,* 493 pagine.

15. *Risposta Alle Accuse* date al Praticato sinora dai Religiosi d. *C.* d. *G.* nelle Missioni del Madurey, Mayssur e Carnate, in due libri diversi da Revmo *P.* Fra Luigi *M.* Lucino, *O. P.* Opera di un Professore della medesima *S.* Teologia. Parte II. In Colonia 1729; pp. 424-742. Parte III. 1-168 (The copy which I consulted is in the Goethal's Library, St, Xavier's College Calcutta and originally belonged to the Library of Card. Nina, Recanati)

16. *Memoires Historiques* sur les Missions...d'apres des Documents Inedits par le *P. J. Bertrand* d. l. *C.* d. *J.,* Mission du Madure; 2nd Edition Paris. Brunet, Libr. Edit. 1862.

CONTENTS

APPENDIX I

Card. de Tournon in China.

APPENDIX II

The works of Bishop Visdelou.

1 Introduction

We have seen in the previous chapter that Fr. de Nobili was one of the first Missionaries who understood the peculiar structure of Indian Society, and who clearly distinguished between its religious and social customs. The tendency, common among most of his fore-runners, and current enough among his contemporaries, was to regard Indian culture under a very unfavourable light. They knew that the truth was with Christ and they concluded: " *What is not with Christ is against Him* ". They carried Christ to India. But, if India wanted Christ (they

reasoned) she must renounce Satan, that is her idols and her temples; she must abjure the world, that is her customs and age-long traditions; she must give up all worldly pomp, that is her songs and dances, her poems and plays, her pageants and processions.

Since the converts could not live in *vacuo*, they were encouraged to adopt Portuguese customs, names and dress. Churches were built in the Portuguese style. The arts of painting, sculpture, music were western imitations, some times fair, more often very poor indeed. The new Christians had to be de-hinduized. If in the process many beautiful traits were lost, the loss was not deemed heavy in comparison with what they stood to gain. Meanwhile the Missionary appeared as an alien among them; good, helpful, paternal; but yet alien in dress, food, manners. Unmindful of the higher castes' inborn contempt for the lower, he will mix freely with untouchables, he will take them as his servants, he will eat the food prepared by them, open his house to them, admit them to his schools and to his churches.

We have seen how Fr. de Nobili and his followers viewed this policy; how they endeavoured to dissociate themselves from the Portuguese, and to present to India the Religion of Christ divested as far as possible from its western trappings. For this they had to suffer much, both from India and from Rome; but in the end Rome understood their point of view and approved of their methods. In the dissertations which Padre de Nobili sent to Rome, he proved that it was lawful to wear the *chord* of three or five threads, and he answered the objections raised against it. Rome approved the use of the chord.

With regard to the *marks* which the Hindus make on the forehead, the breast and the arms, Padre de Nobili sent to Rome some charts, where he had drawn 30 marks. Of these he himself rejected 23 because they were directly related to pagan beliefs. He asked permission to use the other seven, and it was granted. As to the *baths*, they were, and still are, of two kinds: baths taken to wash or to cool oneself, and baths taken at the new moon, on the occasion of an eclipse etc., or upon entering the temple, before worshipping an idol, on saluting and invoking

the sun, etc. The latter were forbidden. As to the former, Padre de Nobili insisted that his Christians, should, when bathing in public, wear a crucifix or a medal, so that their religion might be known to all who cared to see.

The *Kudumi*, or tuft of hair, had been allowed by St. Francis Xavier. Padre de Nobili at first paid no attention to it. Later he was reminded of the prohibition made at Goa against this custom, on the supposition that it was very superstitious. In fact, was it not twisted, at least for the first time, in a pagoda? In case of sickness, was it not offered, at times, to an idol, in order to propitiate it? The arguments were specious, and in 1619, at Goa, Padre de Nobili had some difficulty in disposing of them. The learned Canonists were asked why, for the same reasons, they did not forbid the dresses of women, or the milk of cows. Obviously the wearing of the *kudumi* could be separated from idolatry and superstition.

The four things mentioned above were customs common among the people. *They were not rites.* The ecclesiastical authority took cognisance of them, not as rites, but as implying some superstition. When the two were shown to be separable, the customs were allowed.

Of a different kind was the organisation of Indian Society into castes and the consequent *untouchability*. The synod of Diamper had come up against it among the Thomas Christians and could not abolish it. It was more acutely felt in the interior, and chiefly in the Madura Mission. After the first tentative steps, a kind of compromise was reached, when different places were assigned in the churches to high and low castes, and precedence was observed in distributing the Eucharist.

Outside the churches the Brahmin Missionaries—to give them a name, however inappropriate—forbade themselves all public intercourse with low castes. In 1640 the *Pandaraswamis* were established who were much more free in their apostolic relations. They had, however, to take cognisance of the laws of the country, which enforced untouchability. Thus Padre Manoel Alvarez, a *Pandaraswami*—who had administered the Sacraments to a Trichinopoly Paria, was imprisoned by the Governor, and marched through the town riding a donkey, face turned to the ass's tail.

This is not remembered by the easy-chair critics, who blame the Missionaries for allowing separate places in church to separate castes. The wonder is, not that they allowed separate places, but that they succeeded in getting the high castes to worship in the same building with the low castes, and that they managed to address the Untouchables in public, even outside the churches. Just as slavery in Europe could not be uprooted overnight, so untouchability in India could not be washed away with a little holy water.

As we have seen in the previous chapter Rome had approved Fr. de Nobili's methods.

The approbation was contained in the Constitution of Pope Gregory XV of Jan. 31, 1623, beginning with the words *Romanae Sedis Antistites.* Thirty six years later the recently established Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* issued an instruction to Missionaries, where, among other things it was said: "Do not strive in any way to persuade those peoples to change their usages and customs, provided they are not quite clearly (*apertissime*) opposed to Religion and sound morals. What, in fact, can be more absurd than to import France, Spain, Italy, or any other part of Europe into China (or India)? You must bring the faith to China, which does not impair or reject the customs of any people, provided they are not bad; on the contrary, the faith keeps them intact. Therefore, never mix up the customs of those peoples with the usages of Europe. Rather endeavour with great diligence to adapt yourselves to them".

The principle here laid down had been sanctioned in ancient times by Pope Gregory the Great, in his instructions to the Missionaries of the English. St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, and Saints Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs, had followed it. Only when Missonary work was being supported by the might of Portugal and Spain, both in the East and in the West, did the great principle suffer an eclipse. Padre de Nobili went back to it, and the Jesuits, both in China and in India shaped by it their apostolic endeavours.

2. THREE CEREMONIES OMITTED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF GREGORY XV were the *Tali*, the *Saliva* which should be used in Baptism, and *Ashes.*

The *Tali* is a small jewel, which is tied round the bride's neck, as an outward sign of marriage; or it is the chord itself to which the jewel is attached. Every caste has its *Tali*, and no woman may remove it while her husband lives. It is something like the ring in Europe. Great care is taken to make even the most minute symbolic designs on the *Tali*. The emblems refer to the peculiar relations of origin, gratitude and devotion of a certain caste towards its god in the Hindu Pantheon. Sometimes, however, they are nothing more than the special signs or marks of a caste, analogous to a crest or coat of arms. Almost everywhere the Christians put a cross on the *Tali*, which is blessed in the church with the same words that are used for the ring—*Tesseram* being substituted for *Annulum.*

Neither Xavier, nor Padre Enriquez, nor Padre de Nobili saw any objection to the use of the *Tali* instead of the ring. It was only much later that suspicions began and accusations were made, as if the use of the *Tali* necessarily implied idolatry, or as if by the *Tali* the bridal pair bound themselves and their new family to hinduistic beliefs.

At the time of Padre de Nobili, and even now,—in the villages at least — *saliva* is loathsome in India. An Indian will not spit in his house, or in church, and will view with disgust the practice of some Westerners of spitting in the handkerchief. Hence the ceremony of using *saliva* in the administration of Baptism was particularly offensive and rendered the reception of Baptism almost impossible to caste Hindus. Padre de Nobili had experienced some difficulty in the matter, and, after consulting Archbishop Roz, had dropped the ceremony. Roz, however, had not given his consent before consulting the Theologians of the Seminary of Cochin, and the Primate Don Alexis De Menezes.

In a letter of 1702 we read that Padre Borghese was imprisoned in Madura.

The Brahmins, in order to show that he was not a *Sannyassi*, but a vile *Prangui*, watched him while he was turning the pages

of a book, to see if he wetted his thumb with saliva. It is a small incident that shows how justified were the Fathers in dropping the ceremony. Earlier still a convert gave out that the Brahmin Christians had lost caste, owing to the saliva that had been used in Baptism. Some were horrified, and did not hesitate to seek purification in a pagan temple.

In 1656 Alexander VII approved the decision of the Holy Office, whereby Missionaries in China were authorized to omit the objectionable ceremony in administering Baptism.(¹)

After all if "the Sacraments are made for men", much more so the ceremonies with which the Church has clothed them.

The institution of the *Pandaraswamis* made conversions among low castes more frequent. The custom among them was to smear the body with ashes, while the high castes generally used *Sandal* paste. Rome was consulted as to the permissibility of such a custom among Christians, and Rome chose the Archbishop of Cranganore, Don Esteban de Britto, to settle the point. After consulting some Theologians, the Archbishop *concessit ad civilem corporis ornatum, juxta normam Constitutionis Gregorii XV usum quotidianum Cinerum, ecclesiasticis precibus in Missali Romano praescriptis per Sacerdotem benedictorum, in signum poenitentiae et universalis judicii.* The decisi on was approved by the Primate, Don Francisco Dos Martyres, O. Min. de Observ.

3. CAPUCHINS AND JESUITS IN PONDICHERRY.

The French Capuchins of the Province of Touraine had been in Madras since 1642. Francois Martin, the founder of the French Colony of Pondicherry, invited them to Pondicherry,

* Gaspar Affonso.

(¹) S. R. C., de mandato SS. D. N. Pii Papae XII, rubricam Ritualis Romani Tit. II. Cap. II. n. 13 ita reformandam decrevit: "Postea sacerdos pollice accipit de saliva oris sui (quod omittitur quotiescunque rationabilis adest causa munditiei tuendae aut periculum morbi contrahendi vel propagandi) et tangit aures et nares infantis..."

Die 14 Jan. 1944. + C. Card. Salotti, Praef.

Cfr. *The Clergy Monthly*, 1944, p. 132, and the learned article by Fr. J. Sanders, S. J.; pp. 132—136.

where they started a Friary in 1676. Their chief work was among the Europeans and Eurasians, for which they needed no Tamil. In fact, according to the Bishop of Mylapore, * 25 years after their arrival in India only one of them knew some Tamil and therefore the Bishop thought it more to the good of souls to transfer the care of the natives to the Jesuits (10-6-1699). Ten years before, in 1689 a few French Jesuits, whom Louis XIV had sent as Missionaries to Siam, had come to Pondicherry. Palace intrigues had compelled them to leave Siam, and they sought refuge among their Pondicherry compatriots, hoping to be able, sooner or later to return to Siam. (†)

Fr. Venantius Bouchet and Fr. Mauduit put themselves under the Fathers of Madura, in order to learn Tamil and to acquaint themselves with the missionary methods to be followed in the interior, away from the sea-board. Fr. Turpin, who had still to complete his Theology, went to Goa. The Superior, Fr. Tachard, together with Frs. Dolu and La Breuille, hired a house where they opened a little school and taught the art of navigation to future pilots.

Since the hopes of returning to Siam were dwindling, the French Fathers thought of devoting themselves to missionary work among the natives. Rome was informed of this, and Saint John de Britto, who had recently returned from Europe, was told to go to Pondicherry and study the situation.

† A Siamese Embassy had been sent to Paris in 1684. In order to take the Ambassadors back to their country, Louis XIV organized an expedition, which, however, had further objects in view. The Royal Academy of Sciences asked that six Jesuits should take part in the expedition, in order to work for the preparation of maps, study navigation in the Indian Ocean, and devote themselves to astronomical studies in the East. By a special privilege they were received into the Royal Academy. They were Frs. De Fontenay (Superior), Gerbill, Le Comte, Bouvet, Visdelou and Tachard.

From Siam they were to proceed to China. But a Greek persuaded the King of Siam to keep them in his capital, as Royal Mathematicians. Fr. Tachard returned to France, and, with 14 others, went to Siam in 1687. But they were compelled to quit in 1689. Of these some went to Chandernagore, others to Pondicherry.

Cfr. *G. Tachard, S.J.—Voyagé De Siam Des Peres Jesuites Envoyes Par Le Roi Aux Indes, A La Chine*—Amsterdam, 1689.

According to Martin, Padre de Britto "gained the esteem of all by the nobility of his manners and by his lovable character and virtue". He, however, conducted himself according to the tradition of Padre de Nobili and the ways current among the Madura Missionaries. The Capuchins did not take it amiss. In fact they even invited Padre de Britto to their church to administer Baptism and bless some marriages.

A caste Christian, Danappa Mudaliar by name, offered to the Jesuits a piece of ground outside the Fort, where M. Martin himself laid the foundation stone of a church and presbitery. The Bishop of Mylapore was satisfied and the Capuchins raised no objection. But in 1693 Pondicherry was taken by the Dutch. The Religious were harshly treated and the Jesuits were sent back to France. They returned six years later, when Pondicherry was restored to the French.

In the meantime Louis XIV had been negotiating with Rome and Lisbon, in order to obtain that a French Mission should be established in India, and in 1696 Fr. Tachard reached Surate with royal letters patent, whereby a French Jesuit Mission was established in India "for the advancement of religion and the progress of scientific studies". In 1703 there were in Pondicherry five fathers and two brothers; and ten years later their school had become famous. They had 30 boys, who studied Drawing, Arithmetic, Geometry and Pilotage. In another department they devoted themselves to Latin, Philosophy and Theology.

4. The First Skirmishes.

The Capuchins did not welcome the return of the Jesuits to Pondicherry. First they tried to enlist Propaganda against them; secondly they got the Bishop of Mylapore, who was the Ordinary of Pondicherry, to declare that the Capuchins alone had jurisdiction there. The Jesuits protested, and M. Martin suggested as a way out, a kind of personal jurisdiction: Let the Capuchins attend to Europeans and Topas, while the Jesuits would take care of the Indians. The Bishop, moved especially by the fact that among the Capuchins only one knew the language (*Inter PP. Capucinos unus modo in lingua Malabarica mediocriter versatus, caeteri tamen ut plurimum nihil ejus sciunt, cum plurimi Jesuitae*

apprime eam norint) modified his first decree, and followed Mons. Martin's advice. Rome was appealed to, but in vain. Also the King of France remitted the affair to the "piety and prudence of the Bishop of Mylapore". (12-3-1701). The Capuchins did not stay quiet, but sent Fr. Francois Marie de Tours (*) to Rome to plead their cause. It is in the Introduction to his Memoir to Propaganda (17-3-1703) that for the first time we meet with the accusation that the Jesuits allowed their converts to practice heathen customs, (*suis alumnis varia gentilismum redolentia permiserunt*) and even called a Catechist from the interior to teach these things to the neophytes (*ex interiori regione advocaverunt christianum catechistam qui illos quos supra scripsimus ritus eos edocet*), though the Malabar Christians observed these rites everywhere. Of course, such things were done also in the Missions of Tanjore and Madura, but, in order to keep them hidden the clever Jesuits did not allow other Missionaries to set foot there.

5. Cardinal de Tournon.

About this time Rome had decided to thoroughly investigate an analogous problem which agitated the Missions in China; it was the problem of *The Chinese Rites*. Pope Clement XI had appointed *Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon* his Legate *A Latere* to China, and Apostolic Visitor to India. The purpose of his legation was to establish harmony and peace among the Missionaries; to provide with Bishops or Vicars Apostolic the vacant sees, to enforce the observance of the Decrees of the Holy See and to report to Rome about the state of the various Missions. De Tournon was consecrated Bishop in Dec. 1701, left Europe on a French vessel in Febr. 1703 and reached Pondicherry on 6th Nov. of the same year.

There he examined the jurisdictional question and by a decree of the 13th March 1704 he confirmed the Jesuits in the possession of their parish for the Indians. The Capuchins appealed to the Primate of Goa, who refused to be drawn into the dispute. They appealed again to Rome, which, by a Decree of the 10th July 1709, confirmed the decree of de Tournon.

But far more important and complicated was the question of the Malabar Rites.

The Capuchins had started the hare, but a far shrewder and more unscrupulous hunter came to their help. A certain Teissier had reached Pondicherry in 1699 as Procurator of the Foreign Missions. Imbued with the anti Jesuit spirit prevalent in Paris in those days, well primed against the sons of Loyola by Jansenistic coteries, he sympathized with the Capuchins at Pondicherry. About the same time two Hindus had been dismissed from the French Company's service, in order to give place to Christians, and it was said that this had been done by the advice of the Jesuits. The two swore vengeance. The two Hindus, the Capuchins and Teissier put their heads together and the fruit of their labours was a huge manuscript in three parts, of 195, 215 and 141 pages. In the first were described the methods of the Missionaries in the work of conversion, Baptisms, customs and usages of the life of the pagans and of the Christians of Malabar, and especially in marriage, death and funerals. The second part dealt with castes, dramas, plays and religious ceremonies. The third endeavoured to refute pagan doctrines. The author of this mass of calumnies and misrepresentations was perhaps ashamed of himself and did not sign the MS. In fact the book was never printed but numerous MS copies were distributed in Europe to Prelates and laymen, and one found its way to Rome and was presented to Pope Clement XI. The Jesuits, however, never saw a copy, till 28 years after the book had seen the light. It was one of India's

(*) *Father Francois Marie de Tours,* together with five other Capuchins, was presented by the Procurator General to Propaganda as most fit to start the Mission of Tibet (Jan. 1704). They left Rome in April 1704; but one died on the way, and another got sick. Fr. Francois was shipwrecked near Cape Comorin, but saved himself, and proceeded on foot to Pondicherry. In 1709 he reached Chandernagore where he stopped for a while. Then he went to Patna, wherefrom he left for Lassa together with Padre Giuseppe d'Ascoli. They reached Lassa in June 1707. He worked there for about 18 months. He then returned to India and died in Patna in May 1709. Presumably he was the man "*In lingua Malabarica mediocriter versatus*" of whom speaks Bp. Alvarez, for one of the reasons why he was chosen to be Director of the Tibet Mission was that he knew "the Indian tongue", and had written a Grammar thereof.

contributions to that muddy stream, which was to gather strength through the century, and would finally engulf the whole Society of Jesus.

Now de Tournon had to examine this matter, and he set to work with a great patience and diligence. However, though he was the guest of the Jesuits, and the Jesuits were to be the victims of his decree, it was not from them that he gathered most of his information, but from Tessier, who had scarcely been four years in India, from the Capuchins, who did not know the language, and had never worked in the Missions away from the Coast, and from two Hindus. Since, during the eight months he spent in Pondicherry, he was confined to his bed most of the time, he could not make any personal observation on the matters in question. Neither did he consult the Ordinaries of Mylapore and Cranganore. One wonders what would have happened in France or in Spain had a Papal Legate proceeded in this manner.

6. THE DECREE

The decree, prepared so hastily was published on the 23rd June 1704, not even seven months after the arrival of the Legate in India. These are the main points:

I. In the administration of Baptism no sacramental (i. e. the saliva, the salt and the insufflation or breathing) to be omitted.

II. The names to be taken from the Roman Martyrology, and not from Hindu penitents or from the Hindu Pantheon.

III. Similarly the sign of the Cross, and the indications of sacred objects are not to be translated in a faulty manner, but are to be used either in Latin or in some Indian language, provided the translations or explanations thereof be exact.

IV. Children should be baptized as early as possible. Parents who delay their children's baptism to be penalised.

V. Child marriages to be strictly forbidden. The children should not live together till they are of age. Marriage to be celebrated according to the Tridentine prescriptions.

VI. The Christians should not wear the *Tali*, bearing the image of Pullear, the idol presiding over wedlock. They may wear the *Tali* bearing the cross or the image of Our Lady.

VII. Regarding the chord, made of 108 threads, and dyed in saffron, with which the *Tali* was tied round the neck, both the colour and the number of threads were condemned as superstitious.

VIII. Several ceremonies used at weddings (such as the twig of the *Arasu*, the circlets drawn against the evil eye or against ill luck, the number and quality of the dishes) to be examined, corrected, or omitted.

IX. The breaking of a coconut to invite prosperity or to keep off misfortune, to be discontinued.

X. During their menses women should not be forbidden to confess, and much less to come to church.

XI. The obscene custom of holding a public feast when a girl reaches puberty should be discontinued.

XII. As the physicians visit the Parias when they are unwell, so the Missionaries should not scruple to visit them, and administer the Sacraments to them even in their huts.

XIII. Christian musicians should not be allowed to play or dance at the feasts of the Pagodas.

XIV. As to the baths, the Constitution of Gregory XV is to be observed.

XV. The use of ashes prepared from cowdung to be forbidden. Similarly were forbidden the white or saffron marks usually made on the forehead or other parts of the body.

XVI. The reading of books on false religions or on superstitions, or obscene books, was forbidden. In particular cases the Parish Priest could grant the permission needed.

On the 8th July 1704, only two days before the Legate left for the Philippines, the decree was handed over to the Jesuit Superior Fr. Guido Tachard, by A. Candela, the Legate's Chancellor. Copies were to be despatched to the Provincial of the Malabar Province, and to the Superiors of the Madura, Mysore, and Carnatic Missions, within two months. The Superiors—under pain of excommunication—must see that the decree is kept, till the Legate or the Holy See, should order otherwise. The Missionaries who refuse obedience are to be suspended "*a divinis*".

7. REACTIONS.

In a letter written to Fr. General of the Society Fr. Tachard (18-2-1705) says that he had in vain asked the Legate to acquaint him with the accusations which were made against the method of the Jesuits. He had called Fr. Venantius Bouchet to Pondicherry, but the Legate refused to listen to him. The Father swore he had never said to the Legate the things he was made to say. The Fathers, who were consulted, expressed their astonishment upon reading the decree. On the same evening Fr. Tachard saw the Legate and told him that if the decree was put into execution, the Rajas would expel the Missionaries from their territories, and the Christians, bereft of their Pastors, would finally revert to Paganism. He answered that what had been done could not be undone. If the Jesuits were to leave the Missions, these could be entrusted to others.

"The Jesuits do not refuse to obey"—answered the Father;—"but how can they be compelled to slaughter the lambs which they have brought with such labour to the fold of Christ?". "Besides"—continued the Father—"Fr. Venantius affirms under oath that he has never said what he is made to say in the decree". Thereupon the Prelate got so angry and pronounced such offensive words to the address of one who had been imprisoned for Christ, that it was most unbecoming".

The notorious Fr. Norbert—of whom later—affirms that the Legate had placed spies behind a screen so that they heard whatever went on between the Legate and the Jesuits Bouchet and Bertoldi, with whom he spoke when preparing the decree. But this seems to us so unworthy of a Pontifical Legate, and the calumnies of Fr. Norbert are so numerous and well established, that we simply do not believe it.

The next day Fathers Laynez, Bouchet, de la Breuille and Tachard saw the Legate again, and they obtained that for three years, i. e. till the Holy See should decide otherwise, they could put off the most difficult parts of the decree.

In 1707, when Fr. Bouchet was in Rome he swore "*in verbo Sacerdotis*" that the Legate had allowed the use of the Sacramentals. As to entering the huts of Parias, the Missionaries

could follow the custom prevalent in the country, till Rome should decree otherwise. The Archbishop of Goa was duly informed of what had taken place in Pondicherry, and on the 20th of Dec. 1704 he wrote to Rome that he had delayed the execution of the decree, because he did not want the ruin of these Missions, "harassed and oppressed by these novelties". Further, since the Legate had refused to publish his credentials, the Archbishop could not decide upon what authority he had been acting.

Meanwhile the Legate had proceeded to China, where he had to settle the question of the Chinese Rites. This, however, did not deter the Archbishop of Goa from citing him before his Court, to render an account of himself. Should he refuse, he would be prevented to exercise any jurisdictional act under excommunication, and his censures were declared null and void.

The Legate had not taken sufficient cognizance of the extreme conservatism of the Indians. More imprudently will he behave in China, where his stubborness will cost him the loss of freedom and even of life.

8. IN ROME.

The great Missionary—Fr. Laynez—had already been deputed by the Malabar Province to go to Rome as Procurator. To him Fr. Bouchet was added, for it was just that he whose name had been quoted in the decree, should show in Rome how unwise was the same decree, and how disastrous it would be to urge its immediate observance in the Missions. The decree reached Rome towards the end of 1705, and was examined by a Committee of Cardinals, in the presence of Pope Clement XI, on the 7th Jan. 1706.

It was decided that the decree should be observed till the Holy See should decide otherwise. About a year later arrived the protestations of the Prelates of Goa, of Cranganore and of Mylapore. They showed the danger of introducing the ceremony of the *saliva* in the administration of Baptism. For Catholics it might have a sacred significance, but that was not enough to make it acceptable to new converts, who regarded it with the same disgust with which Europeans might regard the "sacred

urine" or the "holy cowdung" of the Hindus. Similarly it was dangerous to meddle with the *Tali* and the *Ashes* and to disregard deep rooted caste prejudices.

Fr. Bouchet reached Rome on the 3rd July and Fr. Laynez on the 8th Nov. 1706. They were received most affectionately by the Pope, who allowed them to present their written remarks on the decree of Tournon.

Fr. Laynez prepared his *Defensio Indicarum Missionum*, which was printed by the Cameral Press in 1707. But in Rome there appeared only two or three copies. The rest appeared from Mylapore, when the author was Bishop of the same.

There he describes the Mission of Madura, the Carnatic and Mysore, and asserts that the number of Christians was 220,000. In 1703 there were only nine Missionaries in Madura, who in one year had baptized 7700 catechumens. He alone in 22 years had baptized 20,000 souls. He asserts that many Christians are so good and pure that not infrequently the Missionaries sit in the Confessional from dawn till noon without hearing even a single mortal sin. The people, however, are very attached to their customs, and when it is necessary that they should abandon them, the heathen complain (*inclamant*) that we bring confusion among them, and uproot their rights and customs to change them into barbarous usages.

Both he and Father Bouchet told the Pope of their astonishment when the Legate made them acquainted with his decree. For instance he had promised them before that he would delete from the decree the words "sapless and barren branches", with which he had allowed himself to designate the Indian converts; but then he did not do so. He himself had examined a great number of *Talis* and had seen no idols on them; and yet he had forbidden the *Tali*. The decree had been prepared irrespective of all the objections raised by Fathers Bouchet and Bertoldi. They had been called in only to enable the Legate to say that he had consulted them, though he had disregarded their remarks. Incredible were the anxieties of the Missionaries, who were torn between the fear of incurring the censures threatened by the decree and the certainty they had that, should the decree be carried out, the Missions would be destroyed. Perhaps it would

be better for them to abandon their flocks. But who would take their place? How many knew the language? How many would be ready to exchange the relative comforts of the Coast with the hard life in the interior? Father Bouchet insists in his *Memorial* that he acknowledges the authority of the Legate, that he knows the great esteem in which the Pope holds him, yet he cannot help complaining that the decree forbids the imposition of pagan names in Baptism, which was never done. It forbids the superstitious use of the tree *Arasumaram* in marriages, which the Missionaries always avoided; it forbids the use of the chord made with 108 threads, of which the Missionaries have never heard; it forbids child marriages, as if the Missionaries allowed them; it forbids the delay in conferring Baptism, as if the Missionaries were not always insisting with the parents to bring the children early to church for Baptism; t forbids the practice of not allowing women in their menses to come to church, as if the Missionaries had ever done such a thing, and so on and so forth.

The Cardinals began to understand that De Tournon had been hasty, but how now to nullify their own approval of his actions? Fr. Laynez meanwhile had to leave, for he had been appointed Bishop of Mylapore. Fr. Bouchet remained alone in the field. The affair threatened to drag on, and both the Pope and Cardinal Fabroni understood that this was inconvenient. The 8th July 1708 the Cardinal granted an audience to Fr. Bouchet, and told him that "the intention of His Holiness concerning the observance of the decree was that they should keep it, those things excepted which they thought would be detrimental to God's glory, and against the salvation of souls". On the 23rd of the same month the Pope received Fr. Bouchet and by *vivae vocis oraculo* confirmed what the Cardinal had said. He repeated these words several times, and finally, on the 26th July 1708 confirmed them in writing.

Father Bouchet saw to it that this was placed in the Archives of the Society, and duly signed it with his own hand. Later on, in Pondicherry, he swore before Bishop Laynez that whatever he had written down in that document was according to truth.

9. In India

No sooner did the Capuchins in Pondicherry hear of the approval of the decree in Rome that they published it in their churches, and were disappointed to see that the Jesuits did not do so. They went further, for, as we learn from a letter of Bishop Laynez to the Pope, they told the people that the Jesuits, owing to their disobedience, had incurred ecclesiastical penalties. But the Bishop, by a letter of the 11th Febr. 1711 declared them free from such excommunications "*Quippe me ipso praesente Em. Patriarcha* (De Tournon) *praefatas censuras sustulerat, et sustulisse ad Sanctitatem Vestram se spoponderat*". This was of little avail. The calumnies continued; Fr. Bouchet was roundly called a liar, as if he had invented the story of the *vivae vocis oraculum.*

In fact Father Esprit de Tours* brought to Bishop Laynez a letter written from Rome by his confrere Thimotheus de la Fleche, where he asserted to have been told by the Pope himself that the *vivae vocis oraculum* was a pure invention.

Laynez denied it most firmly, and when asked whether he did not believe that the Jesuits had incurred the censures decreed by the (now Cardinal) de Tournon, he answered Father Esprit: "I believe that Your Paternity knows that the most Eminent Lord, before he left Pudisheri lifted the said censures at the request of Fathers Tachard, La Breuille, Bouchet and also mine. The four of us treated with him of this matter and there is no doubt whatever about what I have asserted".

Rome, upon being informed of the stand taken by Bishop Laynez by the Archbishop of Cranganore and by the Archbishop of Goa, ordered that an extract should be made of the proceedings of the meeting held in Rome on the 7th Jan. 1709 and it should be sent to India. A covering letter insisted that the decree "*exacte in iisdem partibus observari debeat*", till the

(*) Pere Esprit De Tours tried to escape to Madras, but was overtaken by the King's soldiers, put on board a ship and taken to France. Mgr. Visdelou wrote in his favour to the King. But Louis XIV was dead, and the Regent, through Card. de Noailles, allowed the Father to return to Pondicherry, where he landed in 1717. He died 21 years later in 1738. Visdelou died in 1737.

Holy See should determine otherwise. On the 12th of Sept. 1712 a Brief was despatched to Laynez, making known to him the mind of the Pope, and ordering perfect obedience. The same was done with regard to Bishop Visdelou.

This Bishop Visdelou was a Jesuit—one of those whom the King of France had sent to Siam with Father Tachard. From Siam he had found his way to China, where he had studied the language and literature of that ancient land with such fervour as to rouse the suspicion of his Superior, Fr. Gerbillon. The latter says of him that he was steeped in the teachings of idolatrous and atheistic Chinese. "He lost much time", continues Fr. Gerbillon, "in studying their books, a time which could have been better spent in preaching the Gospel and attending to his missionary duties". At the end of this chapter we give an imposing list of his works.

When the Legate reached China, Visdelou, who had already spent there more than 20 years, made himself useful to the newcomer by supplying him all the texts which seemed to oppose the Jesuit standpoint in the question of the Chinese Rites.

De Tournon made him Vicar Apostolic (12-2-1708) and soon after Visdelou came to India and settled down in Pondicherry where he specialised in combating the Jesuits.

Armed with Rome's letter, he published to the four winds that the Jesuits were liars and had most certainly incurred excommunication. Card. Sacripante, the successor of Cardinal Fabroni—argued Visdelou—says that there is no trace in the Archives of Propaganda of any concessions made to the Jesuits, nor can they show any document proving that the censures have been lifted. But in his eagerness to prove his point he forgot that the Jesuits had never said that they possessed written documents; they had always spoken of a *vivae vocis oraculum*, and only of that. Now, how could they appeal to it so consistently, both in India and in Rome, had it been a pure invention?

In January 1715 Bishop Laynez died in Bandel (near modern Calcutta), probably poisoned by some people whom he had tried to bring back to their duty.

Bishop Visdelou wrote to the Administrator of Mylapore asking him to publish the decree. The answer was that nothing more remained to be done than what had been done by the late Bishop. The Padroado Authorities were not accustomed to receive Rome's communications through an unknown Bishop, who had no locus standi in India. The Jesuits also refused to be frightened and acquainted Rome with the proceedings of Visdelou and Co.

10. ROME AGAIN

The Jesuit Father Peter Martin was delegated by his Province to go to Rome. He left Pondicherry in October 1714 and reached Rome in December 1715. He had visited all the Mission stations of Madura and had gathered the signed oaths of 15 Catechists in Madura and of 43 others who had come to Pondicherry. The Pope listened most kindly to the tale of scandals and anxieties that had worried the Missionaries now for several years. Then he told the Father to prepare a written Memorial, which was given to Card. Cassini, deputed to examine the matter. But before a favourable reply was obtained both the Cardinal and Fr. Martin died.

In 1720 arrived at Rome Father Antonio Brandolini, who was to take Father Martin's place, while Cardinal Lambertini had succeeded Card. Cassini. Then the Pope himself died. The new Pope Innocent XIII desired the matter to be settled, when he also died and was succeeded by Benedict XIII.

Father Brandolini brought to Rome testimonials signed by 14 heathen Brahmins and 11 Catechists. He prepared and printed at the Camera Apostolica his *Giustificazione del Praticato*, etc. where he attacked the decree:

1st. Because it had been prepared from reports of novice Missionaries, who knew almost nothing of the people, who lived away from the coast;

2nd. Because it almost ignored the fact that the rites and customs of the interior were very different from the customs on the coast;

3rd. Because it overlooked the important circumstance that the Missions in question were still in their infancy, scattered among Gentiles and under the rule of Hindu Rajas;

4th. And consequently the enforcement of the decree brought with it the danger of apostasies and the destruction of the Missions.

To all this answered Fr. Maria Lucino, O. P. in his bulky *Ragioni proposte ed esaminate in favore del decreto.* This Fr. Lucino had never been in India, but what he lacked in experience he made up with rhetoric, and what he did not know of customs and usages, he covered with numerous quotations from the Councils and the Fathers of the Church.

Thus Laynez had said that if some one told a Brahmin that the spittle was not impure he would be regarded as a fool (*dementissimus haberetur*). To which Lucino made answer that this was the same as Calvin's heresy who had asserted that this saliva business was an empty, nay, even a dirty ceremony (*ceremoniam inanem et ridiculam, immo foedam*) and duly quoted the Tridentine Sess. VII can. 13.

Both Laynez and Brandolini insisted that though the Sacramentals were holy things and made venerable by antiquity yet they could be dispensed with, and the Church, in certain circumstances had the power of dispensation. And Lucino: Slowly with these dispensations, otherwise we may find that the Lutherans will ask us to dispense them from the Rites of the Mass, and the Pagans will demand dispensation from adoring the Cross, and the Jews will beg to be permitted to keep the law of the Leviratus. Dispensation may be granted in certain cases, but not when the law is despised, as the Indians, in true Manichaean spirit, seem to do. Let them know and understand the words of Christ: "Those who hear you hear me, and those who despise you despise me".

And then the question of castes. De Tournon had said of the Parias that they are abject and despised and made to live in separate localities; that the caste people think it a sin to touch them and that it would be degrading to enter their huts. If they are compelled to do so, they then bathe to purify themselves from their sin. The Parias are held polluted, abominable, sinful, incapable of heaven. In fact it is believed that the souls of the damned will be reincarnated in the Parias, in punishment for their misdeeds.

Laynez himself had asserted that in religious matters and duties the Parias are not supposed to be equal to other men but rather hated by the gods (*tanquam a diis ipsis reprobati habentur*). Hence, it is the constant opinion among Indians that the Parias are outside the law, that they should have no temples, and that they cannot hope to attain salvation.

And you Jesuits—Lucino repeated over and over again—you tolerate these things, you even encourage them, you introduce them into the very Church of God. And you know all the while that it is a wrong Theology which has produced this horrible social arrangement; namely that the castes do not arise from difference in wealth, or from a division of labour, or from unclean habits, or from wretched dwellings—for both high and low castes are rich and poor, exercise different trades and occupations, are clean or dirty—but the castes arise from the belief that the Brahmins originate from the head of Brahma, and others from his arms, or from his trunk, or from his legs, or from his feet, while the outcastes do not come from any part of Brahma at all. It is birth and origin that constitutes caste, and not wealth or poverty, or difference in occupation.

And on principle Lucino was right, and the Jesuits admitted that he was right, and they knew full well that the rigidity of caste was incompatibe with the spirit of the Gospel; and yet, what could they do?... It is very simple—argued Lucino—do not admit into the Christian fold people who believe in caste, who practice untouchability. They are like the Pharisees of old; the same pride, the same hypocrisy, the same wrong notions about the essentials of virtue. And as Christ rejected the Pharisees, so the disciples of Christ must reject the Brahmins and such like people.

And Father Brandolini answered that the matter was not so simple as the eminent Theologian would make out; it was not merely a question of distinctions and subdistinctions, of axioms and conclusions. The Jesuits had to deal with men and women who lived in organized society, and were the heirs of an ancient civilization.

Regarding caste, Father Brandolini distinguished four different things:

1st. The theological error as to the origin of caste from Brahma, and as to the belief that the Parias will be damned.

He answered that the Brahma legend, though sponsored by Manu, was rather a parable than a theological dogma, and the belief that the Parias will be damned was confined to a few fanatics.

2nd. Similarly the hatred and abomination with which the high castes regarded the Parias was not universal. It could be explained, as the French Capuchin Father Esprit de Tours had done, remembering the dirty habits of many Parias, how they eat carcasses without any care about hygenic rules and cleanliness, and neglecting all good manners and politeness.

3rd. This explains the nauseous feeling of Brahmins and others upon meeting a Paria, and the rules which prescribe the various distances a Paria has to keep from the twice born.

4th. It cannot be denied that there is a law commanding Parias to live in separate localities, and forbidding intermarriages and interdining.

All this is regrettable, but cannot be changed overnight. On the other hand it should be remembered that in Europe the nobility is differentiated from the rest by their fine mansions, and carriages, and liveries and dress. In India all this is lacking, and the distinction is stressed by separate quarters and by untouchability.

No doubt, as the Christian spirit will sink deeper, the fact that we are all God's children and members of Christ's mystical body will be realized more and more, and the fearful hold which caste has in the interior of India will relax. To cut the chains all of a sudden is not practical, and entails a dangerous revolution, for which India is not prepared, and which will have regrettable effects, both social and moral.

Already we notice the great kindness with which our new converts treat the Parias. It will grow as the Parias shed their objectionable habits, and the high castes will realize that humility and charity are the virtues which should distinguish the true followers of Christ.

11. A NEW DECREE.

Father Lucino's book against the adaptation methods pursued by the Jesuits, was a bulky volume of 493 pages. The Justification and Answer by Father Brandolini is in three parts the first of which runs to 528 pages, the second, which is again subdivided in two sections comprises 742 pages, and the third, numbers 168 pages. Evidently there was no dearth of paper in those days.

Now Father Brandolini was not satisfied with writing. He enlisted the good offices of his brother — a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church — of various Prelates and of several of his brother Jesuits. Among the latter, however, there were some who disapproved some of his tactics and begged Rev. Fr. General to find a place for the tireless Missionary outside the Eternal City.

The successor of Pope Benedict XIII was Clement XII who, impatient that the matter should finally be concluded, had the whole thing re-examined and by the famous decree *Compertum exploratumque* (24 Aug. 1734) had the decree of De Tournon modified in such a manner, that, though the essentials were retained, the most offensive expressions were toned down.

The use of the saliva in Baptism could be omitted for ten years, and the *insufflationes* (breathings) could be done in private but care should be taken that the neophytes should not regard breath and saliva as *materia inepta*. The word '*praecipimus*,' was dropped, and greater freedom was allowed in the matter of baptismal names. In fact, if Portuguese names have not invaded South India, and beautiful Tamil names have been adopted in Christian circles, it was due to the Jesuits — many of whom were Portuguese. A new designation for church objects was not insisted on, and Portuguese infiltrations like 'Bautism', 'Concesao', Salvasao' and the like were not encouraged.

Child marriages were forbidden, thus strengthning the hand of the Missionaries, who had always stood up against this peculiarly Hindu inheritance. The chord made of 108 threads was proscribed, though the Missionaries seemed unaware of its being used.

The X and XI articles on women's menses and puberty feasts were toned down. The decrees on castes were confirmed and no one could be admitted to Baptism who believed that Parias could not be saved.

The insinuation contained in the XII article that doctors and physicians were more kind and charitable towards the Parias than the Missionaries was dropped, though the duty to visit sick outcastes was retained.

As to the remaining articles, the Constitution of Gregory XV was recalled. No heathen customs to be permitted without the consent of the Holy See. Also, according to the Constitution (*Sacrosancti*) of Alexander VII, no one could be baptized without sufficient instruction and unless he had given up pagan beliefs and customs.

12. JESUIT LETTERS.

Joseph Pinheiro S.J. Bishop of Mylapore was deputed to carry out the provisions of the decree. In a letter to the same by the Jesuit General dated 11th Oct. 1736, Fr. Retz affirms that the Bishop's letter dated 11th Jan. had brought him great consolation.

Therein was contained an authentic testimonial that the decree had been duly promulgated (*absque mora*), and the Bishop is praised for having seen to it that the provisions of the decree had been accepted and observed by all.

Considering that the decree had been issued on the 24th Aug. 1734, that the postal facilities in those days were not what they are now and that South India was torn by constant wars, the Bishop had acted with commendable speed.

Yet there were always people on the alert ready to report whether the Jesuits obeyed or not. Rome was informed that obedience had not been general and on the 11 Febr. 1738 Fr. Retz wrote to the Malabar Provincial, Fr. Cardozo, that this news had caused him grave concern. And so the Provincial was most strictly ordered to inform the General about the observance of the decree. Meanwhile he had to insist with all his subjects that they should obey most carefully, as it was the custom of the Society to revere and faithfully put into execution the least wishes of the Holy See.

The Provincial answered that the Missionaries were doing their best to obey, but age long customs could not be uprooted in a few months. Besides the matter was rendered more difficult by the behaviour of certain priests, who maintained that the decree was not obligatory since Portugal and Goa officially knew nothing about it. The Holy See was well aware of the Padroado rights, and since these had not been abolished, Rome could not complain if the Missionaries obeyed the Archbishop of Goa, who had unmistakably shown his opposition to the decree.

On the 29th of Oct. 1739 Fr. General Retz wrote to the new Provincial Fr. Louis de Vasconcellos to tell the Fathers that, if they felt great sorrow because their diligence and fidelity in obeying the Holy See had been called in question or doubted, they should offer that to God with generosity, and they should rejoice that an occasion for merit was offered to them.

He hinted that the times for the Society were difficult, that her enemies were numerous, and therefore he exhorted the Missionaries to be all the more solicitous in obeying, and in avoiding any criticism, thus disarming their enemies and calumniators. They should gather testimonials from Bishops and Vicars Apostolic, and they should transmit them to Rome, together with their own witnesses, and oaths, showing that if the decrees had not been carried out everywhere that was due rather to the stubborness and difficulties of the neophytes than to the unwillingness of the Missionaries. If they thought that the Holy See should be acquainted with their difficulties, they should do so through the Ordinaries, and not directly by themselves. He ended by exhorting all to the most exact obedience, and if some felt that they could not obey, or that they could not take the oaths that were enjoined, they should be repatriated without delay. Let them pray with confidence and humility, and the merciful God will not fail to come to their help.

Jansenism, Erastianism, Libertinism had all conspired against the Church and the Society of Jesus, and the quarrels on the Chinese and the Malabar Rites supplied her enemies with convenient arms to crush the hated Jesuits. Unfortunately not a few Catholics and even Religious allowed themselves to be deceived and worked for the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

A note of urgency can be detected in another letter of Fr. General Retz (10–XI–1742) to the Provincial for Malabar, Father Calaya. Therein he insists on complete obedience for the love of the cross, and also in order to avoid supplying new arms to our enemies. Should the Mission suffer harm, it will not be the fault of the Jesuits, who will be amply rewarded for their uncompromising obedience.

13. THE BULL OMNIUM SOLLICITUDINUM (13 SEPT. 1744).

When Clement XII died (1740), the fame of Card. Lambertini stood at its highest. He was not a genius, but his enormous application coupled with more than ordinary cleverness made him one of the most erudite men of his time. The Conclave lasted for six months. The Cardinals were split into several parties, and could not agree. After several plans had been tried, Lambertini addressed the Conclave with these words: "If you wish to elect a saint, choose Gotti; a statesman, Aldobrandini; an honest man, me". These words, spoken more in jest than in earnest, helped to end the deadlock. Lambertini was chosen and took the name of Benedict XIV.

In 1712 he had been appointed Assessor of the Congregation of Rites and ever since he had taken an active part in the controversies of the Chinese and Malabar Rites. Now that he was Pope he decided to bring the quarrels to a close.

This he did by publishing the famous Bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum*.

After a short introduction he recalls the mission of Card. de Tournon and gives his decree (23-6-1704). The decree was confirmed by Clement XI, who had ordered the Franciscan Consultor John Damascene to give a summary of the Malabar customs and rites, even though not explicitly condemned. The Paria question was to be dealt with separately.

In India the false rumour was spread that the decree had been revoked. Then Clement XI asserted that the decree was still in force and wrote about it to the Bishop of Mylapore (17-9-1712). At the request of the Missions the question of

Rites was re-examined and the Pope ordered Mgr. Lambertini to write a report a about it. Both Innocent XIII and Benedict XIII appoint a Committee to study the matter and the decree is confirmed again. The results of various meetings are given, and Clement XII sends out another decree in 1734. But not all the Missionaries keep it. Hence, by a Brief issued on the 13th May 1739, no one is allowed to work in the Missions of Madura, Mysore and the Carnatic, unless they swear to keep the decrees of the Holy See. The same is to be observed by the Bishops who are further asked to transmit to Rome copies of the oaths taken and subscribed by the Missionaries. The formula of the oath is given together with an exhortation to obey.

Then three postulata are given, together with the answers thereto:

I. That the oath and the censures be lifted (*quibus inextricabilibus velut laqueis eorum conscientiae vinciuntur*). The postulate is rejected and the censures are confirmed.

II. That the dispensation regarding the baptismal Sacramentals be prorogued.

Dispensation is granted for ten years; but the Pope complains that he does not yet know whether the decree of 1734 has been kept or not. The Malabars are to be carefully instructed in this matter, and no one is to be admitted to Baptism who holds wrong notions about it.

III. That an explanation be given on the assistance and visiting of the Parias in their houses, according to a much boasted *vivae vocis oraculum*, which, hovewer, cannot be discovered in the Archives of the Inquisition.

The answer to this postulatum was a repetition of the decree of Card. de Tournon, which is pronounced just and necessary. The Pope renews the decrees of his Predecessors, and complains they have not been observed. The Missionaries of the Society propose to the Pope that some priests will be deputed to take care of the Parias. The Pontiff approves the plan and recommends charity towards all. Finally a quinquennial report is to be sent to Rome on the observance of the new Constitution. The Missionaries who feel unable to conform to

it are to be repatriated and others to be substituted in their stead.

14. Reactions in Non-Jesuit Circles

In a famous letter published in France on the 5th March 1745 the Bull is declared to be "the history of Jesuit prevarication" and at the same time "contradictory to the Gospel", for — in the opinion of the writer—while the disobedient are condemned, a door is opened to make their prevarication eternal.

The chief objection is raised against the establishment of the Paria Missionaries, for this is tantamount to the constitution of two Churches, which will hold each other in perpetual horror. This further contradicts the dispositions of previous Popes (which are confirmed in the Bull), whereby it is forbidden to assign separate places to Brahmins and Parias in the churches.

Pope Benedict is also held up to ridicule for having approved—or at any rate not roundly condemned—the puberty feast. The wily Jesuits have been too clever for him. When a girl reaches puberty she is purified with water. Rice is thrown at her. She is made to drink a beverage of milk, butter, cowdung and urine. A Christian feast indeed, both for its object and its ceremonial. And Rome approves of it...

They say that Rome never goes back. It is rather the Jesuits, who never withdraw. By allowing them to continue their work in India one is guilty of a sin, of which only God can measure the depth. The Pope has said that the Missions of Madura, Mysore and the Carnatic have been entrusted to the Jesuits; and they will surely make use of this harmless expression to keep out all others.

And then: Why should all the Missionaries take the oath? Why should the Capuchins, for instance? And may they swear without mental reservation, when they know that the truth and justice are equally wounded in the Bull?

And so on, and so forth. It is the true spirit of Jansenism, that puts on the mantle of God's zeal, and fights not only the Jesuits, but the Pope himself and the Church of God. This unfortunate epistle, which created a stir in its time ends by solemnly asserting that the Jesuits are indeed the army of

Priests who will precede the coming of Antichrist, whom God's vengeance destines to punish the world for its unbelief.

One paragraph of this letter is devoted to Father Norbert, and complains that the Jesuits will undoubtedly make use of the Bull to defend themselves against his attacks.

Now, who was this Father Norbert?

In his days he was very famous; now he is almost completely forgotten. He was a French Abbe Platel — an apostate Capuchin — under the pay of the Portuguese Minister Pombal, who made a fat living by writing against the Jesuits. His most famous work *Memorie Storiche sopra le Missioni delle Indie Orientali* was published in Italian at Nurnberg, at the expense of a certain Vaillant, a London Book Seller. It consists of four volumes and runs to 2273 pages. In April 1745 Rome declared the book forbidden: "*permitti non posse absque offensione bonorum et scandalo animarum.*" A present of it had been made to the Pope, the Cardinals, the various European Courts, Bishops, Religious, Nuns, Seminaries — in order to enlighten them on the doings of the Jesuits. He says that he had been their pupil, and his gratitude to his old masters was shown by a muddy stream of calumnies and insinuations.

For instance he says that de Nobili ousted the Capuchins from the Madura Mission — a brazen lie. He speaks of Card. Bellarmin's concern regarding de Nobili's methods, and of his opposition to them; but he does not say that when the Cardinal was better informed he changed his views. There had been three Jesuit Bishops in Mylapore. That is sufficient for him to assert that the Bishopric was hereditary in the Society. The converts made by the Jesuits are superstitious, unreliable, given to lies and deceptions, incapable of withstanding the least persecution, over and over again they have apostatized. Jesuit letters and reports are utterly unreliable. The Jesuits are endeavouring to get John de Britto beatified, — a disobedient religious and a fanatic defender of heathen rites. The Jesuits are excommunicates and the Capuchins do well to avoid them, as an excommunicated person should be avoided. The Jesuits disobey, but they are so clever that they deceive everybody, and

they parade as the most obedient defenders of the Curch and of the Pope.

We have given only two examples of the reactions to the Bull and of the unrelenting opposition to Jesuit ways and methods. But the opposition did not include only the Missionaries in India. The Jesuits in China, in America, in Spain, in Portugal, in France, in Italy were all included in this atmosphere of jelousy, hatred, calummnies. Kings attacked and persecuted them because they opposed their absolutism; Bishops were against them because the Popes had granted them extraordinary privileges. Their principles in Moral Theology were decried as lax; their Philosophy was opposed as unmetaphysical; their system of education was not virile; their devotions were sentimental; their asceticism was wooden. They were too rich, too proud. Their influence exercised through Court Confessors was unscrupulous: their wire pulling at the Court of Rome was shameless. They must be done away with, they must be uprooted. Only thus will God's Church prosper, and the enemies of God be defeated. The Malabar Rites were only a small incident in this world wide compaign. But they too contributed their share to the final suppression of the Society of Jesus.

15. Jesuit Reactions.

The Bull was dated 13th Sep. 1744; two months later (12-XI-1744) the Jesuit General Fr. Retz wrote to the Provincials of Goa and Malabar: "Though the religious virtue of Your Reverence and of our Brethren gives me a sure hope that all will promptly obey, as obey they did to the previous Apostolic Letters, and I greatly rejoiced therefor, and His Holiness himself acknowledged it... yet to all those who at present are working, or in future will work in the Indian mission field I expressly command in virtue of Holy Obedience to put into execution whatever the Constitution enjoins fully and exactly. It would be a great sorrow to me if any one of Ours were to be less obedient, and thus help to strengthen the rumours, diligently spread by our enemies, that the Missionaries do not obey. You understand how injurious this would be to the good name of our Society. If anyone should disobey, he must be ordered back to

Europe. I am sure no sterner measures will be needed. Let all — putting aside all reasons to the contrary — obey the Apostolic Constitution. If they fear much harm, let them put their trust in Providence. Should this harm take place, instead of numerous conversions, we shall offer up to God the sacrifice of obedience, which is more acceptable than holocausts".

Four years later (10-2-1748) the same Father General writes to Fr. Calaya — the Malabar Provincial —: "I cannot easily express the joy and consolation which your letters have caused me, when I read of the submission and exact obedience with which all the Fathers have adhered to the decree of the Holy See. How they have taken courage and despised all difficulties, as it behooves men who are bound by special obedience to the Supreme Pontiff. I am sure that as a reward for this generosity the Divine Mercy will bless this Mission, and should it turn out differently, obedience should suffice for us. I thank you most sincerely, dear Rev. Father, and all the Fathers of this Province. Let them not deflect from their purpose, and with great courage let them endeavour to overcome all obstacles". The same sentiments of joy and thankfulness were expressed in 1749 to the new Provincial Father Rossi.

It must not be supposed, however, that this obedience cost little to the Missionaries. A glimpse of their anxieties is given us in a letter of Father L. N. de Bourzes, which he wrote to the Provincial some twenty years before the publication of the Bull. He says: "What hope can there be for our Missions if all this will be enforced? For the same reason we mourn the almost complete loss of the Chinese Missions, and there remains very little hope for our Mission of Madura. I have little doubt that, however valiantly Your Reverence may strive against it, very soon decrees will reach here under excommunications, censures and oaths. Regarding the oaths, I have determined never to take them, because I believe they will do harm to my soul, will cause infinite scruples and will expose me to the danger of perjury, to which no human law has the power to compel me. But then, one must leave the Mission. Well I shall leave. After all that is not the worst that may befall me. If we look

at bodily comforts, is there anything more uncomfortable than living in the Madura Mission? A constant fasting, a most rigid abstinence, the fatigue of continual travelling, the labour of hearing confessions, dangers on every side, and fears, and insults, and vexations, even prisons at times, and the rest. Are all these things very pleasing to nature? Speaking for myself, I can understand that one may subject himself to all this for the love of God, and that one may carry on, sustained by God's grace. But surely I cannot understand how a man can undertake so much trouble for his own self love and satisfaction. If—as it is proper—we regard God's glory and love, I agree that many more difficult and arduous things can and must be suffered. But if all these troubles come on, which make it impossible to mind the salvation of others without imperilling the salvation of one's soul, then I say: Let us go elsewhere. But the Mission will perish; perish will so many souls which have been redeemed by Christ's most precious Blood. No doubt they will perish. But on whose responsibility? I confess, that they will perish if the missionaries leave. But even if they remain, will not the Mission collapse, if we are enjoined to keep what the Antiochian Patriarch (De Tournon) has ordained?

Shall I purchase so much trouble that I will have to see in person what it is impossible for me to prevent? Have I to pay so much for the sorrow—greater than which no missionary can feel—to witness with my own eyes the loss of so many souls, which I thought I had borne to Christ and snatched from the jaws of hell? To see my dearest children expire on my knees? They say that the Missions will perish. They will not perish; rather they have perished already. Somehow this our Mission of Madura is cultivated by eight missionaries only; some are broken by age; others by infirmities. They are unequal to the heavy task. Several, owing to the decree that has already been promulgated, are harassed by so many scruples, that they are looking everywhere if some honorable way presents itself whereby they may leave the Mission. I was one of them, who found a lucky way of leaving. Those who are outside the Mission do not propose to join it; for they are kept away by

the fear of so many scruples and anxieties. In fact the Jesuits ought to abandon this Mission, because their presence draws so many troubles upon the Neophytes. For, why should I not say it? It is well known that so many decrees would never have been issued about these Missions, if by an unlucky fate they had not been entrusted to the Society, whom her enemies have determined to crush, even at the loss of so many souls. Let us therefore imitate that woman who, rather than seeing the death of her child, allowed it to be nourished by her rival ".

The Jesuits at first did not approve of Rome's plan to create the Paria Missionaries. It was an exorbitant concession to the caste spirit, in practice it discouraged the attempt to put it down, and, in a sense, it was derogatory to the priestly dignity. In Rome, however, they thought it was a good solution of the Paria problem. Fr. Retz thus wrote about it to the Malabar Province: "In order to remove all motives of wonderment I notify to you that, since His Holiness persists in his idea, you should set aside some Missionaries who should devote themselves chiefly to the conversion and instruction of the Parias. I had to accede to His Holiness's desire, and since He so orders in his Constitution, I command that this should be carried out".

And carried out it was.

In 1746 Fr. L. Coeurdoux, Superior of the Carnatic Mission wrote as follows to Rev. Fr. General: "No sooner did the Fathers hear that the Pope desired special missionaries to work for the Parias, that a noble rivalry arose among them. All without exception have expressed the desire to labour for these unfortunate people. Here are some signs of the pride of which our Fathers have been accused: the man who yesterday used to converse with Brahmins goes tomorrow to the Coast, among the Parias, he enters their houses, he instructs them, he comforts and consoles them. In fact one insists on his age, another on his strength, a third one gives some other reason in order to be chosen, in preference to others, for this task".

Among the Paria Missionaries we find Frs. Potenza, Pimentel, Alessandri, Costa, Licchetta, Duarte, Machado, Calaya and many others.

The Author ot the *Annual Letter* of 1747 praises them in the following words: "Go, ye, faithful companions of Christ. March along this royal road of the Cross, wherein Christ your King and Model precedes you. According to the words of the Apostle you are the—'dregs of humanity—', but the Society regards you as her noblest glory, and this Province of Malabar looks upon you as her must precious ornament. You are isolated; to all appearances you are strangers to your brethren and unknown to the children of your own Mother. But be not dismayed. Repeat with St. Paul: 'You are great and honoured, we are little and dishonourable... *Vos nobiles, nos autem ignobiles*': and you will draw tears from their eyes, and you will force them to envy you".

16. Obedience better than sacrifices.

From what has been said heretofore, it is plain that the Jesuits did obey the orders and constitutions of the Holy See. Not only did the General in Rome, obey promptly and fully; but so did the Provincials and local Superiors; all in fact, to the last missionary.

We add here a letter of Rev. Father *Angelo de Franceschi* to Very Rev. Fr. General, which gives some idea of the situation. The letter refers in a special manner to Mysore where conditions were different from those prevailing in the Carnatic and in Madura.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,

In the months of August and October of last year, by two letters, I acquainted Your Paternity of the methods followed in the Mission of Mysore, and of the complete obedience and humble submission of our missionaries to the prescriptions of the Holy See. Since, however, to the full execution of the said prescriptions was still wanting the coming of the missionaries to take care of the Parias in Mysore, I thought it insufficient on my part to show the full consent with which our missionaries had set to work, unless I spoke also of the completion of the same. Hence through this letter I acquaint Your Paternity how our most zealous Goan Provincial, at the beginning of this year has sent four missionaries of our Society to this Kingdom of Mysore to take care of the Parias. Two of them arrived here on the 5th of April and two at the beginning of May.

Before they started work, we had many doubts, and held many consultations, as to what habit they should wear, and by what name they should

be called, in order to avoid the ruin of the Mission. Almost all the missionaries of the Goa Mission, and, especially the Catechists and the high caste members, were unanimously of opinion that, considering who the Mysore Rajas are, it will not be possible to avoid the destruction of the Mission if the missionaries for the Parias appear to the Gentiles as our brethren and friends. This difficulty has not been experienced by the new missionaries in the Madura Mission, for, under Muslim Government, and helped by the Muslims, the Paria missionaries have been able to enter the Kingdom of Madura with the habit and name of our Society. Since the nature of the Mysore Gentiles is entirely different from that of the Muslims we thought it impossible to get from the Mysoreans what they have obtained from the Muslims.

In order, therefore, to fully observe the Apostolic Constitution and at the same time to avoid the ruin of the Mission, it was necessary to use a special device, that is to say, we ordered the new Paria missionaries to abstain from every name and habit of nobility. They ought to hide their equality and familiarity with the other missionaries. On the contrary they must pass for men of ordinary birth (not noblemen) and they must enter this Mission like simple missionary priests.

These four Jesuit Fathers then entered the Mission with great humility and zeal, and, abstaining from all names and titles of nobility, began their noble work, and their ministry, which may indeed be called the greatest of all. Having diligently undertaken to work among the Parias, they began to administer the Sacraments in their wretched huts, to say Mass in their churches every day, to use them as servants for everything, and to deal with them openly and simply. This remarkable sacrifice of charity, humility and obedience was admired by many caste Christians, and it was an object of envy to those of Ours, who regretted that they were not allowed to do the same. They understand, however, that they may not do the same on account of the Mysore laws and customs, otherwise they would endanger the very existence of the Mission. Yet, moved by Apostolic zeal, they do not cease to envy and to desire what they know they may not do.

From this Your Paternity will understand how great is the virtue of our missionaries, how great their humility and zeal, for, according to the example of the Apostle, they have made themselves all things to all men that they may gain all to Christ. Also, remembering the words of the same Apostle—*Vos nobiles, nos autem ignobiles* — they have chosen a state of life most ignoble, well knowing that, if the Gentiles should be aware of it, they will regard such behaviour as a crime.

The missionaries of our Society then hold in the same esteem both honour and dishonour, provided they may gain souls to Christ. Yet to honour they prefer dishonour for Our Lord's sake, if the latter be deemed more useful.

But — to come back to the subject of my letter — the new Paria missionaries have entered the huts of the Parias and have undertaken their care in such a manner, that they are ready to administer to Parias, or to people even lower — or higher, as the case may be — than the Parias themselves.

To this we must add that both the aforesaid four missionaries as well as the rest do keep fully, exactly and inviolably the apostolic precepts with regard to the Malabar Rites. About this I have informed the Archbishop of Cranganore, who is the Ordinary of this Mission, so that he, as executor of the Apostolic Letters, may inform the Holy See. I am sending to Your Paternity a copy of the letter I have written to the Archbishop so that, in case his authentic communique fails to reach Rome in time, or in case it should be lost, Your Paternity may be able to present the copy to the Holy See. Whether our Mission will continue or not, I do not know; I can only say that we trust in God's goodness. Very many of the Mysore Christians are much afraid that in course of time the Gentiles will come to know that the Paria missionaries are noble and familiar with the high born, that is to say, they belong to the Society, and thus the Mission may finally be destroyed.

But we, remembering the teaching of Our Lord and the examples of our Holy Founder, put our full trust in God and are determined now and in future to keep the Apostolic Constitution, hoping that the fruit of our labours, sustained by obedience, will be all the more abundant even though in the eyes of human prudence it should appear nearer to barrenness.

But if God in his inscrutable wisdom should decree that our hopes should be disappointed, we shall submit in tears and affliction, but we shall never cease from holy obedience.

However, I shall not pass over in silence that our missionaries have already gathered sufficiently great fruits of obedience and hope. In fact, the practice of our Mission has greatly pleased many Brahmins, many princes, and innumerable infidels, who praise it because it is better for the divine law and for the noble Christians that, in order to take care of the Parias, priests of different caste should have come forth, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom. Yet I dare not trust in the inconstancy of the Gentiles, if God, who holds in his hands the hearts of men, did not move us to certain hope and faith. In order that God may crown our confidence I recommend myself and this Mission to your Paternity's Holy Sacrifices and I earnestly ask your blessing.

From the Mission of Mysore, 12th August 1747.

Angelo de Franceschi.

The Memorial to the Archbishop of Cranganore, is as follows:

As the Apostolic Constitution of H. H. Pope Benedict XIV, issued in 1744 which begins "*Omnium Sollicitudinum*" commands that our missions should inform the Holy See about the observance of some decrees — for

some, every five, and for others every ten years — I, the undersigned, Visitor of the Mysore Mission, by the authority given to me by my Superiors, in virtue of my office, and in the name of all the Mysore Missionaries solemnly declare the following to the Most Rev. Lord Antonio Pimentel, Archbishop of Cranganore and Ordinary of the aforesaid Mission:

(1) In this Mission the decrees concerning the care of the Parias have been fulfilled: i. e, four Missionaries of our Society have entered this Mission, and they now work for the Parias and go even into their huts. Further, they are prepared with the same zeal to work also for others, be they better or even lower than the said Parias, provided the people receive them. Several men, noted for their prudence and piety, have deemed it sufficient that four only should have been set aside for this job, because the number of Parias in the Mission is small.

(2) Whatever the H. See has prescribed with regard to the Sacramentals has been inviololably kept and continues to be kept: namely we use the saliva and the insufflations, always, except in the most urgent circumstances, as the decree permits *ad decennium*; Similarly we give instruction about the same Sacramentals, both to the children and grown up, to the faithful and to the catechumens, privately and in public, in many places every day, in others, very frequently, either directly ourselves, or through the Catechists, so that we really do not know what more could be done that has not been done. — We know that these instructions are badly received by infidels, who, owing to this, blaspheme the divine law, and refuse it. But we know also that other infidels, have received them, and do receive them, who, being satisfied with the use and meaning of the said Sacramentals, are being converted.

Thinking that these things do not take place without a miracle, we believe to have already gathered sufficient fruits of our obedience, and we hope — whoever work in this Mission — we shall continue so to gather them in future. Whether the fruit of our instructions is such as is required by the H. See, or whether even greater — or more miraculous — fruit is to be expected; namely what it is to be in order that, after ten years we shall continue to administer this Mission of Mysore, we shall humbly understand from the Holy See.

(3) I solemnly declare that in this Mission of Mysore, whatever the Holy See has decreed has been fulfilled exactly and inviolably, and specially there is no one among the missionaries who forbids — and (to my knowledge) no one has ever forbidden — women in their menses to enter the church; no one who allows the breaking of a coconut at weddings; no one who allows the wearing of the tali with the shapeless image of the Puleyar. If formerly it was allowed, we knew from the testimony of many Gentiles, that it did not bear such an image. Nevertheless, in order to remove all objections, we have ordered that new shape should be given to the tali, free from all suspicion. If the Christians do not obey, they are forbidden to receive the Sacraments. This is really hard, and there may even be danger of death; but with God's grace and the missionaries' care, it has been done.

(4) I finally declare that both the Superiors and the missionaries here have decided to continue in the full observance of the apostolic precepts, notwithstanding all difficulties, both actual and eventual. If, however after so many proofs of our obedience we shall still be accused to the Holy See, we humbly, but most earnestly ask that, before any judgement is passed we be heard. It will be of no avail if other missionaries of other mission be asked in our stead; for just as they are anxious to show their innocence, so are we. For this we humbly ask the permission of the Holy See.

In order that these documents of our obedience and subjection be made authentically known to the Holy See, I have written to His Lordship Antonio Pimentel, Archbishop of Cranganore, and Ordinary of this Mission, that he may be pleased authentically to inform the Holy See.

Mission of Mysore, 24 July, 1747. Angelo de Franceschi, Soc. Jesu.

17. TROUBLES EVERYWHERE.

In the first Volume of this History we have already spoken of the *Pandaraswamis*. In letter of Padre Luiz Rodriguez (5-11-1717) regarding the *Neman Mission in Travancore* we find that among the *Sanars* there were only two Pandara Missionaries. The other Christians were visited by Missionaries dressed in European garb. Padre Luiz adds the significant remark: "This is because the Propaganda men, who see superstition everywhere, so desire. If they were to come and work with us in this jungle of Malabarian paganism, they would know what is to be done". But they did not come. They preferred the easier way of criticism and memorials to Rome. This was before the Bull. After the Bull, the Jesuits endeavoured to obey. But persecution was their lot - both in India and Europe: in India, because the people thought they obeyed too much, in Europe because it was thought they obeyed too little.

In *the Madura Mission* we read of Padre Tomassini, who had to leave Aur, on account of the troubles given to him by the Christians in connection with the observance of the Bull.

In *the Carnatic*—where the Christians were quite recent - there were some defections - *very many*, said an old Missionary.

Padre Licchetta's letter - which shall be quoted at length later on - hints at another difficulty. *Speaking about Mysore,*

and the difficulties raised by the Christians in connection with the Bull, he adds: "It is now the twelfth year that we are in this fire, and now it burns more fiercely than ever, owing to the intrusion of certain "Canarini" priests, who promise these fools, (the Christians) that they will give leave for what we have forbidden as contrary to the Pope's decrees, and as openly superstitious."

It will not be the last time that these "Canarini" priests will seek to curry favour with the people, and undermine the authority of the old missionaries. Padre Rodriguez hints in his letter that if people were to be in direct contact with Indians they would better understand them, they would be more tolerant, less ready to criticize and to reform.

This was especially the case with the famous Carmelite Padre Pedro Paulo, with the Capuchins at Pondicherry, and with Teissier of the Paris Foreign Missions. Elsewhere we shall relate how, after the Suppression of the Society, the Carnatic Mission was entrusted to the Paris Missionaries, under the guidance of the Bishop of Tabraca, Mgr. Brigot. Now among his Priests there were two—MM. Mathon and Jalabert - who viewed with disapproval certain Indian customs among the converts, and especially the separation of castes in the churches. They considered them as open breaches of the Pope's decrees. Of course, neither of them was in direct contact with the people. It is interesting to notice how *Mgr. Brigot in a letter to Propaganda (1777), speaks entirely as the ancient Jesuits would have spoken.*—We summarise:

"The old missionaries say they have obeyed the decrees of Rome. Some adjustments have been made with the tacit approval of Rome, which has renewed the privileges, etc, for ten years. Churches have been built, either in the form of a cross, or with a single nave. All the Christians attend service in the same church, though the Parias are separated from the rest. Water for Baptism, vessels, ciboriums, etc. are the same for all. They all hear the word of God together. Communion for Parias, before or after the rest. Missionaries enter Paria houses as well as houses of others. Baptism is given in the same place; for the Parias on one side; for the Malabars on the other.

All the missionaries say that the total union of Parias and Sudras in the interior would cause:

(1) apostasy of all Malabar Christians (caste Christians);

(2) impossibility of new conversions.

In Pondicherry itself there have been revolts.

Should Rome order total union in churches and cemeteries, the old missionaries will obey, but they decline all responsibility as to the consequences."

The answer of Propaganda is dated 26 Sept. 1778. Separation in churches and cemeteries may be now tolerated, for fear of greater evils.

But in 1781 two Missionaries - MM. Garnault and Coude - arrive from Siam. Immediately they join MM. Jalabert and Magny in their apprehensions about the separation in the churches and Rome is appealed to, for they fear the ruin of Christianity in India. Card. Antonelli answers on the 9th of April 1783. He is pained that, owing to these matters, union is broken and zeal suffers a set-back. He explains that the aversion of Sudras for Parias may proceed from the wrong idea that the Parias are rejected by God himself. This is entirely wrong and condemned by Rome. Rome thus orders the missionaries to visit the Parias in their houses, and administer the Sacraments to them.

Or the idea may be derived from the dishonour of this miserable class of people, which makes it difficult for Sudras to deal with them. This - though contrary to Christian humility and charity - is a social matter, and is not mentioned in the Pope's Bull.

Yet it is clear that the Pope earnestly desires to see the Sudras free from such prejudices and more humble and charitable. The Congregation is pained to see that untouchability has not yet disappeared, and that some missionaries not only seem to tolerate it, but to favour it. Hence the Bishop must watch in order to see charity and humility constantly impressed on these people by the missionaries, so that inflamed with the love of God and of the neghbour, they may shed their prejudices and live like children of the same merciful Father.

The same letter authorizes the Bishop to allow the missionaries not to wear black, if this colour shocks the pagans.

In this long drawn out question of the Malabar Rites we have met the envious, the ignorant, the narrow-minded, the intolerant. Now we meet what might be called the *geometrical* spirits who want to see everything perfectly clear and straight; everything must be reduced to a pattern; everything must be squares and parallelograms.

One such spirit was M. Magny - a good soul, a very zealous man - I have read somewhere that he was an ex-Jesuit; but it has been impossible to verify the statement.

Now this good man is in Pondicherry; he is busy with a handful of Seminarists; but now and then he deals also with the people, and he notices that many Christians smear their foreheads with a red or yellow mark. He does not see clear. Is it supersitious? is it a caste mark, or merely a beauty mark? He asks the people, but they too are not clear; they could drop it; but perhaps the old Jesuits will come back and then they will be allowed to keep it. At any rate the thing is not clear.

And then the women use saffron in dyeing the Tali chord. But is it allowed? Does not the Bull forbid it? Certainly the matter is not clear.

And the baths? The first ceremony at a marriage is a solemn bath. Naturally the barber first cuts the beard of the bridegroom, and the nails of both, and then gives them a good rubbing with oil. And then the bath. Is it ceremonial? Is it forbidden? The Bishop smiles a broad smile. But that does not make matters clear. The Bull does not smile. And what if one should be excommunicated, or at least suspended. Surely things are not clear. And M. Magny writes to Rome. But the Cardinals do not answer. He writes again, and finally the answer arrives, dated 15th Febr. 1790. The letter is addresssed to the Bishop, Mgr. Champenois, who had succeeded Mgr. Brigot.

Permission is granted

(1) to dye the Tali chord with saffron;

(2) to allow women, both married and not married, to wear the *pottu*, i. e. the red mark on the forehead.

(3) as to the baths see the prescriptions in the Bull of Gregory XV;

(4) if all the missionaries regard a custom as lawful, let it alone;

(5) let missionaries consult among themselves and with their Superiors as to what is lawful and what is not, and let them decide accordingly.

The controversy had been started before 1610 and it was not yet finished in 1800. Rome is proverbially patient. But there are limits.

18. DEFECTIONS?

Those who admitted that St. Francis Xavier had made millions of converts naturally believed, what was asserted even by serious writers, that the number of Christians in India—and more especially in the countries affected by the Bull of Benedict XIV—was well over two millions and a half towards the middle of the XVIII century. Since, however, at the return of the Jesuits to the Madura Mission (1839), the number hardly touched 250,000 an explanation was at hand in the defections which must have taken place on account of the Pope's decrees.

We shall now endeavour to examine this question.

In a lithographed *Memoir* which was written in 1839, on the occasion of the coming back of the Jesuits to the Madura Mission, and which was probably due to Pere *Bertrand*, we find that, according to a letter (not quoted) of an old missionary written abont 1748 there were

in the Marava country and Cape Comorin	120.000	Christians
in the Madura Mission	150.000	,,
in the Carnatic	80.000	,,
in Mysore	35.000	,,
making up a total of	385.000	,,

The number of Neophytes on the West Coast was not given; but it was probably greater. There were also Missions in the North of India.

A letter of Pere *Tremblay*—Missionary in the Carnatic—written towards 1744, tells us that in the Kingdom of Madura

and Mysore, in the Carnatic and in the neighbouring countries notwithstanding war and famine, the number of Christians was more than 300.000.

An unknown writer (1754 or 1755) says:

"When I shall be back in France, I shall expose the pitiable condition to which is now reduced Christianity in India, where there are more than 300.000 Christians". Evidently here there is no question of the Christians in Goa and along the West Coast, down to Calicut, nor of the Christians in Bengal, Agra, Bettiah. Still less of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.

Mgr. Laouenan, basing his calculations on these data, concludes that the number of Christians in the kingdoms affected by the Bull, at the time of its publication, must have been about 300.000.

We, considering the difficulty of making up reliable statistics,—which continues even now, and which must have been far greater in the XVIII Century—and the natural tendency to exaggerate, would content ourselves with putting the number of Christians in 1748 at 300.000.

Thirtytwo years later Pere Vernet, S. J. writes about the Carnatic: "Our French Mission is not very old and was never flourishing; nevertheless it contains more than 30.000 Christians." A drop therefore of about 50.000 Christians from the number given above. Six months later, on the 28th of June of the same year 1776, Pere Vernet writes: "The number of churches in our Mission was considerable in times past. The intestine wars, the changes in the Government at Pondicherry, the want of Missionaries and of necessary funds, has brought total ruin to the greatest part. What remains is half ruined, and shows at a glance the state of distress in which we have been for many years".

It is to be noticed that the causes of the disaster, according to him, were military, political and economic. Of course want of missionaries was paramount. He is silent about defections eventually due to Rome's decree.

Not all the 50.000 must be accounted as lost to the faith, for we know that many Christians emigrated South. Thus the

army of the Nizam in 1743 destroyed the church in the Fortress of Gandikota and missionaries and Christians fled South. The Christians of Chinnaballapuram, Devanapalle, Punganur were led by their priests towards Vellore and Madras. Later on (1787) took place the Oleru migration to Kitchery under the leadership of Padre Manente.

The Bull created serious difficulties everywhere and especially in the Carnatic; but as long as the old missionaries lived, by their tact, patience and understanding, they avoided mass defections. Some of these took place after the Suppression of the Society, which had a far more serious effect on the decrease of Christians than the decrees of Rome on the Malabar Rites.

This with regard to the Carnatic.

With regard to the Mission of Madura, it is more difficult to check the numbers. Some have expressed doubts about the 150,000 Christians in the Madura Mission. Unfortunately we are not in a position to compile reliable statistics, yet we believe the number to be substantially correct. In fact,

Pere Venance Bouchet worked at Aur, where in 1697 he built a fine church in honour of Our Lady. He had under his charge 30 villages, with about 30.000 Christians. In 12 years he baptized 20.000 Catechumens.

From a letter of P. Petit to P. De Trevou, dated 17 Febr. 1702, we learn that *Padre Laynez* in 22 months baptized among the Paravas 10.000, Catechumens.

Of *Padre De Rossi*—the little Xavier—we shall speak elsewhere, and we shall give a pale idea of the number of conversion due to him.

In 1740 the Missionary at Dindigul heard 8.100 confessions. In Ramnad there were 2,000 Baptisms in 1713, and practically everywhere and every year, the number of Baptisms was most consoling.

From this it would appear that the number 150.000 is not far from the truth.

In 1787 Fra Paolino da S. Bartolomeo and Padre Pavone, S.J. calculated the number of Christians in Madura and Tanjore to have been 80,000. A drop therefore of 70.000. Was this due to the Bull? We doubt it.

South India during the second part of the XVIII century was the scene of constant wars. The Great Mogul, the Mahrattas, the English, the French – not to speak of petty Rajas – fought everywhere. The armies of those days were not well disciplined, and their supply departments were most undeveloped. Hence they lived on looting. The countryside was robbed of everything to maintain the soldiers and the hordes of camp followers. Grain, fodder, cattle were requisitioned, or simply taken away. The people ran away, finding refuge in forests or caves. Villages were deserted. In the wake of the armies followed famine and pestilence. The letters of the missionaries often speak of whole populations wiped off by these terrible scourges. It is rather to this than to defections caused by the Pope's decrees that we ascribe the decrease in the number of Christians during these awful times.

It is quite possible that a few Brahmin Christians—deprived of their Gurus, and threatened in their most cherished customs—fell away into their old milieu. But they were very few, especially in Madura and Tanjore.

The Catholics in Mysore towards the middle of the XVII century seemed to have been about 35.000—excluding what the old missionaries called the Congo in the South, and Raichur in the North.

Now Padre Pavone and Fra Paolino in 1787 calculated the number of Christians in Mysore and Congo at about 40.000.

As to Cape Comorin, we ignore the number of Christians in 1800. Thus, towards the close of the century, the numbers would have been:

Carnatic (probably only Northern District)	35.000
The whole of the Carnatic	? ?
Madura and Tanjore	80.000
Madras	? ?
Mysore and Congo	40.000
Cape Comorin and Fishery Coast	100.000 (?)

If we knew the exact numbers for Madras, the whole of the Carnatic and Cape Comorin, we believe they would not be far from 300.000.

Thus the decrease due exclusively to the Pope's Bull does not seem to have been great. The persecutions of Tippu in Mysore seem to have wiped out Christianity in those parts. Yet, it should not be forgotten that (as we shall see elsewhere) many renounced Christ only outwardly, and readily came back when the storm had blown over.

Towards the year 1840 Mgr. Laouenan gives the following numbers:—

Pondicherry	80.000
Madura under the Jesuits	120.000
Mysore and Coimbatore	25.000
Madras	15.000
	240.000

Thus we find the difference of 60.000 in about a century. The number is considerable. But we repeat again: war, famine and pestilence account for many thousands.

Some thousands of Brahmins and high caste people may have slipped back to Hinduism, owing to lack of Missionaries, especially Jesuits.

Defections of Sudras and of Parias owing to the Bull of Pope Bendict XIV seem to have been negligible. (*)

(*) Launay in his *Histoire* summarizes a thorough study of Mgr. *Laouenan*, Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry on the defections. According to him the chief cause were the badly trained, and proud priests who were sent out from Goa after suppression of the Society. We quote a strong passage later. Yet we should not be too hard on these priests. After all, in many places, it was these Goan priests who kept the lamps burning. Jurisdictional disputes inclined even the mildest Vicars Apostolic to a certain harshness, when speaking of Goan priests.

Pere Castets in the excellent little work on "*The Madura Mission*" divides the devolopment of the Mission into six stages; and for the 5th stage, and especially for the year 1759, he gives the following numbers:

(*a*)	in the Madura and Marava Missions	: 120.000
(*b*)	in the Missions (branches of the Madura Mission) of the Ghauts and Tinnevelly	: 25.000
(*c*)	in the Mission of Mysore	: 25.000
(*d*)	in the Missions (branches of the Mysore Mission) of Raichur and Kittur	6.500
(*e*)	in the Carnatic Mission	: 30.000
	Total for all Missions sprung from the Madura Mission	206.500

19. The Trouble Continues

There are few countries in the world so attached to their usages and customs, as India. The *Portuguese* defied these customs, and made some converts—many in fact—but only along the Coast and within the sphere of Portuguese political influence.

The *Jesuits* penetrated inland. But they saw that all their labours would have been vain, unless they adopted a *policy of adaptation*. They did so. They succeeded in winning over considerable numbers of high castes. But adaptation cost them dear. In fact it was one of the pretexts—and not the least—for the Suppression of the Society.

The Foreign Missions of Paris succeeded the Jesuits on the East Coast and in Mysore. They too saw that no work was possible in the interior without some measure of adaptation. Yet the increased contact with the West in the XIX Century made it superfluous for missionaries to dress like Sannyassis, to entirely abstain from meat, to adopt Indian names. But the Christians of the Carnatic, of Tanjore, of Madura and of Mysore continued to follow some of their time honoured customs. They instinctively felt as if such customs made up their very being. Hence the trouble continued.

A Missionary—a certain M. *Bochaton*—attends a kind of religious drama and is deeply shocked. Our Lord appears now dressed in red, now in white, now in yellow. Our Lady comes out, makes a deep bow, and embraces her Divine Son. Soldiers, with big swords cut right and left. The people look on. Some sing, some are chewing beetle, some talk, some laugh. No sign of prayer or devotion. The pagans seem amused. The whole thing is a profanation. This was in 1830.

He quotes various Annual Letters, and the Reports of the Provincials of Goa and Malabar, of 1756 and 1757 to the Governor of Goa. (pp. 50. 52).

We would not call the Missions of Mysore, Raichur and Kittur branches of the Madura Mission. The Province of Malabar is responsible for the latter. The Province of Goa started the former. If the times will permit, and God will grant us life, we hope to translate and publish some of the Annual Letters, connected with the foundation and the development of the Missions of Mysore, Raichur and Kittur.

One year later another missionary—*M. Tesson*—writes to Paris that he is in great distress. He has sworn to keep the decrees of Rome; but he sees that the Christians continue even now to bathe after a burial. "Why do you do that?"—he asks them. "Well, it is the custom"—they answer. "And the Bull? Does it not allow bathing *only* to refresh and cleanse the body? Why then do the missionaries allow so many baths?... And the marks on the forehead?...Are they not superstitious? And the puberty feasts?...Are they not evidently pagan and indecent? Fancy in France a young lady doing such things?... Where is the sense of modesty?...And, when it does not rain, do not these Christians pack off their St. Anthony, or St. Anne and give them a good bath in the village tank?" And poor M. Tesson is very much perplexed indeed; and more than M. Tesson is perplexed *M. Charbonnaux*, who is overwhelmed by scruples, and thinks already of returning to France. There, there are sins, no doubt; but not these superstitions, which are constantly justified by the magic word *custom*. One knows where one stands in France; one is not hedged in by oaths which he cannot keep, however much he desires to do so. And the divisions among missionaries reappear, as of old. There are the tolerant and the intolerant; those who are for ever condemning, and those who find excuses for everything, those who loathe these half-converted Hindus, and those who praise their devotion and their patience and their family loyalty...Oh, Family Loyalty!?...It is all caste, caste everywhere. Tell them to allow the Parias in their houses; they will not. Tell them to carry to hospital a dying outcaste. They will shudder at the very thought. Tell them to share a little rice with a poor Paria widow; they will think you insult them. No sense of Christian charity among them. Even God Almighty must divide His heaven into various air-tight compartments, so that the breath of Parias may not blow in upon the Sudra Saints...and so on, and so forth.

And the older missionaries explain that things are not so bad; that after all a bath after a burial is not a bad thing in a country where it is so hot, and sanitary precautions are so few

In fact, they themselves take it. And the *Pottu*... well, women think it adds to their beauty. And who dares dictate to women in such matters? As to the sacred plays, they may appear profane to a Frenchman; not so to an Indian, who is not so sophisticated, and who is more childlike. The puberty feasts: ah! remember—writes Mgr. Laouenan—that, if they are celebrated before the marriage, it is a kind of rejoicing that the young girl can finally marry; it is—as the famous Pere Dubois has remarked—a kind of advertisement to the match-makers to get busy. Bad taste, if you like; but nothing sinful. And if it is after the marriage, since the young couple are not yet living together, the feast is a reminder to the parents that now they may bring them together". As to untouchability, that is more serious. But do not forget that these poor Christians live among pagans; that they will be boycotted if they allow Parias near them. The Pagans will have nothing to do with them, if they eat together with Parias.

Patience, is the word. It took centuries in Europe to get rid of slavery. It will take generations for India to shed her prejudices against the Parias.

But the young missionaries are impatient; they are worried by their oaths; they are afraid. Since their Bishop seems too slow, they write to Paris and even to Rome, under the delusion that Rome will cut the Gordian knot. And Rome answers what she has—at least of late—always answered, safeguarding the principles, and counselling union and mutual understanding among the missionaries.

20. FINAL REMARKS.

The reader who has had the patience to follow us so far, will have realised that the question of the Malabar Rites is not so simple as he might have been inclined to think. It underlies all missionary methods.

The Missionary continues the work of the Apostles. He is commissioned to spread the Kingdom of Christ. But the Kingdom of Christ does not issue forth now from the Holy Land. It is a Kingdom that has already had a history these twenty centuries. During this long stretch of time it has kept its substance intact; but it has taken up some outward features, both ritual and artistic, philosophical and theological, social and political, which, though deeply influenced by the "*Inner Ferment*", yet must not be deemed essential, without further qualification.

The missionary is usually a foreigner. When he leaves his own country, he detaches himself from what is most dear to him. Yet he cannot leave himself behind. He carries with him not only Christ's message, and the definite doctrine of the Church; but he carries the memories of childhood, some trace at least—and even more—of early studies and associations. He knows the religious hymns that were sung in the church of his Baptism; he associates Holy Mass with certain vestments and certain rites. For him a church must be built in a definite style —either Gothic, Romanic, or Lombard, or whatever it may be. And children are usually given names as are found in the Martyrology, and they are baptized according to the definite ceremonies, venerable for age and sacred from their symbolic associations. Further, at home they had fast days but also feast days; and on feast days those who could do so, killed the fatted calf and partook of the cup. And children used to be brought up in a certain manner—not very different for boys and girls. Of course, one knew that boys and girls were different. But the matter—for children—ended there. Naturally there were rich and poor in his country, and honourable jobs, and jobs not so honourable. Yet all knew that before God all were equal. No formal separation in churches—except, of course that the rich had pews, and the poor had often to kneel on the ground.

Now the missionary who came out to India, first busied himself mostly with traders and conquerors. He lived with them, at times even fought with them. He came into contact with "the Natives", as they came to serve in the houses of the traders or to trade with them, or to fight with them. At first, no question of learning the native language... Portuguese would suffice. A few were baptized. They took up Portuguese names, Portuguese habits. They worshipped in Portuguese

churches. They heard the Mass which the Portuguese heard. But this was soon found most insufficient and unsatisfactory, not only with the "natives", but especially with the *Syrian Christians*. At first great confidence was felt in them, for they professeed the same law. But then differences were noticed. Some thought they were irrelevant. Others viewed them with suspicion. The matter was studied more deeply. What was essentially and intrinsically wrong was rejected. What was good and sound was kept. But in the process, how many mistakes and trials, and disappointments and recriminations !...... The Syrians would not be latinized. The missionaries gained experience. They learnt that the Mass need not be said in Latin only, or that the vestments must be all cut in the same manner...... Many things they learnt, and many things they unlearnt. The path was strewn with difficulties, as we endeavoured to show in this history.

This with the Syrians. Now come the Gentiles.

St. Francis Xavier blazed the trail. Missionaries must learn the native language; Catechists must be trained. Next, Blessed Rudolph Acquaviva seeks to enter the Court of the Great Mogul, and to take advantage of the eclectic tendencies of Akbar to further the cause of Christ. Then, Padre de Nobili. *He started a new era in missionary endeavour.* This must be briefly considered with respect to

The Missionary,
The Message,
Rome.

(*a*) *The Missionary*, according to Padre de Nobili's ideal, must die to the past, in order to make himself all things to all men. He must renounce his nationality, change his name, his dress, his food, his language. As far as possible he must cut himself off from all intercourse with the Pranguis, Bishops and Superiors alone excepted.

(*b*) *The Message* may be considered negatively and positively.

Negatively, in so far as the ground must be cleared before the seed is sown, or even while the seed is sown. Hence Hinduism must be studied, and refuted—as far as possible—by means of Hindu authors. This was done by Padre de Nobili at Madura, by Padre Fenicio at Calicut, and, later on, by Pere Mosac and Pere Coeurdoux in the Carnatic. This, of course, implied not merely the study of the vernaculars, but also the study of India's sacred language, *Sanskrit*.

Positively, the Message is to be viewed *theologically, liturgically, morally.*

Theologically, the Message is to delivered intact, for it is God-given, not man-made. The Catechisms originally prepared at Goa, or at Cochin, were written as could be written by pioneers. The language was Indian, of course, but the Portuguese terms and expressions were very numerous. This was due both to imperfect acquaintance with the language and the newness of the Message. It was not easy to find the equivalents for Baptism, Eucharist, Trinity, etc. in Tamil or in Malayalam. A parallel is to be found in early Christianity, when the Bible had first to be translated into Greek and Latin. Now the followers of Padre de Nobili went perhaps to the other extreme, and filled up both their Catechisms and prayers with so many Sanskrit terms as to make them palatable to Brahmins, but not easily understood by Sudras and Parias.

Liturgically considered, the question was more thorny. The Latin Rite was to be kept. The Mass was left intact, but various ceremonies in the administration of the Sacraments met with opposition on the part of Indians. We know how the matter was settled.

Connected with the Liturgy is *Church Music*. The missionaries in the Tamil-Nad and in the Telugu countries favoured Indian music, and composed pious songs in the vernacular. Arnos Padri composed sacred hymns that are sung even now by the Christians of Malabar. The same did Fr. Stephens in Konkani and Padre Beschi in Tamil. As to *Church Architecture*, we are not aware that Hindu art was imitated anywhere by the ancient missionaries. But they rather fostered car-processions and sacred plays, which met the disapproval of the less tolerant. As to the *statues* and *pictures*, we know that many were imported from Europe, also by the strictest followers of Padre de Nobili. Some were made in India; but there is little art in them, either Indian or European.

The *Moral Law* was, of course, the law as reason teaches it, and as the Old and the New Testament contain it. But difficulties arose. For instance, Saint John de Britto met his death because he would not allow polygamy even to Rajas. About the unity and indissolubility of the marriage bond there could be no compromise, and there never was. But what about the age? Child marriages were the law among high castes, and such law could not be set aside over night. Connected with this were a host of customs, which, though not directly opposed, were less consonant with Christian morality. To mention only three: marriage arranged by parents, puberty feasts, re-marriage of widows. We know how these agitate even modern India; and we know the difficulties met with by reformers. Imagine now, India in the XVII and XVIII centuries, not on the Coast but in the interior, with education entirely monopolized by Brahmins, who had attached to every custom a religious sanction, and we shall gain a pale idea of the enormous task the ancient missionaries had set their hands to.

And then there was the caste system, on which the very structure of Indian society was reared, which permeated almost every phase of an Indian's life. Of course, no toleration for the pseudo-theological principles on which the caste system rested. But what of life as it is lived? In Europe Christianity has passed through the Middle Ages, during which it has—partially at least—succeeded in moulding society—both domestic and civil—according to its principles. To India Christianity appears as grown up and fully developed—and developed to a large extent within the Mediterranean basin. Must it be offered like that to the Indian? Must the Indian be completely uprooted from his soil in order to be made a Christian?

Of course, the old missionaries did not put the question exactly like this, but they felt it was like this, and so they urged patience, toleration, tact. Other missionaries, who noticed the segregation in which the Jesuits were working, how reluctantly they opened to others the gates of their missions, and who, at times, got a glimpse of the caste Christians—but only a glimpse, not deep knowledge—suspected that the Jesuits,

in order to gain converts, did not present the *Message of Christ* in all its severe beauty, but watered it down to make it palatable to some proud Brahmins. And the cry arose that the Jesuits were betraying Christianity, and therefore they must be stopped. And here

(c) *Rome* comes in. We may reduce the task of Rome to a triple one.

She must guard intact the message of Christ: "*Depositum custodi*".

She must see that the Kingdom of Christ is spread everywhere: "*Ite et praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae*".

She must guard the unity of this Kingdom: Unity of Faith, Unity of Worship, Unity of Government.

That she has absolved her task successfully history testifies. In this she has been faithful to her Founder, and she has respected also those human institutions, which, though not coming directly from Christ, seem to be either willed or permitted by God. Her motto has been throughout: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus charitas.*

But the Church is made up of men. And not infrequently these have failed, both in judgment—deeming necessary what was not so, or dubious what in fact was certain—and in action, offending against prudence and charity. In the matter of the Malabar Rites, the Church was slow to decide, but once she did decide she exacted obedience—and she got it.

Many of the old missionaries thought that the Pope's decrees would spell ruin to their missions. They did not. The losses—for there were losses—were not catastrophic. The Indians continued to remain Christian and Indian as well. Some of their customs—being wicked and immoral—were given up; others—being harmless—were retained. But among the wicked customs there was untouchability, and this—unfortunalely—in many parts of the South of India, has been kept. Had the Christians been so Christ-like as to give it up, would they have ceased to remain Indian? Far from it. They would rather have paved the way to a quicker strengthening of Indian dignity and Indian unity. It was not to be. Selfishness has once more had the better of charity.

And now these Christians must feel the ignominy of seeing non-Christians leading them in the fight against this cancer which eats at the vitals of Indian national life. As to the missionaries, they have, as recently as 1940, been freed from the oath, which bound them to keep the decrees of the Holy See "though the obligation of observing the prescriptions of Benedict XIV in so far as they have not been altered by the Holy See, still holds good" (*Decree of the 9th of April, 1940.*)

Thus the anxieties which always follow in the matter of oaths, have been lifted, and missionary endeavour—feeling itself more free—will grow, and bear—we hope—more abundant fruits.

APPENDIX I

For a better understanding of the Mission of Card. de Tournon in India we shall add here a few notes on China, where he went after a short stay in Pondicherry.

1. PADRE RICCI, S.J.

may be considered the *Founder* of the Missions in China, where he was sent by the great Visitor, Padre Valignani. He worked there from 1585 till his death in 1610. Padre de Nobili started his work in Madura four years before, in 1606. In a letter to a Jesuit friend in Rome, Padre Ricci writes: "In China now it is not yet harvest time, nor even the time of sowing, but the season for clearing the undergrowth and fighting the savage beasts and venomous serpents that infest it".

The method he adopted was to impress the proud Mandarins with his great learning, obtaining thus a footing in the Capital, and gaining official sanction for the preaching of Christianity. After setbacks and sufferings that would have broken any man less in love with the Cross of Christ, he reached Pekin, where he was allowed to build a church and a residence. At the time of his death 13 Jesuit Priests and 7 Chinese Brothers whom they had received into the Society, were firmly established in five cities of the Celestial Empire.

In 1616 the Chinese Church, which numbered about 30,000 converts, underwent its first persecution, owing to the imprudence of a Jesuit, who thought he might preach the faith openly

in Nanking. Gradually the position was restored by the brilliant astronomical labours of *Fr. Adam Schall*, a German Jesuit, on behalf of the Chinese Government.

2. THE NEWCOMERS.

Meantime during the thirthies of the XVII century, Spanish Missionaries from the Philippines began to enter China, and, of course, began to criticize the slow and cautious tactics of the Jesuits, and particularly their forbearance with the practice of ancestor-worship which smacked of superstition. There was much tension, and the unhappy controversy of "*the Chinese Rites*" grew like an evil snow ball, till it threatened to submerge Christianity in China. But the work went on, and in 1664 the Jesuits alone numbered in China 257,000 converts, and had 259 churches.

A Dominican—*Padve Navarette*—found much to say also against the missionaries who went about dressed in Mandarin's robes with quadrants, sextants and azimuth compasses. That was not the way St. Paul had set about converting the world. Owing to the opposition of a powerful Mandarin to Fr. Schall, a persecution broke out in 1664, which soon spread to include all the missionaries, not excepting Padre Navarette, who had to spend 5 long years in prison in Canton with 19 Jesuits. Finally, it was through the good offices of another Jesuit Astronomer Father *Verbiest* that peace was restored once again. The Emperor's unconcealed regard for this great man had such a benign effect on the missions that in the single year 1671, 20.000 Chinese were received into the Church. Just before Fr. Verbiest died, in 1688, and was laid to rest with imperial pomp beside Padre Ricci, he penned a last petition to the Emperor: "Dread Sire, I die content that I have spent almost all my life in Your Majesty's service, but I beg you will be pleased to remember when I am dead that my only aim was to gain in the great Monarch of the East a protector of the most Holy Religion in the world".

3. THE DECREE OF TOLERATION.

In 1692 the Emperor K'ang Hsi issued a decree of toleration of Christianity in China, and the missionaries—Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits—were all busy from morning

till night instructing and baptizing the new converts, many belonging to the Mandarin class, and not a few of the Emperor's own family. The Czar's Ambassador to Peking describes the Jesuit church, within the precincts of the Emperor's palace: "A very beautiful building, in the Italian style, furnished with a large organ...... Richly adorned with fine images and altars, and large enough to contain two or three thousand people". In Pekin there were 16,000 Christians and in Nanking 100,000. Among the more remarkable achievements of the missionaries at this period were the translation of the Bible and of the *Summa* of St. Thomas, and the compilation by a Dominican of the best Lexicon in the language available until recent times.

4. DECREE OF PROPAGANDA (1693).

But the dissensions about the Chinese Rites were growing. One of the main points of disagreement was God's name as expressed in Chinese, which, according to some, meant Heaven, rather than the Lord of Heaven. Rome was appealed to, and Rome answered that, while no European names were to be introduced, yet the missionaries had to abstain from expressions which might lead the Christians into error. Also the Christians were not to be allowed to take part in the ceremonies, which every new moon were made in honour of Confucius and of the ancestors—neither in public temples, nor at home—though a purely passive presence was allowed, if, otherwise the danger of offence and enmities could not be avoided. Tablets with the names of the dead were allowed; but they were forbidden as a kind of throne, which, according to a wide spread belief, would be filled with the mysterious presence of the dead. The faithful were to be warned not to keep books which savoured of atheism or idolatry. Meanwhile the missionaries were to avoid dissensions, till the *Apostolic Visitor* would come and settle things once for all.

5. CHARLES THOMAS MAILLARD DE TOURNON

Was appointed Patriarch of Antioch in the Secret Consistory of the 5th Dec. 1701 and was made Visitor Apostolic with the powers of a Legate *a Latere*, for India and China. He did not sail via Lisbon, but travelled to Pondicherry on a French ship. There

is an autograph letter of Pope Clement XI to Louis XIV, where he thanks him for the kindness shown to his Legate. Further there is a letter of the same year (1704) to the Bishop of Mylapore, wherein the Pope assures him that, with regard to the controversy over the Malabar Rites nothing will be done unless it be acknowleged to positively favour the glory of God, the stability and propagation of the Faith. No word about the Legate.

6. THE ARCHBISHOP OF GOA,

Fra Augustino of the Annunciation, thought that the rights of the Padroado, had been infringed by the Legate, who had besides caused considerable confusion among the missionaries by his decrees on the Malabar Rites. Therefore on the 22nd of Dec. 1704 he issued a public document, wherein he contested the jurisdiction of the Legate, declared null and void the censures fulminated by him, forbade the Clergy to obey him and went so far as to forbid him, under pain of excommunication, to exercise his function.

7. THE CAPUCHINS

had come to Madras in 1642. Fr. Ephrem, profiting of the dissension arisen between the parishioners and the Portuguese Clergy, and favoured by the English, who did not like Portuguese interference in their dominions, had built a church in the Fort. Naturally this provoked the resentment of the Padroado, which considered the newcomers as intruders. Fr. Ephrem was imprisoned and taken to Goa. The Capuchins, however, did not leave Madras.

In Pondicherry they favoured the action of the Papal Legate, against the policy of the Jesuits. But it happened otherwise in Madras. There they opposed the Legate so violently, that their Superiors, Fr. Michaelangelus of Tours was excommunicated.

8. POPE CLEMENT XI

soon came to know of these extraordinary happenings. In a letter to the Archbishop of Goa, dated 1st Jan. 1707 he tells him he can hardly believe him guilty of such conduct. How could he doubt that De Tournon was really the Legate, when

even the Bishop of Mylapore had acknowledged him as such? At any rate the Archbishop's decree is declared null and void, and the Archbishop is told to clear himself before the Pope, and to obey the Legate implicitly. In a letter of the same date to the Bishop of Mylapore he is granted power to absolve Fr. Michaelangelus from the censures, but only for an interval of time sufficient to communicate directly with the Legate, and under condition that he repents and leaves Madras.

9. IN CHINA.

Three months before the Pope had written to the Archbishop of Goa, announcing the mission of de Tournon, and explaining his powers. But no doubt the Archbishop must have thought such a communication should have been made long before, and not as it were on account of the disobedience of an obscure Madras Capuchin. From the point of view of Goa things had not been managed in the best possible way.

Meanwhile the Legate had left India in 1704, and the Pope in a letter dated 1st Jan. 1707 congratulates him on his safe voyage, on the grand reception which the ministers of the Emperor of China had given him, and hopes that, as the Fathers of the Society had already arranged, he will soon be received by the Emperor himself.

But though the Legate had many gifts,—he was zealous faithful, fearless—he lacked patience. Just as in India he had insisted on publishing an edict against the advice of the Jesuits, he did the same in China, repeating what the Congregation had already done in 1693.

The matter came to the ears of the Emperor, who saw in the decree an affront against China, against Confucius, the highest Chinese religious Teacher, and against the ancestors, who are held in the highest honour in every Chinese home. The Legate, instead of being received with great honour by the Emperor, saw himself and all his suite banished from the Celestial Empire.

10. IN MACAO.

And here begins one of the most painful episodes in the whole history of the Catholic Missions. Goa had not been quiet. The rights of the Padroado had been touched, and whoever touches them must suffer. It is true that the Pope himself had written to the Archbishop, explaining the mission of the Legate, strongly asserting his powers, and blaming the Archbishop for having gone against him. The communication had not come through tne proper channel, namely the Portuguese Government, and Goa disregarded it. They did more. When the Legate returned to Macao, all abandoned him, except Fra Pedro de Amaral, with the Dominicans, and Fra Constantino de Spiritu Sancto, Superior of the Augustinians, who for a while gave him shelter.

The Captain General of Macao had the house of the Legate surrounded by his troops, and by a decree issued on the 27th Dec. 1708 he forbade all and each to tender obedience to "*Dom Carlos Thomas Maillard de Tournon*, Patriarca de Antiochia" under pain of being declared traitor, of having his property confiscated, of being imprisoned, and of being remitted to the Court of Goa for judgement. This was done by the State. Incredible as it may appear, the Church too, in the person of *Dom Joao de Cazal*, Bishop of Macao, threatened with excommunication all those who obeyed the Legate. He went further, for he summoned the Legate to his own tribunal and launched the interdict on the church of the Augustinians. Naturally the Legate answered back, excommunicating the Bishop, and ordering all the faithful to avoid him, (27 July 1707). One year later, (3rd July 1708), in order to prevent as far as possible any interference on the part of Goa, he forbade the Clergy to enter or to leave China without his permission.

11. THE POPE

by and by was acquainted with the turn events had taken in China and in a letter of the 2nd of March 1709 he consoled his Legate—whom he had meanwhile raised to the Cardinalate—he approved of what he had done, and told him he would do his best, both with Portugal and with the Emperor of China, to obtain his freedom and leave to return to Europe.

In fact on the same day he addressed a letter to the Emperor of China, and two days later, he wrote to the King of Portugal,

He had hardly the time to rejoice for the reception accorded to the Cardinal in China, when the news reached him of the Emperor's indignation. Surely it was not on account of the Cardinal's dispositions about the Chinese Rites that the Emperor was displeased; for, since he had allowed the Gospel to be preached in China, how could he then resent that the Christians followed the law of the Gospel? Surely the Christians do not refuse honour to the ancestors. Only they insist that to God alone divine honour be offered. And the Emperor will continue his protection to the Christians, and will abrogate what has been decreed against them.

The letter remained unanswered.

To the King of Portugal he says that only the previous day he had come to know that by order of the Emperor of China the Cardinal had to retire to Macao, till the storm would blow over. But there the Captain General *Diego Pinho Teixeira*, the Bishop of Macao and others had heaped so many indignities over him, as no barbarian would have dared to do. Here the Pope repeats what we already know, and then begs his most pious Majesty to see that the Legate be allowed to return to Europe. Those, however, who have behaved so shamefully should not go unpunished.

But if Governments are quick to strike, they are very slow to redress the wrongs they do. Ten months later the King had not yet answered the Pope's a pressing letter, and Pope Clement writes again, complaining and insisting that his Legate should be liberated.

12. THE ROMAN INQUISITION

by a decree of the 25th Sept. 1710, ordered that whatever had been settled by Card. de Tournon in 1707 about the Chinese Rites—which, however, was according to the Roman decisions of 1704—should be inviolably kept. This would contribute not a little to maintain peace among missionaries, and would facilitate the preaching of the Gospel. No books or pamphlets on the matter could be published without leave from the Holy See.

On the 11th of Oct. the *Holy Office* writes to the *General of the Society of Jesus*—and the letter is communicated also to the Superiors General of the Dominicans, the Franciscans and the Augustinians—that the Holy See never meant the first decree of 1704 on the Chinese Rites to have been left to the private interpretation of individuals, who might question its truth, or better the truth of the things therein exposed. This is to be communicated without delay to all missionaries.

Meanwhile the King of Portugal had written to the Pope that he had ordered the Viceroy of Goa to see to it that the Cardinal should be liberated, and the Pope, believing this to have already been accomplished, wrote to the King in January 1711, communicated to him the above decree and asked him to be of help to the Cardinal in carrying it out.

But then news of further excesses reached Rome. By order of the Viceroy not only had the Captain General of Macao threatened with imprisonment those who should obey the decrees of the Cardinal, but had forcibly entered the church of the Dominicans and before the Blessed Sacrament exposed had carried away to prison four Friars. Other churches had thus been profaned, many had been inprisoned, even missionaries, nay, even those who actually lived with the Cardinal. The Pope then, full of indignation, wrote to the King to interfere.

Next day (15 March 1711), by a special decree, the evil deeds of *De Cazal*, Bishop of Macao are first recounted; how, after having acknolwedged the Pope's Legate, in consequence of letters received by the Archbishop of Goa, he went so far as to excommunicate him; how a certain Gomez — who is supposed to be the Bishops's V. G.—laid under the interdict the church and convent of the Augustinians, because they had honourably received the said Legate; how the Legate's house was surrounded by troops and guarded day and night. The Legate then had excommunicated all those who had acted against him, and had declared null and void the acts of the Bishop's Curia.

All this is approved, and in the same way are confirmed the measures taken by the Legate against all those who have sided with the Bishop against the Legate. Among other things Card. de Tournon had laid under the interdict the Jesuit Col-

lege and Seminary of Macao. But the so called V. G. Gomez, had declared the interdict not binding. Hence both the Bishop and his V. G. had been summoned by the Cardinal to defend themselves. Now the Holy See declares the excommunications launched by the Bishop of Macao to be invalid; on the contrary the censures and the excommunications launched by the Legate to be binding in conscience—all privileges to the contrary being abrogated.

13. THE EX-JESUIT VISDELOU.

Meanwhile divisions had arisen also among the Jesuits. Most Fathers sided with the local Bishop, but some thought that justice was on the side of the Legate. Among these was Pere Visdelou, who so pleased the Legate that he appointed him Bishop of Claudiopolis, and Vicar Apostolic of Kue-y-cheu. The Portuguese, however, objected, and Visdelou left China and found refuge in Pondicherry. Here he thought that, on account of his vows, he could not accept the dignity which was offered him. Rome was informed, and the Pope in a most flattering letter, dated 15th March 1711 dispensed him from his vows. Here in Pondicherry he naturally sided with Teissier and the Capuchins against the Jesuits.

14. DEATH OF CARD. DE TOURNON.

Things had reached this point, when the unfortunate Legate died. We find three letters of the Pope, dated 15th August 1711 to the Governor, the Commander in Chief and the Chief Admiral of the Philippines, wherein he thanks them for having lent their services in conveying the red biretta to the Cardinal; and three more, one to the new Cardinal, and two to the Vicar Apostolic of Yunnan, and to Padre Lodovico Appiani of the Congregation of the Missions. The Cardinal is praised for his wonderful constancy amidst persecutions, and the latter are commended for having braved the storm and remained by the side of the Envoy of the Holy See.

But the Envoy was no more; and on the 19th September the Pope writes to the King of Portugal about "the calamity that has overtaken the whole Church" by the loss of this "intrepid Defender of the Pontiff's authority" and asks for reparation

and punishment of those who had opposed him. On the 14th of October he gathered the Cardinals in Consistory and made a moving speech in honour of "this great light and glory of the Sacred College". He ordered special Exequies in his own Chapel, and later on thanked the Archbishop of Manila for having celebrated a most solemn Office of the Dead for the Legate.

15. A LETTER OF POPE CLEMENT XI TO THE BISHOP OF MYLAPORE

was sent on the 17th of Sept. 1712. Therein was enclosed a decree of the Inquisition, reaffirming the decree issued in Pondicherry on the 3rd of June 1704 by the late Card. de Tournon. This was necessary, for the rumour had spread in the Diocese of Mylapore that the Cardinal's dispositions about the Malabar Rites had been abrogated, and the ceremonies and Rites in question were permitted either wholly or in part. Certainly rumours were not wanting which made the position of the Bishop of Mylapore most difficult. He was the great Madura Missionary Padre Francisco Laynez.

We cannot pass over a little matter which took place just at this time, and which shows how this Jesuit was really a man of God.

We have seen in the text the opposition of the Capuchins to the policy of the Jesuits in the matter of the Malabar Rites. Now it happened that Bishop Laynez made his Pastoral Visitation in Bengal, and there he met Fra Domenico da Fano and other Capuchins, who had been obliged to leave Tibet, for want of means. The good Bishop paternally received the poor Capuchins, and gave them a letter (3-12-1712) for the Cardinals of Propaganda, wherein he strongly recommended the Mission, insisted that financial help should be given every year—in fact it should be paid some years in advance—and the number of missionaries should be increased. The Cardinals thanked him (9-1-1714) and told him that they had voted unanimously to give the Tibet Mission an annual subsidy of 1000 scudi and to increase to 12 the number of missionaries for Tibet.

16. VISDELOU AGAIN.

Meanwhile Pere *Esprit de Tours*, who—as we have seen in the Text had been exiled from Pondicherry by Louis XIV—had

come back to India. He had brought from Europe the new decrees of Rome about the Malabar Rites, and after long confabulations with Teissier and Visdelou, they decided that the latter should write to Bishop Laynez, complaining that the Bishop had not yet published the said decrees, and threatening him, that unless he did it, Visdelou himself would be obliged to do it. This was in August 1715.

On the 15th of Jan. 1716 the Pondicherry Jesuits *Venantius Bouchet*, *Charles de la Breuille* and *Dominique Turpin* repudiated the decree of Visdelou on the Malabar Rites, for his jurisdiction was extinct, surreptitiously obtained and *extra limites*. Besides they considered it to be contrary to the mind of the Pontiff and manifestly dictated by the enemies of the Jesuits.

Visdelou protested, but in vain.

17. The Jesuits in Rome

and especially Very Rev. Fr. Tamburini were much perturbed at the troubles and dissensions caused by the controversies on the Rites. Naturally, the enemies of the Society found in this a golden opportunity to increase the growing antipathy in the Roman Curia against the Jesuits. It was said that their vows of special obedience to the Pope were "lip vows", with no substance or truth in them. On the occasion of the *Congregation of Procurators* held in November 1711, Father General was invited by the whole Society to present to the Pope a special document, wherein the Society indignantly rejected the insinuations current against itself and promised unconditional obedience to all the decrees and dispositions of Rome. The document was signed by twenty five Fathers among whom was Padre Giuseppe Provana, who represented the China Mission.

18. The embassy from China.

Padre Provana not only represented his own Mission in Rome, but was one of the four Ambassadors whom the Emperor of China had deputed to see the Pope and to present to him his point of view on the question of the Chinese Rites. But the Embassy was unlucky. In a letter which the Pontiff will address some years later to the Emperor (30-9-1719) he will explain that it had not been possible to take cognizance of the

Mission, for the two Amdassadors Antonio Barros and Antoine Beauvolier had never reached Rome but had died at sea. Of the other two, Ramon de Arxo spoke with the Pope and then left Rome to report to the Emperor. But he was overtaken by death in Spain. The fourth one, Padre Provana, got sick in Italy, where he was, and wherefrom he hoped to leave again for China as soon as his health would allow him.

19. Sebastiano de Andrada Pessanha

had succeeded Fra Augustino as Archbishop of Goa. In a letter dated 2nd Jan. 1716 the Pope seriously warned him not to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, i. e. not to transgress the limits of his jurisdiction and not to interfere with the Vicars Apostolic. Besides he was curtly told to abrogate whatever the other had done with regard to the Rites both of Malabar and of China, and to remove from office—and tell his Suffragans to remove—all those who had opposed the execution of the decrees of the late Card. de Tournon.

20. The New Legate.

Things, however, especially in China, were not going well, and the Pope thought of sending there a new Legate. In an Allocution held at the secret Consistory of the 18th of Sept. 1719, the Pope proposed to raise to the Patriarchate of Alexandria *Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba* and to send him to China. This Priest was barely 34 years old and had already filled with honour the posts of Governor of Todi and the Sabina. He was skilled in Canon Law, prudent, courteous. Arrangements were made with the King of Portugal, so that the new Legate might sail from Lisbon, under the aegis of the Portuguese Government. He was given ample faculties, which were duly communicated to the Governor of Macao. But Portugal could not forbear to limit them. On the 22nd of March 1720 Diego Mendonca Corte Real notified the Patriarch that he would not be allowed to interfere with the missionaries approved by His Majesty, nor erect new Vicariates, nor take cognizance of causes in first instance.

22. The Emperor of China K'ang Hai

died in 1722, and the two succeeding Emperors reversed his policy of toleration. In 1736 *K'ien Lung* issued an edict forbid-

ding the preaching of Christianity under penalty of death. Thereafter for more than a hundred years there was no respite for the nascent Chinese Church.

The Bull prohibiting the Chinese Rites was issued in 1742, and in 1747, the Dominican Vicar Apostolic Bishop Sanz, and four of his brethren in Religion endured a glorious martyrdom. During the following year four more Dominicans and two Jesuits went the same road to Heaven. Only Peking was an oasis in the desert of persecution, because the Emperor could not dispense with his Jesuit astronomers. It was during his long life that Brother Castiglione painted for him his exquisite pictures. Then, in 1773, the Society of Jesus was suppressed, but the Missions in China still continued and continue even now.

N. B. More than fifty documents pertaining to this matter were found in the *Bullarium Portugalliae*. Use was also made for the compilation of this Appendix of the articles on The *Catholic Church in China* by James Brodrick, S. J. (See the London *Tablet*, 15 and 22 August 1942). For a more thorough treatment of the Chinese Rites, see L. Pastor: History of the Popes. Vol XXXIV. English Translation.

APPENDIX II

CLAUDE DE VISDELOU

was born in Chateau de Bienassis 12-8-1656 and entered the Society of Jesus 5-9-1673. In 1685 he went to China where he was made Vicar Apostolic by the Legate de Tournon. Pere Gerbillon (letter dated 13-11-1705) says of him that he furnished the Legate with all the Chinese texts that seemed opposed to the views of the Jesuits in the question of Chinese Rites. He died at Pondicherry on 11-11-1737. Fr. Norbert gives his funeral oration in his *Memoirs*, and he quotes the following among his works:

1. Histoire de la Chine. Latin Trans. from the Chinese, 6 Vols pp. 720, 513, 610, 800, 700, 318.
2. Sur la Chronologie de la Chine, pp. 44.
3. Dissertation sur le Monument de Singanfu. pp. 168.

4. Sur la Religion Tao-Su des Bonzes. pp. 96.
5. De perfecta Imperturbabilitate. Liber Canonicus. pp. 216.
6. Discours sur la Doctrine des Brahmanes. pp. 16.
7. Vie de Confucius. pp. 103.
8. Histoire abrege de Japon. pp. 65.
9. Trad. Latine du Rituel des Chinois. pp. 500.
10. Traduction de Kukin. pp. 400.
11. Sur les Ceremonies et les Sacrifices des Chinois. pp. 600.
12. Eloges de leurs Philosophes. pp. 502.
13. Sur la Chronologie de la Chine. 4 parties. pp. 300, 24, 78.
14. De la Relig. Chinoise et Brahmane. pp. 226.
15. Des Antiquites de la Chine et des autres parties du Monde. pp. 210.

CHAPTER III

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

This was an event of world wide importance. We shall not enter into a detailed examination of the motives which led the Bourbon Courts to conduct a campaign against the Jesuits, which finally ended with their extinction; nor shall we pronounce judgement on the Pope who decreed their suppression. If any one desires more information he may consult standard works, as for inst. *The History of the Popes By Baron Von Pastor*, of the German Edition XVI Band, erste Abteilung, 261-276; 507-955.

Pastor could consult the secret Archives of the Vatican. The greatest part of the monumental work has been translated into English.

We shall confine ourselves to the Suppression of the Society in India, more especially in Goa and in Malabar. Our main source of information is the contemporary Padre Caeiro. The full title of his work is *Primeira Publicasao Apos 160 Anos do Manuscrito de Jose Caeiro* (inedito) *Sobre os Jesuitas do Brasil e da India na Perseguisao do Marques de Pombal* (seculo XVIII). Baia. Escola Tip. Sales. 1936; pp. 941; xxi.

The Latin MS was found in the Bruxelles Royal Library, by Antonio Vaz Serra, S. J. It was translated into Portuguese by M. N. Martins, S. J.

Use has been made also of *Il Beato Giuseppe Pignatelli*, d. C. d. G., 1737-1811 by C. Beccari, S.J. (Roma, 1933). Pignatelli was the brightest link joining the old Society of Jesus with the new. He was raised to the honour of the altars by Pope Pius XI in 1933

We thought it good to publish almost the whole of Padre *Francesco Filippi's* most interesting letter to P. Pietro Licchetta (1782), part in the text and part in the first Appendix.

The second Appendix deals with the survival of the Society in Russia and in Prussia.

P. Caeiro received his information directly from the actors in the tragedy. P. Filippi was one of the victims.

The Society, which had been founded with the object of carrying on the work of O. L. Jesus Christ in His Church, has been chosen by Him—we believe—to follow Him in His Passion and Death, and later on in His Resurrection.

CONTENTS

APPENDIX I

(FROM THE LETTER OF PADRE FILIPPI, S.J.)

APPENDIX II

ON THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOCIETY IN PRUSSIA AND IN RUSSIA.

1. *Catherine II protects the Jesuits.*
2. *The Bishop of Vilna's Letter.*
3. *Fr. Stanislaus Czerniewicz is called to St. Petersburg.*
4. *The Answer of Catherine.*
5. *A Letter of Catherine to the King of Spain.*
6. *Pope Pius VI and the Jesuits.*
7. *The Attitude of Frederic II with regard to the Jesuits.*

1. THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN EUROPE.

The first European nation to organizes the persecution of the Jesuits was *Portugal.* The Marquis of Pombal—chief Minister of State—accused them of having incited some S. American Tribes to rebellion, of having established, for their own aggrandizement, a Republic in the Province of Maranhao and of having plotted to take the life of the King, Joseph Emmanuel I. Though nothing was proved against them, they were banished in 1759 from Portugal and from Portuguese possessions, both in the East and in the West.*

* It is well known that under Mary, who succeeded Joseph Emmanuel on the throne of Portugal, Pombal was tried, found guilty and condemned to death. The sentence was not carried out, but the Marquis was banished from Lisbon to his own Estates. Padre Filippi, in a letter written in 1782, and from which we shall quote extensively later on, has the following: The Trial for some time did not see the light. Now it has been published. With regard to the Society of Jesus, the Marquis declared "I have always held that the Jesuits were good men and useful to the State. I was led to accomplish their destruction by the past and present Ministers of the Spanish Court. The main impulse came from a letter of Choiseul, written after the Dauphin's death. To bring about the suppression of the Jesuits I have spent considerable sums of money, amounting to millions. A part of the money was spent in Rome, bribing various Cardinals and Prelates (*horresco referens*). The libel on the illegitimacy of King Charles III, the fable of King Nicholas, with the money coined in his name, attributed to a Jesuit Lay Brother, and the book entitled *The Jesuit Republic*, come from such and such Religious, as it appears from the receipts kept in No. 13 of my Archives".

In *France* the Jansenists, the Encyclopaedists and the Parliament, all conspired against the Jesuits. Pascal in his *Lettres Provinciales*, in which the brilliancy of the style is equalled by the dishonesty of the writer, quoted scandalous passages, and garbled extracts from the writings of several Jesuits and, after distorting their meaning and wrenching them from their context, held them up to the world as detestable specimens of moral laxity. Voltaire threw himself into the struggle with diabolical cunning, and in 1761 wrote to Helvetius: "Once we have destroyed the Jesuits, that *infamous thing* (i.e. the Christian Religion) will be only child's play for us".

By the encouragement of Madame de Pompadour (the notorious mistress of Louis XV) and of the Minister, the Duke of Choiseul, d'Alambert published his work on the *Destruction of the Jesuits*, which was a sort of signal for a general attack. Innumerable pamphlets were circulated against the Jesuits. Even the venerable Fathers of St. Maur thought they would greatly enhance God's glory by publishing what they called *An Abstract of the Pernicious Assertions of the Jesuits.* What was published in their favour was burned. The Parliament condemned them, and though the French Bishops nobly stood up for them, by a decree of Aug. 16, 1762, the Society was suppressed in France as dangerous to the State.

The Bull *Apostolicum*, where Pope Clement XIII (1765) confirmed the Society anew and defended it against all its enemies, added oil to the flames of hatred and calumny.* "It was

* Here is not the place to quote the Bull itself. It may be said, however, that in a Brief (13-3-1766) to the Bishop of Barcelona the Pope explains why he had thought fit to publish the Bull. He says: "Nos illud Institutum approbare denuo et confirmare necesse fuit, ne profanorum vocibus fidelium aures diutius obtunderentur, neve simpliciores aliquid vitii in eo Nos comperisse ex silentio Nostro fortasse suspicarentur, et hujus S. Sedis in approbandis sacris regularium Ordinibus diffiderent". He repeats practically the same in 20 Briefs. What is very strange indeed is that even Pope Clement XIV, who suppressed the Jesuits in 1773, praised them only three years before as "full of zeal and charity" in a Brief wherein he grants them some spiritual favours. Here are his words: "Caelestium munerum thesauros quorum dispensatores esse nos voluit Altissimus libenter iis impertimur, quos pro sua in Deum et proximos charitate et christianae

necessary to approve again and confirm the Society of Jesus, in order that the faithful, by having it constantly dinned in their ears, should not gradually accustom themselves (to regard it as guilty), or that simple folk should not be led by our silence to suspect in the Society something wrong, and should not lack confidence in the Holy See, when it approves religious orders".

On the night between the 2 and 3 of April 1767 all the Jesuits in *Spain* were arrested, led under guard to the sea-shore and embarked for the Papal States. Charles III did not publish his edict till this cruel act of violence had taken place, and there he simply stated that he had suppressed the Society for grave reasons. The same year the Jesuits were exiled from Naples and Parma.

Finally the united efforts of all the Bourbon Courts succeeded in extorting the decree of Suppression of the Society from the Pope himself, *Clement XIV*, Ganganelli.

He made no attempt to establish the charges brought against the Jesuits; he gave them no fair hearing; he did not listen to the defence brought forth by their friends; he established no tribunal even to inquire into and pronounce sentence on the odious crimes of which many Jesuits were accused. And yet the protestant historians who never tire of denouncing the crimes—true or invented—of a Borgia, have no blame for the conduct of Ganganelli. Still, the former ruled the Church well. He betrayed his own soul but not the Spouse of Christ; while the latter, by his fatal opportunism dealt such a blow on the Church, both in Europe and in the Missions, that no single generation will suffice to heal her wounds.*

Padre Licchetta, S.J., in a letter to be quoted at length in the next chapter, tells us that in India the news of the suppression of the Society was received with jubilation in certain quarters. It

religionis zelo animarum salutem procurare intelligimus; quo in genere cum Soc. Jesu Religiosos habeamus, eosque imprimis quos dilectus filius L. Ricci ejusdem Soc. Jesu Praepositus Generalis ob hanc causam hoc ipso et consequentibus annis in diversas provincias christianae reipublicae mittere constituit, etc".

* Cfr. *History of the Catholic Church* by J.A. Birkhaeuser—XIX ed. and "*Christian Missions*" by Marshall.

may be instructive to summarize the Pastoral Letter in which a Suffragan of Goa—Don Alexandro de Silva Pedrosa Guimaraes of Macao—announced to his Clergy the good news. He gives the history of the foundation of the order; gradually its Colleges were multiplied, and so was its wealth. This was done against the rules of the Church, and by defrauding the State. The Jesuits did not hesitate to domineer everywhere. They managed to rule the consciences of Kings and Queens and of Ministers of State. They exercised undue influence at the Court of Rome, and extorted such extraordinary privileges as to make even the authority of Bishops pale before them. In Malabar and in China they corrupted the faith by hiding the image of Christ Crucified. They introduced idolatry and superstition and novel rites, and so created troubles to Kings and Bishops and Inquisitors. They committed great cruelties and sacrileges, but nobody could touch them, for they were strong in Rome, at the Congregation of Rites and the Apostolic Penitentiary. Besides, they had obtained from Pope Gregory XIII that all those who attacked their Institute were excommunicated. Further—and this is a rare jewel—they tried their best to rob all the Asiatic Potentates of their crowns, and they invited the King of Portugal—Don Sebastiao—to come and crown himself Emperor of China and of the East. But he was the faithful friend of the Emperor of China, and so he refused. Now, the Pope, listening to the clamours of so many Religious Orders, of so many Kings, has finally suppressed the Society, etc, etc.

2. TWO DOCUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE SOCIETY.

It is beyond the scope of this book to attempt a defence of the Jesuits. Yet we shall give a letter of Pope Clement XIII (16-4-1767) to the King of Spain who had decreed the expulsion of the Society. Surely, had the Jesuits been guilty of so many crimes, the Pope could not have written in this manner. The letter is as follows:

"*Tu Quoque, Fili Mi?* Must it be Our most dear Son, the Catholic King of Spain Charles III to fill the chalice of our affliction to overflowing, and to overwhelm Our old age with tears and sorrow? Must the most pious and most religious King of Spain lend his arm—that powerful arm which God has given him to sustain the divine honour, the honour of the Church

and the salvation of souls—to *the enemies of God, and of his Church*? Shall he deprive for ever his kingdoms and his peoples of so many spiritual ministrations, which for over two centuries they have drawn from sermons, missions, catechisms, exercises, and the education of youth? Oh Sire, our spirit fails us when we contemplate such a disaster. But what saddens us even more is to think that the most wise and mild King Charles III, whose conscience is so delicate, whose intentions so upright, who could not tolerate that the least of his subjects should suffer the least harm...He himself has thought it fit to proceed against a whole body of Ecclesiastics, who are consecrated to God and to the service of the Church, and without examining them, without giving them the chance of defending themselves, has decreed to exile them, to deprive them of their honour, of their country and of the house which they had lawfully acquired...Certainly we confess, that, while we feel extreme sorrow and pain for the fact itself, we tremble for the salvation of your soul, which is to Us most dear.

"Your Majesty asserts that You have been obliged to take this decision by the duty to maintain the peace and tranquillity of Your dominions; and by this You intend to make Us believe that some trouble which occurred among Your peoples has been caused by some member of the Society. But, should this be true, why has not Your Majesty endeavoured to find out the culprits, without involving the innocent in this disaster? *We solemnly assert it before God and men that the body, the Institute, the spirit of the Society of Jesus is, not only innocent, but pious, useful, holy in its object, its laws, its maxims.* We may now leave out of account the taking away of so many labourers from the well cultivated vineyard of Spain and the stopping of the fruits of piety and utility which it produced there. But to what state will be reduced so many Missions in distant lands, among barbarous nations, which had been opened and cultivated by the sweat and blood of the followers of St Ignatius and of St Francis Xavier, and which now will be deprived of their Pastors and spiritual Fathers?

"But politicians will say that the step has now been taken and the royal decree has been published. And what will the world say if it be revoked and its execution suspended? Sire, what will the world say?... And why do not rather ask what will Heaven say?...

"We pray Your Majesty, by the name of Jesus Christ, which is the standard under which militate the Sons of Ignatius, and by the name of the Bl. Virgin Mary, whose Immaculate Conception they have ever defended, We pray Your Majesty, by Our saddened old age, that You relent and be pleased to revoke, or at least to suspend the order already given...And We are sure that Your Majesty will easily understand that the punishment and extinction of the whole body are not proportional to the crimes—if crimes there be—of a few individuals".

The second document is even more moving. It is the *Testament of P. Lorenzo Ricci* the last General of the Jesuits, which he

wrote in his prison and which he confirmed just before receiving the last Sacraments on his death bed, in Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome. The Testament reads as follows:

"The uncertainty of the time in which God may be pleased to call me to himself, and the certainty that such time is not for away, on account of my old age, and the multitude, the length and the gravity of my trials, which are well above my strength—warn me to fulfil my duties. In fact it may well happen that the nature of my last sickness may prevent me from fulfilling them just before death.

"Now, considering myself on the point of death, when I shall appear before the tribunal of infinite Truth and Justice—which is only God's Tribunal—after a long and mature consideration, and after having humbly prayed to my merciful Redeemer and terrible Judge not to allow that passion may guide the last actions of my life—not in bitterness of spirit, nor for any other faulty end or affection, but only because I deem it my duty to do justice to truth and innocence, I make the following declarations and protestations:

1st I declare that the extinct Society of Jesus has given no cause for its suppression. I declare, and insist on this, with that certainty which may be had by a Superior who is well informed about his Order.

2nd I declare and protest that I have given no cause—not even the slightest—for my imprisonment. I assert this with that supreme evidence and certainty which every man has about his own actions. I make this second protest only because it is necessary for the good name and honour of the extinct Society of Jesus, of which I was the Superior General.

"I do not intend by these declarations that any one of those who have harmed me or the Society should be culpable in the presence of God. I simply abstain from judging them. The thoughts of the mind and the sentiments of the heart are known only to God. He sees the errors of the human intellect, and knows those which may excuse from sin. To Him alone are known the ends which move one to act, and the feelings which accompany all our actions; and since from these depend the innocence or otherwise of the external action, I leave the judgement to Him *qui interrogabit corda et cogitationes scrutabitur*. (Wisdom, VI). And in order to satisfy my duty as a Christian, I declare that, with God's help I have always forgiven, and do forgive, all those who have done me harm, first by their accusations against the Society of Jesus, next by the suppression of the same and by the circumstances that have accompanied it, and finally by any imprisonment and by the hardships added to it and the harm done to my honour; facts these that are well known to the whole world.

"I pray to Our Lord, first to pardon me by his infinite mercy and by the merits of Jesus Christ, my sins; and then to pardon the authors and abettors

of all the above mentioned evils and injustices. I intend to die with this sentiment and prayer in my heart. Finally I ask all those who will see these my declarations and protestations to make them known to the world, so far as in them lies. I beg and implore, by every title of justice and Christian charity, to fulfill this my will and desire."

Lorenzo Ricci, manu propria.*

But now let us pass on to speak of the way in which the suppression of the Society was carried out in India.

3. THE STORM IN GOA.

The Count of Ega, Emmanuel Saldanha Albuquerque, was chosen by Pombal for the purpose. He left Portugal in March and reached Murmagao on the 18th September 1758. Three days later he visited the body of St. Francis Xavier at the Bom Jesu, kindly accepted the homage of the Fathers, and granted a long interview to their Provincial, Padre Lopez. Later on they received an order to prepare an inventory of all their goods, to be sent to Lisbon. They obeyed, and only a short time after, they were notified that the Viceroy desired them to give up to him the house they had recently bought in Pangim. His own villa house was not healthy while the Pangim climate was very salubrious. The Jesuit Procurator pointed out that numerous villas could be had in the vicinity of Goa. The Pangim house, being near the sea, served as a sanatorium, and was very convenient for shipping various commodities destined to the Missions of Malabar, Malacca and Japan. The Viceroy seemed to acquiesce; but soon after the Jesuits had to quit, for it was by order of the King that the house had to be given up. Naturally the King's orders justified every injustice.

* If space allowed it, we would like to print here the *Trial* to which Padre Ricci was subjected while a prisoner in the Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome. See *Processo fatto al P. Lorenzo Ricci ch'era della Compagnia di Gesu', ricopiato dall' originale scritto dallo stesso* in *Osservazioni sopra la Istoria del Pontificato di Clemente XIV*. Modena, 1853. pp. 105-121.

Nothing shows more clearly the innocence of the General and of the Society. The Pope who suppressed the Society was frightened out of his wits by the Ministers of the Bourbons. Some (f. i. Cardinal Calino, q. v.) suspected that in the end he was really off his head.

The Viceroy had not been long in India, when he began to distribute both to the Clergy and to the Nobility an infamous pamphlet against the Society, which he had brought from Portugal. He sent a boxful to the Archbishop, Don Antonio Taveira Neiva, who, however, refused to broadcast such calumnies. But others, and not a few, positively delighted to feed on dirt. The storm was gathering fast, and friends advised the Jesuits to remove the body of St. Francis Xavier, and, under cover of night, to leave the Portuguese dominions, and seek shelter among Hindu Rajas. They refused. Soon after a certain Leonel Antonio, with a posse of soldiers was ordered to storm the College of St Paul. The word is to be taken literally, for the Viceroy in his foolishness, had feared armed opposition from the Jesuit Scholastics and from the native servants. Leonel laughed in his sleeve, and the whole of Goa admired the bravery of the Portuguese against warriors armed with holy water and sprinklers. The task of taking the Professed House was entrusted to Luiz Botelho and Francisco de Gusmao. They got the key of the tomb of St. Francis Xavier, for they knew that plenty of gold and precious stones were to be found there. Then all the Fathers were gathered in the hall and graciously kept there the whole day. Only the Provincial and the Rector were allowed to return to their rooms. P. Emmanuel Figueredo—eighty years old—was Procurator of the Province. Thinking that the book he had in his hands was the book of accounts, from which he could get a glimpse of the fabulous wealth of the Jesuits, Botelho snatched it away. It was only the Breviary. In his disconfiture he tore away another little book from the old man. But the found nothing in it, except some peccadilloes, which the good Father was marking every day for his particular examen. Thereupon P. Figueredo spoke so seriously and with such dignity, that the uncouth soldier dared not open his mouth. Towards evening the Fathers, who had been fasting the whole day, were marched to the new College of St. Paul, where Botelho, turned from soldier to auctioneer, proceeded to sell the property of his unfortunate victims.

The villa-house was taken by the Desembargador Bernardo

Lopez, who, however, behaved like a gentleman. Similarly praiseworthy was the conduct of another Official, José Machado.

The Queen of Portugal had arranged that her properties in India should be administered by a Jesuit Lay-Brother, Antonio Fernandes. He became blind; but the Queen insisted that he should continue to be her procurator. Now a certain Melchior Vaz, with scanty courtesy, demanded that the Brother should give up everything. Then he pushed him up on the terrace, and left him there—he was seventy years old—exposed to the violence of the monsoon. Two other companions were soon added to him; namely P. Macedo and Br. Perera, who for many years had been in charge of the King's Hospital in Goa. Later on they were taken to the College, which was to be the temporary prison for all the Goa Jesuits.

The Province of Japan owned a house near the sea shore. One José Lobo Vieiga was ordered to take possession of it, and he discharged his odious job in a manner so considerate and kind as to rouse the wonder of all. Quite different was the behaviour of C. L. Cameiro, who was sent to the house belonging to the Malabar Province. Thirty soldiers surrounded the Superior, P. Pimentel, and kept him the whole day in the rain outside his own house. In the evening he with four other Fathers and a Lay Brother were sent prisoners to the College. It would be tedious to relate all the petty vexations to which the Fathers were subjected in those days. The Government Officials were after three main things; golden vessels, money and writings; and no sacred or secret place was respected, no room was left unopened, no chest of drawers unexamined. It is related that the zeal of the Desembargador Luiz Fransa went so far as to order his soldiers to enter the very privies of the College, and look for papers or coins.

Eighty four Jesuits were imprisoned in the College of St. Paul, which was surrounded by armed forces, as if it were a most dangerous fortress. In the morning about half could say Mass. Seven at a time entered the church—which, of course, was closed to the public—and even during Mass they were guarded by the soldiers. Soldiers before each room; soldiers along the corridors; soldiers in the refectory. Pumkins,

melons and even the loaves of broad were cut open when brought from the market, in order to avoid all clandestine communication with the outside world. And yet friends managed to elude the Argus-eyed gaolers.

Since the Fathers were not allowed to walk in the garden, several began to feel unwell. Beds were then arranged in the corridor near the main entrance, so that the physicians who were to attend the sick, should not wander about the house. What had taken place in Goa happened also in the College of Rachol. The twenty four Jesuits who were working in the district of Salsete, and who could easily have absconded, all remaned at their posts and were imprisoned. It was but the beginning of the rewards they were to receive from Portugal for having preached the Gospel, educated the young, helped the poor and spread the influence of the Motherland far and wide.*

4. MORAL SUFFERINGS.

It would be difficult to describe the joy of the heathen at the downfall of the Jesuits. "Finally"—it was murmured—"the Hindu gods had their revenge. If the God of the Christians could not defend his own ministers, where is his power? If the Jesuits have falleu, Christianity itself will soon collapse". Meanwhile the prisoners were being terrified by rumours from Portugal that they would be hanged, or burned at the stake as traitors to the King. However, keener sorrows were in store for them. Their persecutors were Catholics, and bad Catholics know how to wound their Priests more deeply than non-believers. One day the Provincial Lopes heard from the Desembargador Fransa that all the Jesuits who were not Professed of the four vows had to leave the Society. He answered there and then that no one would be dismissed against his will; that he could not be a party to such an injustice. Then he told his subjects to pray hard that such a misfortune might be averted.

A few days later Fransa came as usual for the roll-call. But when he called out the names of the young Jesuits, he noticed their sadness, and asked why some were crying. He

* Cfr. *Caeiro*, Op. Cit. pp. 620-681.

was told that they feared their dismissal. They preferred a thousand times death in the Society, which had been a loving mother to them all, rather than life and honours outside. Fransa was so moved by their earnest sincerity that he promised he would himself plead their cause with the Viceroy. He vowed also to go barefoot to St. Xavier's Tomb, and to distribute 300 xeraph to the poor, if the cruel order was rescinded. Next day he met Antonio Vaz Figueredo—a good friend of the Jesuits—and both together went to the Saint's Tomb. From there they proceeded to the Viceroy. They pleaded so well that he too was moved to compassion. The King's letters were reexamined and it was found that the question of the dismissal was to be referred to the Archbishop. When the Prelate was asked what orders he had from Portugal, he answered he had none. So it was decided to let the young Jesuits alone.

Meanwhile the Provincial had given letters to his subjects that, should they be compelled to put away the habit of the Society, they would not cease to belong to her, and could seek admission in some other Province. Not all, however, remained faithful to their vocation. One Father and five Lay-Brothers left—a small number indeed among hundreds.*

Though the storm was averted for the moment, no one knew what the future held in store for them. Should the younger Jesuits be dismissed, what would be their fate? For they did not belong to India, but had come either from Europe or from South America. Further, the Missions now could not receive help from Goa. The resourceful Provincial thought that arrangements both to help the Missions and to provide against the eventual disbandment of the younger Jesuits, could better be made if some members of the Society did apparently leave, for, once outside the prison they could buy mass wine to be sent to the Missionaries, and could attend to the repatriation of their companions.

The Viceroy was approached through Fransa, and since he himself needed the advice of some experienced Jesuits, not only he did not oppose the plan, but he actually furthered it.

* See P. Licchetta's Letter, in the next chapter.

Therefore the Procurators of Goa, of Japan and of Malabar, left the College and betook themselves to a house, which had been kindly lent by a Dominican. But, when the Archbishop was informed, he disapproved of the whole matter, and deprived them of the faculties to hear Confessions and to preach. The month, however, which they spent outside the College was sufficient to arrange the most pressing business and to save some property from the rapacious hands of officials.*

5. THE JESUITS ARE SHELTERED IN VARIOUS RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

A Dominican, Manoel of St. Thomas, and a Franciscan, Antonio Padua, approached the Secretary to the Viceroy, and showed him how foolish it was to keep so many soldiers busy with the Jesuits, while Goa was in danger of being attacked by the enemy. It would certainly be better if the job could be entrusted to other Religious. What the Friars were aiming at, was the possession of our houses and churches. P. Lopes got wind of the plot, and begged that the Jesuits might be left in their own houses, where their would-be gaolers could well guard them; or at least they should be given the choice of the Convent where they should go. But he was foiled in both his attempts.

The Jesuits left their College, and were sheltered in the various houses of the Augustinians, the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Capuchios. The willing custodians received about one third of a Roman scudo for the maintenance of each Jesuit. The sacred vestments, the mass wine, and the flour for the hosts were brought from our houses, and so were the servants. The Professed house and the College of Rachol were entrusted to the Dominicans; the old College of St. Paul to the Augustinians; the new College to the Capuchios; the Noviciate to the Franciscans; the Villa of St. Rosalia to the Brothers of St. John of God.

It must be said that all the Religious treated the Jesuits well with the exception of the Augustinians. And of these, the older Fathers were all for the Jesuits. In fact, to mention

* Caeiro. op. cit. pp. 706-32.

only a few, Bernard of St. Cajetan, Bishop designate of Mylapore, Teodoro de S. Jose, Antonio da Conseisao, former Provincials, and especially an old man, Ambrose by name, pleaded in the name of charity and common decency that every effort should be made to lighten the burden of the Jesuits. Even if the money given by Government should not suffice they should borrow; but their persecuted brethren should not suffer. These counsels did not please the Provincial, Joao de Cruz, and the Superior of the house, Nicolou do Sacramento.

When, asked how many they could accommodate, they answered; one hundred, and more. But then they squeezed 23 in an upper gallery, 45 ft long and 2½ broad; 34 were accommodated in 14 little cells. The refectory was 25 by 25 ft. Of the sanitary arrangements the less said the better. P. Lopez, fearing the worst for the health of his sons, appealed to the Rector, but in vain. He appealed to the Viceroy, who made inquiries from the Augustinian Provincial. But de Cruz answered that the place was ample. In fact he insisted with the Superior to be strict with the "despicable" Jesuits. The napkins in the Refectory were not changed for three months and a half. The crockery was not sufficient. Some had to eat with their fingers. No wine, no fruit, no fresh meat or fish. Avarice rather than hatred was the cause of all this. The old Nicolau thought it a good opportunity to improve the finances of his house at the expense of the prisoners. Similarly only one was allowed to say Mass, in order to spare the mass wine. No communication was allowed with externs, and these so called Religious went so far as even to put their hands under the loin cloth of the servants, to see that no letters were hidden there. Three Fathers got sick and died, but when the Prov. Lopez asked that they should be interred in the Jesuit vault, this last act of kindness was denied. The doctor, however, who had been called in, protested against the treatment meted out to the Jesuits. The servants spread rumours about the avarice of the Augustinians, who, to save their honour with the town people began to speak of the pride, the want of mortification, the infinite pretensions of the Jesuits.

But let us leave this miserable story and pass to better things. The Dominicans treated the Jesuits most generously, and one of them, Joao Pilario, had the courage to publicly reproach the Superior of the Augustinians for his niggardliness and cruelty. The Superior of S. Barbara, Alberto de S. Jose, O.P. ordered many fruit trees to be cut down, that the Jesuit Scholastics might have a good play ground. The church, the library, the refectory were common both to Jesuits and Dominicans. The fare was so generous that the Jesuits begged it should be less abundant.

The Superiors of the other Religious Orders vied with the Dominicans in their kindness. But the Capuchios * surpassed them all. Not only did they allow them to deal with externs, but even arranged to bring them to see each other, and to see their friends in closed palanquins. On the feasts of the Society they adorned the church, and insisted that whatever they did was very little in comparison with what they owed to the Society.

We shall conclude this section with the attempt to violate the tomb of St. Xavier on the part of the Viceroy's Secretary, Vaz, and the Inquisitor Mark de Azevedo. Desirous to open the tomb in order that the Viceroy could see the sacred Body, they went at night. But they had only two of the three keys needed to open the tomb. Also, they did not know the secret contrivances with which the tomb was locked. Hence they used hammers, crowbars and other implements; but all to no purpose, for in the morning they had to leave the church with empty bags.**

6. THE CALUMNIES OF JOAO VELOSO.

This man, who had been an Officer in the Army, and whose mind, we fear, was a bit unhinged, faked letters for the French Commander of Mahe—a tiny French settlement in Malabar—wherein the Viceroy, the Archbishop, some religious Provincials, and three Jesuits proposed to give up the Fortress of Goa to the French, who, joining with the Portuguese, would expel the English Protestants from India. He then took the letters, not

* These are not to be confused with the Capuchins. They were the "*Recollects*" of the Mother of God Province, inaugurated in 1569.

** *Caeiro*, op. ci't. pp. 736—60.

to Mahe', but to the English Governor of Tellicherry, and talking like one who was revealing an awful conspiracy, succeeded in getting some money out of the gullible Englishman. The latter sent the documents to the English Governor of Bombay, who sent them on to England. In due course, they came back to the Viceroy, via Lisbon.

Though the Viceroy readily acknowledged the foolishness of the accusation as far as he himself and the Archbishop were concerned, he allowed himself to be persuaded by his serpentine Secretary Vaz, that the Jesuits were surely to be blamed. Hence he ordered their imprisonment to be more severe and their confinement more strict.

Veloso, noticing the indignities to which the Jesuits were submitted, and knowing that he had contributed to make them heavier, remembering on the other hand their former kindness, when they helped him in his destitution, moved by remorse of conscience, decided to do everything in his power to alleviate their sad lot. Only he did know how to set about it. At that time (1760), a Capuchio, Fr. Manoel do San Joao Evangelista, arrived in Goa from Calicut. As chance would have it, the repentant Veloso sought counsel from the good Friar, who volunteered to sail to Tellicherry, in order to placate the English. He succeeded; and having come back, he went to Bombay, where also he allayed the suspicions of the English. The Viceroy, fully enlightened on the matter, relaxed somewhat towards the hapless Jesuits. He sent the Inquisitor, Mark de Azevedo to report on the condition of the Jesuits sheltered with the Augustinians. The report was so unfavourable that it was decided to remove them elsewhere. The Provincial, de Cruz, fearing to lose the money he was making by starving the Jesuits, pleaded with the Viceroy that it was all the fault of Fr. Nicolao, that he knew nothing about it, that in future, things would change. Some Jesuits, however, were removed, and the remaining were allowed to receive some help from friends. Unfortunately only some reached them. The greater part stopped with the gaolers.*

* Caeiro, Op. cit, pp. 760-4, 798.

7. THE MISSIONARIES AD PAGANOS.

By the King's order, dated 3rd September 1759, all the Jesuits were to be imprisoned and expelled from the King's dominions. By a second decree (25-2-1761) their goods were to be confiscated and taken over by the State. At the time there were, in Goa 228 Jesuits. The Viceroy had no difficulty in securing them. But how to catch those working within the dominions of Indian Rajas? After many consultations, he decided to compel the Provincial to write to his fellow Jesuits to come to Goa. Since P. Lopez had already warned them to disregard even his own letters, should they contain any command prejudicial to Religion, (for he was not free to act), he easily consented.

Meanwhile the Provincials of various Orders chose some young priests, mostly inexperienced, and some old men, of whom they desired to rid their Convents, to be sent to the Missions. The State would give each one 150 Roman scudos every year, while the Jesuits never received more than 30. Some Dominicans started for Chitor, where the German Jesuit Fr. Albert Zarth was working. But they soon came back, with letters both to the Provincial and the Viceroy. The Provincial was told that the Father was quite ready to obey, only he knew that P. Lopez was not free to act. The Viceroy was told that he was not a Portuguese subject, and that he preferred to obey the King of Kings rather than the King of Portugal. The improvised Missionaries were glad to return to Goa, for they had seen with their own eyes how different were the conditions in the Missions and in the capital, and how hard was the life of the Jesuit Missionaries.

Having failed to get Fr. Zarth back to Goa, the Government turned their eyes to Mysore and to Malabar. Since the year 1745 *Don Clemente, S. J.* was Bishop of Cochin, and another Jesuit, *Don Salvador dos Reis*, was Archbishop of the Serra. In 1760 the Viceroy thought it would be good if he could get them transferred, for, as he put it, they were Jesuits "of the first rank". But he failed.

Then he chose some priests, and under the leadership of Friar Manoel de San Joao Evangelista, sent them down to Calicut. During the voyage they quarrelled a good deal, till they succeeded in freeing themselves of their Superior. From Calicut they proceeded to the various Missions. The Bishops had been warned to receive them well and to assign them the Parishes vacated by the Jesuits. Should they refuse, they would forfeit the 600 scudos, which they received from Government every year. Both Bishops answered that they were ready to receive all good priests that might be sent to them. But these priests did not know the language and lacked all qualifications to work in the Missions. As to the 600 scudos—added Don Salvador—it was already six years he had received nothing from Government. It would not be very intolerable if they continued to pay his dues in the same way. For 34 years, as a Jesuit, he had lived on rice and vegetables. As a Bishop, the fare had not been very different. If his poor Christians could not maintain him, he was still fairly strong, and he could work!

The would-be Missionaries had not yet reached Calicut, when all their money was spent. Poorer, if not wiser, they sailed back to Goa. Secretary Vaz devised another plan. He prepared letters full of calumnies against the Jesuits, and despatched them to the various Rajas, asking them to exile these enemies of Portugal. The letters were accompanied by rich presents. But the prestige of Portugal in India had long set. The Rajas rather believed their own eyes, which testified the virtues of calumniated priests than the epistles of malicious clerks. The gifts were accepted, but nothing more was done. In a letter of the 7th April 1761 the King of Portugal—or rather his evil genius, Pombal—having heard of the delays of the Prelates of Cochin and of Cranganore in getting rid of the Jesuits, says that if they continue in their disobedience, they must be held as traitors and enemies of the King's person, they must be deprived of their nationality, exiled and stripped of all their honours, dignities and possessions. They are ordered to leave their Sees and betake themselves to Lisbon.

In December of the same year Don Salvador answered that, considering all the troubles he had in the Serra, he would be most happy to leave it, and, in spite of his old age, sail for Portugal. But then his Christians would fall under the Vicar Apostolic with great loss to the Padroado, or, worse still, they might fall under the Schismatics. The latter had offered 40,000 xeraphins to the Raja of Travancore if he declared all the Christians in his dominions to belong to the Schismatics; and he would have done so, had not Don Salvador sent a Missionary to represent his case. For this purpose he had to spend a good deal of money, for here no wheel turns unless it is well oiled. Hence he will wait a little longer for the King's commands to be notified to him.

Similar was the answer of Don Clemente, who was so tired with vexations from pagan Rajas and troubles from bad Christians, that he desired to withdraw to the Serra and prepare for death. What prevented him was the fear lest the disorders should increase and his Diocese should fall under Verapoly. Let them give him a worthy successor, and he would be only too happy to resign.

In 1648 the Neapolitan Padre Leonardo Cinami had started the Mission of Mysore, which had prospered, having being watered with the blood of Martyrs. When the Mysoreans heard that the Society was threatened with extinction and that they were in danger of losing their beloved Fathers, they decided to go to Goa, in order to intercede with the Viceroy. Further, having sold some of their properties, they would offer the money to their own Raja, in order to induce him not to yield to Goa, and make the missionaries quit his dominions. The twelve Fathers who were working in Mysore, when they heard that the people had chosen three of the most influential Catechists to go to Goa, did not approve of the plan, for they considered it useless. They were answered that a Christian Viceroy could not be deaf to the pleadings of Christians for the Christian Religion. In their simplicity they did not know that with politicians the voice of conscience rarely prevails over reasons of state. When they reached Goa, they were admitted before the Viceroy, who smiled at their supplications and answered that all the cunning of the Jesuits

would not prevent him from ridding the whole of Asia of that pestilent brood. The legates replied that they had not been sent by the Jesuits. They had come of their own accord; and being moved to anger, they added that they would not be deprived of their Pastors, even if it should cost them their lives. The Viceroy sarcastically remarked: "Wait a little and see whether the Jesuits will remain with you when the supplies from Goa will fail them". "They will, for though we are poor, there will always be some rice to share with Fathers". "But soon there will be no Fathers left to take the place of the old". "Well, we shall go to the French of Pondicherry, or even to Europe, to get some others. We want the Jesuits and only the Jesuits. Other Priests you may keep to yourself".

The conversation soon changed into a quarrel. All wondered at the freedom with which the Mysoreans reproached the Viceroy for persecuting the innocent, whose only desire in life was to serve God and to spread his Kingdom. Unceremoniously they were expelled from Court. They stopped at Secretary Vaz. They were disappointed. Finally they sought an audience with the Primate. He received them well and examined them in their Catechism. Their answers pleased him. Formerly he had not approved of the Jesuits' mode of life, which followed in the footsteps of Padre de Nobili. But when he heard the Mysoreans praise the mortification of the missionaries and their spirit of penance, he nearly changed his views and expressed a desire that the Priests and Friars, who were swarming in Goa might gossip less and pray more, be less punctilious about the privileges of their cloth and more zealous of God's honour. Since it was Lent and the Mysoreans desired to confess, he obtained that they should be allowed to visit the Jesuits for the purpose.

When the Mysore Catechists were about to leave, twelve young Jesuits offered themselves to accompany them. But they were refused because the Catechists had given their word to the Fathers that they would not take any Jesuit back to Mysore, in order not to complicate matter with the Government. Later on the Viceroy asked the Raja of Mysore, to hand over the Jesuits, for they were very dangerous, and belonged to a

criminal society. The Raja let him know that the Jesuits had laboured in Mysore for over 100 years. They had always kept the laws, they had honoured the Raja and done good to the people. He saw no reason to exile them. Rather he was glad that they continued to work in his Kingdom. *

8. THE JESUITS RETURN TO THE NEW COLLEGE.

At the beginning of Sept. 1760 some English ships touched Goa. They brought the news that Pombal had been killed by the mob, and Don Pedro had succeeded Don Jose on the throne. It was a canard artfully spread by Pombal himself in order to see the reactions among the Jesuits, and get other reasons to persecute them. On the 24 Sept. the fleet arrived from Portugal and the false rumours were dispelled. Soon after the soldiers surrounded the various houses where the Jesuits were guarded, and the poor wretches, having gathered their little belongings, were marched to the New College of St. Paul, there to await further orders. The College was a three storied building. On the first floor were housed the soldiers under Luiz Botelho de Vale; the second was occupied by the Capuchios, who were in charge of the church; the third, not yet completed and properly windowed, was left to the former masters, the Jesuits. Since the Fathers of Mozambique had come to Goa, the prisoners were now 130, to whom must be added 20 native servants. There was scarcely room for 60. One can easily imagine the stench, made more intolerable by the heat. Vale had taken care to remove all the chords with which the prisoners had tied their linen, in order to prevent all communication from the windows. The imprisonment lasted three months, and the new gaoler was the opposite of the old one, Fransa, who had been very kind indeed. To give just one example of his methods; upon the death of two Jesuits, he ordered the bodies to be brought down. A doctor was called in to swear that death was true and not simulated. The bodies then were carried away without allowing their sorrowing brethren to accompany them to church. Spies were set in the courtyard to prevent all communication with the kind Capuchios. But in vain; for

*Caeiro, Op. cit. pp. 766-820.

under the cover of darkness many basketfuls of letters and other things were passed from the upper story into the hands of the good Capuchios. As Vale was cruel, so Aloysius Antonio Pereira was kind to the Jesuits. His job was to cater for his prisoners, and his diligence and generosity were such as to shame many a Religious. Through his hands many gifts, coming from the good Goans, found their way to the prisoners.*

9. PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE TO LISBON.

On the 5th Nov. 1760 the King's orders to sail were communicated to the Jesuits. Vale was told to provide them with clothes, and he did it well. But he was overmeticulous in exacting the minutest information of the things the Jesuits wanted to take with them. Before leaving they arranged with the Capuchios that for six months a daily Mass to Our Lady should be said, and one Mass every third day both to St. Xavier and to St. Anthony should be offered in their behalf. Friends had given them the money needed for this. On the night of the 19 Dec. they were taken down to the jetty. Many people in tears accompanied the victims, who, ten by ten, each little company surrounded by soldiers, left the city where they had worked faithfully for more than two centuries, both in the service of God and of their ungrateful country. Some twenty little boats were ready to take them to the ship. But here arose some trouble. The Jesuits in the boats were 127. Alcassova the Admiral, refused to take more than 50. He could not accommodate more. Vale protested, but the Admiral did not yield. Messengers were despatched to the Viceroy, who answered that no Jesuit could be left behind. Finally, after long parleys, the Admiral yielded, and the criminals went on board. Before sunrise (20 Dec.) the booming of the gun from the Fortress gave the signal for the ship to sail. Five spans by two and a half was the space allotted to each. That would have sufficed for 60. They were more than double the number. Room was made on the right side of the ship. Beds were stretched on the floor, hanged from beams, hammock like, or between the guns. Some managed to sleep on ropes. No privacy, no

* Caeiro, Op. Cit. pp. 832-8.

comforts. Old men, broken in health, were now huddled together with young lads fresh from the Noviciate. Protection from the rough seas, from the rains and the sun, quite inadequate. They were allowed some time for walks, but the place assigned was that which had been reserved for sheep and cows.

For provisions Government had assigned 9,675 xeraphins to the Franciscan Friar Alexander of O. Lady of good Success. The number to be provided for was 127; the time, over three months. Evidently the money was not plentiful. The good Franciscan provided 500 hens, 200 chickens, one barrel of flour one of barley, twelve small cheeses, plenty of rice, or better, gram for horses. The *orrokam*—a kind of wine made of raisins and some palm juice—did not last three months, though many never tasted it, and others, sick or weak, never took more than a small glass every day (*pocillum quotidie*). Fish of inferior quality and buffalo meat. But since it was not properly salted, it soon rottened. Experts declared that either the Franciscan was grossly cheated, or he had pocketed two thirds of the money. And then the crew stole about 300 hens, and all the chickens. Some friends had given many things to the sailors for the Fathers. But since Alcassova forbade all intercourse with them, the sailors found there a good pretext to keep everything to themselves. The prisoners would have starved if later on the sailors, moved to compassion, had not shared some of the fish which they caught during the voyage. Further, Alcassova ordered the water to be rationed. The order was only for Jesuits, for the others had water in plenty; and so had the sheep and pigs on board. Some good friends had managed to send the Fathers some chocholate, before they left. Alcassova got wind of it. He sent his friend Figueroa Pinto to rob it. The Fathers had, however, hidden it in their bedding. He found nothing, except some relics, which were returned later. Some foul indignities were perpetrated on the bodies of old Priests. One was suffering from hernia. They made him take off his belt, which they carefully examined, fearing lest he had hidden money there. Others had to remove their underclothing for the same purpose.

In the end even the crew was disgusted and refused to obey such orders.*

10. THE VOYAGE.

The ship raised anchor on Dec. 20. After the first one or two days, the Fathers arranged a kind of time-table. Time for Mass (which only a few could say), time for prayer and meditation, for recreation and sleep. In spite of their sad plight, they often sang the praises of O. Lady and of the Saints. Since many thought it would be impossible for them to reach Lisbon alive, they lived in a perpetual preparation for death. The initial severity with which all intercourse between the crew and the Fathers had been forbidden, was gradually relaxed. That enabled some of the more zealous to work a little for the sailors, who are among the most neglected plants in the Lord's vineyard. Through the pilot's inexperience they barely escaped shipwreck near Mozambique, and the same happened near Madagascar. Two died before reaching the Cape, some 30 were wounded in various manners and through divers accidents. They rounded the Cape on the 26th March, and, as luck would have it, the sea was calm. By that time most of the provisions were exhausted, and the Fathers would have starved, had it not been by the great charity of a certain Valadares, who had been recalled to Lisbon by Pombal. Of the abundant provisions which he had bought for himself, he distributed the greater part to the Jesuits, in spite of Alcassova's orders. But after the Cape, the ship was becalmed, and many of the Fathers, being weakened by want of food and anxiety, fall sick of the scurvy. It was indeed a terrible thing to have to fight the disease in the scorching sun, without medical attendance, without proper food, crammed together as they were. At one time about 100 lay stricken. Even Alcassova was moved to pity, and sent them some healthy food. One day they sighted a ship. Not knowing whether it was friendly or hostile, they prepared for battle. The Jesuits, who were lodged among the cannon, were told to clear. But they could not, for they were more like living corpses, than human beings. They were thrown all together in a corner.

* Caeiro op. cit. pp. 848—66

The contagion became more fierce, and it is a wonder that when they sighted Lisbon, 104 were still alive.*

11. THEY REACH LISBON.

We shall now quote from a letter written from Italy in 1782, by Padre Gian Francesco Filippi, in answer to Padre Pietro Lucchetta, Jesuit Missionaries in Mysore.

When the Jesuits reached Lisbon, "by Government order people brought them refreshments of every kind. But along with them came also the Ministers of the Crown to carry out the rest of the programme. All the foreigners who were with us, were separated and locked up in small rooms. The same was done to those coming from Mozambique, Rio de Sena, etc. I was left with the Portuguese, as they took me for one. Later we were asked whether we wanted to abandon the religious life. But of this later on.

We laid at anchor for three days. When the order of landing came, we were ordered into several boats, and guarded by soldiers. Our things—they said—would be brought to us later. So they said, but they did nothing. I lost some new shirts. But who would have cared for what covers the body, when the body itself was in danger? Two small parties were formed. The Mozambians and the foreigners were taken to the prison of St. Julian, where cruelty and calumny buried them alive. By and by we shall visit these horrible places. I with the rest of the miserable crowd, was brought to the Trajavia, a prison situated on the banks of the Tago, where are kept those who are condemned to the Indies. Here we were helped with provisions—with great parsimony, however,—and with various remedies against scurvy. We were guarded by a good number of soldiers, who formed a cordon round the building, to prevent all communication with the outside world. The doors were locked, to be opened only at fixed times to allow us to breathe some fresh air.

All were under the orders of the Count of St. Vincent. To him was entrusted the carrying out of Pombal's cabalistic intrigues. This Count had an interview with each one of us

He asked us secretely whether we wished to leave the religious life, and promised His Majesty's help and protection. It is certain that some left religion to avoid persecution. They were with us, but not of us. They abandoned religious life, but did not avoid persecution, as we came to know later on. When speaking with Fr. Pimentel of the Malabar Province, the Count said: Would you like to leave that wretched Society? At these words the Father could not control his tears. Fr. Pimental died a few years ago at the Rufinella, near Rome.

"I too was questioned, and answered according to my duty. He asked me also if I was foreigner. I said the truth, but begged of him to conceal it. He thought otherwise. Next morning I was forced to embark, and two soldiers led me to the Catacombs of St. Julian. It was the 27th May.

12. In the Prisons of St. Julian.

"Before entering this dark and horrible dwelling, it will be useful to give a description of it. The Fortress of St. Julian is situated on the banks of the Tago, the waters of which wash its walls on one side. It is nine miles south-west of Lisbon. It is well fortified on the sea side, not so much on the land side. In the centre of this fortress, at the lowest level, are built vaulted cellars for the soldiers to take shelter in during a siege, and for things of value to be stored and protected from bombing. These cellars are on a level with the bottom of the great well, and are shaped like a crescent. They are securely locked by two strong wooden gates. A sentry was posted at each gate. There was a third gate, opened to all. But it was walled up four years later. That was a sign that all hope of ever getting out had to be given up. This underground, which henceforth will be called the Catacombs, has 29 separate cells. These were lit up only by one lamp. The corridor, with which the cells communicate, had some holes on top, through which filtered some light. From this leaked, through a chink made in every cell, as much air as one needed to keep alive, and as much light as to make us guess when it was day or night. The corridor and the cells had been freshly plastered, so that one could imprint his fingers on the walls. The

were made of pine-wood planks, very thick and kept together by iron bands. The locks were good. Each cell had some planks nine or ten spans in length, and as broad as the cell and raised about three spans from the ground. These made our cots, under which there was a constant breeding of vermin, most abominable and noisome. To get an idea of these places you should think of the caves one sees in the hills, but without the solace of the air and the light from the sky...You may have noticed there how dampness, stench, squalor and horror are at home.

"These were the apartments which the Marquis of Pombal had got ready for the convalescence of those 27 Religious, whom the want of all necessaries of life, the scurvy, and a long voyage, filled with a thousand misfortunes and sufferings, had reduced to the last extremity.

But let us come back to our story.

13. Life in the Dungeons.

"Having being led to these Catacombs, I was kept waiting for some time, and then two officers threw me into a cell. The door was locked; and in order that I might explore the horror of the cell, I was given a tallow-candle. My things were kept back by those harpies. I paid the custom duty with a vengeance. Many items were missing.

"Buried alive in this horrible and dark sepulchre, where water trickled on all sides, I must confess my weakness, I felt crushed by a great sadness, and beaten down by terrible fear. But as O. Lord is *solutio omnium difficultatum*, I had recourse to Him, as to the inseparable companion of all my troubles.

"Then I knocked on the door and asked to speak with the Commandant. As he came, I begged to be allowed to confer with some Priest about the affairs of my soul. It was granted, and the Commandant took me to P. Storioni's cell.

"This Father died in Rome four years ago. He died the death of the just, I hope. His memory will be precious before the Lord, and in the memory of all who knew him, on account of his extraordinary holiness.

"Among the mercies of the Lord towards me...

companion of this servant of God. I always had before me a living mirror of holiness.

"I was then buried in this hole with P. Storioni, who had as a companion a Lay-Brother of our Province. Among the bad cells of St. Julian's this was one of the worst. It was very narrow, very damp and also very low. The mortar, on account of the heat produced by our bodies and by the lamp, began to give way and it let fall big drops of greasy water. In each drop there was at least one worm. Our bedding consisted only of a *cudrim*, or counterpane, thrown on the planks. Though new it began to rot very soon, for we always sat on it. Of course there were no chairs. After some time, however, we got a mattress, a small table and bench to sit upon. The rigour of our prison was beyond belief. The door was opened only for meals. Communication both with the inside and outside world strictly forbidden.

"The Government had assigned three "*paoli*" for our daily maintenance. These were to suffice for everything. In the first years we were not badly treated. But as time went on we experienced the effects of holy poverty in everything.

"The cruelty of the Government did not rage only against the body, but also against the soul. We were not allowed to say Mass, nay we could not attend Mass even on feast days. Only on the point of death could we receive Our Lord. But, in spite of man's wickedness, we contrived to receive Holy Communion all the same.

"Now the sufferings and penury which we had to endure in these wretched dungeons may be more easily imagined by you than described by me. In general this may be said that our daily sustenance was the bread of sorrow and the water of tears. The deadly hypocondria, the strange infirmities, the tiresome and obstinate insomnia were an almost inevitable result of our life, which was cruel and against all civilisation and humanity. We could repeat with the Apostle: *Supra modum gravati sumus, supra omnem virtutem, ita ut taederet nos vivere. Sed in his omnibus superavimus propter eum qui dilexit nos.*

"Notwithstanding all these misfortunes, the Lord of mercies and the God of all consolation did not depriv[e]

servants of his heavenly blessings. It was for us a conforting balm to have the witness of our good conscience. Our crime was only that of being Jesuits. The Spirit of truth and consolation had foretold our case in the words of St. Peter: *Nemo vestrum patiatur ut homicida...si autem ut Christianus, non erubescat, sed glorificet Deum in isto nomine.* No other was the cause of this cruel persecution (for all people might say) but that of our being Jesuits. I may add that our ordinary reading in these Catacombs, was Holy Writ, in which the Holy Spirit has prepared, as in a spring, the salutary waters of consolation for all those who are desolate and in affliction. I wish to say here to those who, in order to keep faithful to God may have to undergo great sufferings and even the loss of life, not only that *Fidelis Deus, qui non patitur vos tentari supra id quod potestis*, but also that God's goodness does demand of our human frailty but the first act of readily offering oneself to Him, and being ready to anything for His sake. Once this is done whatever seemed unbearable will become light and pleasant... But to come back to the point. This is in brief what I can tell you of the life we lived for 16 years in those Catacombs. To go into greater details would be endless.

14. PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CATACOMBS.

"I conclude then these Acts of the Catacombs by relating some of the chief events that took place there. In 1763, or thereabout, our numbers increased, for by Government orders 18 Jesuits were shifted there, who had been kept in the Fort Almeida. They belonged to the Maragnon Province, and Portugal, which was at war with Spain, feared lest they might be set free by the latter.

"In 1764, if I remember rightly, there came 16 more Jesuits from Macao. They had not been imprisoned earlier out of regard for the Chinese Emperor. These additions, together with those who had preceded us in the Catacombs, brought our number to well over 80.

"In 1767 Pere Dugat, a Frenchman, one of the 16 from Macao was set free at France's request according to his appeal from Macao. Through the endeavours of Pere Dugat, Br. Del Sant

letters to the Court of Sardinia, and so succeeded in getting released Padri Santini and Buongioanini. According to news recently received, both are still alive, the first in Vercelli, the second at Turin.

"At the beginning of July of the same year 1767, 34 or 35 more were released and exiled to Rome. Padre Storioni, myself and some others from the Indian Missions remained another ten years in this hard prison.

"This same year 1767 the Commandant of St. Julian was removed. Another came, who was somewhat kinder. But in course of time, getting more and more greedy, he gave us no little cause for suffering, and embittered the good he might have done.

"In 1769 twenty more Jesuits were added to us, who had been kept till then in the palace of the late Duke of Aveiro. They had been treated better than we.

15. THE EXTINCTION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

"Towards the end of September 1773, Pombal sent one of his clerks (uditore) to intimate to us the suppression of the Society. We were obliged to put away our religious habit. Well, my dear Padre Licchetta, you know how deep this wound has been. God alone knows the sighs and tears that were shed in the Catacombs on this sad occasion. They told us we should not cry, but rather rejoice, for the extinction had been willed by His Majesty. What cruelty...What pain to see ourselves deprived of this sweet hope, for which we had suffered so much. We were dead to civil life and to all human consolation, yet in this death there was still in our hearts some spirit which strengthened our bodies. Then a spear through the heart killed all life and extinguished all vigour. The whole world was convinced that after the suppression we would be released. But our hopes were frustrated. Our martyrdom continued almost the same. The Company was hated, and equally hated were those who had belonged to it.

"Still every month we could receive Holy Communion and confess our sins. The parish Priest of the Fortress used to come on the eve of Holy Communion. He heard the Confes-

sion of all those who so desired. In our troubles this was some relief. Things went on in this manner till 1777.

16. LITTLE DEVICES.

"Before I end this sad narrative, I wish to relate something else which will complete the picture of our life in the Catacombs. All the time we lived underground—with the exception of the first two years or so—some one knew how to open all the locks and visit all the cells. The first to master this trick was Padre Fantini.

"We found also some way of communicating with the various dungeons, both safe and easy. It was done by whistling or knocking on the wall. We made a kind of alphabet, and we became so skilful in the use of it that whatever one whistled was understood by all. The author of the new alphabet was Padre Cetti, of our Province. By these devices, which were suggested to us by Divine Providence, the great weight of our misfortunes was lightened. Very remarkable also was the charity which, by divine goodness, reigned among us. Notwithstanding the careful searches on the part of the hungry spies, ever ready to rob us of every coin, some were able to save considerable sums of money, in order to help their brethren. Through mysterious ways we used to buy all sorts of things which were then distributed among us. The Fathers of the Provinces of Goa and of Brasil distinguished themselves in this matter. The very avidity for gain of those who dealt with us, served to provide us with the needful. Nay, even the cats which lived in those dungeons were in our hands useful messengers (*mulattieri*) to carry things from cell to cell.

"During the 16 years we lived in prison, 35 died, as we hope, the death of the just......I too was subjected to various ups and downs in the matter of health. During the first three years I was so weak, that my stomach could not keep down anything. But I found a remedy in the pipe. Towards the end of 1771 I was attacked by excessive heat of the bowels, accompanied at times by such violent palpitations of the heart that I thought my hour had come. At the same time I was tormented by mortal

But by Our Lord's mercy I am getting better now, though I still feel some trouble.

17. AN IMPORTANT POINT.

"Before closing the story of the Catacombs I must add a circumstance of great weight, which is that in all the 18 years that lasted our imprisonment, no Government Official took any interest in us, or examined us, or pointed out the cause of our punishment. Even Joao Alexandre, who had been declared one of the chief conspirators, and whom we found in the Catacombs and who died before the Suppression, never knew, except from us, the crime of which he was accused. Evident argument this, that not justice and reason, but calumny and cruelty, were the causes of that fierce persecution.

18. LIBERATION.

"On the 24th Febr. 1777 died Don Jose I, King of Portugal. Let us hope his soul is in heaven. He carried a great burden before the divine tribunal for the things that had taken place during his reign.

"On the 5th March we got the announcement of our release, and on the 13th of the same month we came back to light, to which we gradually got accustomed, in order that we, who had been buried and deprived of light for such a long time, should not receive harm by a sudden change. No sooner the new Queen, whom God preserve, ascended the throne, than she endeavoured to satisfy the necessary debt of humanity by opening the gates of the many prisons of Belem, Janqueira, St. Julian, etc.

"With our Scholastics we were 45. It is said that the total number of those kept in the various prisons, was nearly 900. Finally the horrible tombs were forced open, and the earth gave up her dead. Rejoicing was universal. We may say that there was no family which did not share the common joy, while under Don Jose they had shared the common mourning. It is incredible the multitude of people of all ranks, who came to see us and to visit the Catacombs.

"Yet Government, moved by political considerations, did not give us a house where we could live. We had to live in the same dungeons. We could go anywhere, but for meals and sleep we had to be back in prison. We had permission to say Mass. Till now we were regarded as "suspended", because we had lost the favour of the King. Till now we were held to be the pest of society. Our being set free without sentence, and without any declaration, was like a general baptism, which washed away all crimes... These happenings are frequent in the world. When public Authority turns into despotism, it does not know any other law but its own evil passions. Gradually the Catacombs were evacuated, as friends and relations could obtain permission to take us to their houses. I was the guest of the Countess of Ega, and of her son-in-law, Pietro Saldanha, former Governor of Mozambique. Finally 12 of us, 7 Germans and 5 Italians set sail for Genua on the 17th July......and on the 14th September I entered Rome".

So far Padre Filippi.

We shall give the rest of this most interesting letter in the first Appendix. In the second we shall see, how the Society continued in Russia and in Prussia.

19. THE RESTORATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

In 1788 died Charles III of Spain, the arch-enemy of the Jesuits. Then the Duke of Parma, his nephew, gathered many ex-Jesuits to man a College founded by him. Naples also insisted that she wanted the Jesuits again.

But the French Revolution broke out in 1789, and the Bourbons, who had done so much to suppress the Society of Jesus, were one by one deprived of their thrones. Pope Pius VI was imprisoned, first in Siena, then in Florence and finally in Valence in France, where he died in 1799. The Jacobins thought they had buried the last Pope. But they were wrong. Six months later the Conclave met in Venice, where Barnabas Chiaramonti was chosen Pope. He took the name of *Pius VII*.

We shall not relate how he crowned Napoleon in Paris, how he refused to submit to his tyrannical demands, and was imprisoned.

The Napoleonic Wars swept over Europe like a storm, but they were hardly over, when the Pope hastened to restore the Society of Jesus.

The Bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum* was published on the 7th August 1714, and the Jesuits, who existed already in Russia, in Parma and in Naples, were re-established throughout the world.

In 1834 they came back to India—in Calcutta, and in 1839 they began work again in the ancient Mission of Madura. Then Bombay and Mangalore and Ceylon and Patna and Poona and Ahmedabad, everywhere the Jesuits will make their influence felt. They will work in Schools and Colleges, they will man Seminaries for the training of the native Clergy, they will labour in towns and villages throughout the length and breadth of India. The methods of the modern Jesuits are different from those of the old, but the spirit is the same. It is the spirit of Loyola and Xavier: All things A. M. D. G.

APPENDIX I

(FROM THE LETTERS OF PADRE FILIPPI)

1. THE SOCIETY OF JESUS CONTINUES IN POLAND

"But let us now speak of other matters. The first is that the Society has been killed indeed, but not everywhere. At the time when the Society was persecuted by the most formidable powers of Europe, Poland became, through civil war, the scene of calamity and desolation. Finally, after many vicissitudes, it was divided into 4 parts; *the first* went to Stanislaus, King of Poland; *the second* to the Emperor; *the third* to Moscow; and *the fourth* to the King of Prussia. This division took part a short time before the Suppression.

Since the Czarine, Catherine, knows very well that the people's loyalty is the staunchest support of kingdoms, she began to gain the affection of the countries newly conquered by remitting taxation, and by showing her determination to allow them to profess their religion, i. e. Catholicism. After the Suppression of the Society, she refused to allow the publication of the Brief of Clement XIV in White Russia (for so is called her own portion of Poland). And so the houses of the Society continued just as before; and labourers were not wanting for the Christian cultivation of those peoples.*

2. ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE SOCIETY IN POLAND.

It is incredible how chagrined were the enemies of the Society by the Czarine's policy. They began to put in motion all their machinery and all

* This matter will be dealt with a little more in detail in the second Appendix.

their intrigues. A Cardinal, who was occupying an eminent position helped them. Mgr Archetti, then Nuncio in Warsaw, did all in his power to extinguish our little spark. He stopped only when the Czarina let him know that she was annoyed. For then consequences might ensue, which would be very unpleasant for Monsignore. Then the Archetto snapped **, nor could it shoot its arrows far enough to force Moscow into the anti-Jesuit conspiracy.

3. THE CZARINE FAVOURS THE JESUITS.

"Not only did the Czarine never yield to the constant attacks, but she stuck to her policy. She added enormous buildings to our College at Polosko. On various occasions she assured Ours of her protection in a manner both forcible and persuasive, and she told them to banish all fear. From a letter from Polosko written by one of Ours, we know that the number of Jesuits there is 160, and the novices are 25, all belonging to good families and of great expectations.

"From the Poland that was, many went to Polosko asking for admission into the Society...The Czarine and the Grand Duke, her son (who came to Rome during the last Lent, and was here also, in Tivoli) approved and praised what Ours were doing, including also the work of the Lay-Brothers. She exhorted the nobility not to send their children elsewhere, because no better education could they get outside Polosko. From the same letter we gather that there are six Colleges, three boarding houses for noblemen, and six residences for the missionaries.

(Here the letter speaks of Pombal and his trial, for which see above).

4. THE JESUITS ARE DECLARED INNOCENT.

"As to the innocence of the Society and of the Lords, who were condemned on account of the supposed attempted murder of the King Jose I—a murder which of course was engineered by the Jesuits—, we know from letters and certain documents that their innocence was proclaimed in Lisbon, *nem. con.*, by the Supreme Court of the Ragione, after a long and rigorous examination. Till now the sentence has not been published. It is probable that the "*Cabala*" has tried with all the means at its disposal to obtain that the said sentence should not see the light. Still we hope in the Omnipotence of that God, who directs and governs all things, that the intrigues of the "*Cabala*" will be brought to nought, and the mystery of iniquity will be revealed.

5. DEATH OF POMBAL.

"Yesterday came back from Rome P. Tassella, a Neapolitan, who lives in this College. He has assured us (and the news is known from other sources as well) that the Marquis of Pombal—being brought back to God by the sufferings and patience of so many servants of God—died on the 8th

** It is a pun on the word "Archetto". which means little bow.

May in own bed, of a sickness which followed its natural course. During the last three days of his life he was assisted by the Bishop. Now we do not know any other details about his death... The death of the Marquis and Portugal's neutrality may change the course of events. You are a wise man, so you can foresee the consequences. Our Portuguese have not yet been recalled by Government. Yet every day do the Fathers leave the Papal States. They are well received, but they got no pension. Letters go and come without hindrance. This is what I have to say about Portugal.

6. STATE OF EUROPE.

Now let us speak of Europe in general. This Continent, which is the noblest in the whole world, is now in a horrible and frightful condition. It may be said *praevaluit iniquitas super terram.* Immorality and loose living everywhere. This has caused a weakening of the faith. Men wish to live as they please. Hence they devise a system of Religion which favours their passions. Impiety does not relish Christ's Law, which condemns even the slightest faults. From the Existence of God, which is manifest even to the senses, we can infer the necessity of Revealed Religion, and we have Catholicism.

They try to demolish the premises, in order to shirk the consequences. Behold Atheism which spreads everywhere.

Others, in order to appear less impious, admit God, but deny His Providence: behold Deism. This is the poison and fountainhead of all corruption. Others embrace Indifferentism; others profess themselves *esprits forts.* Expressions and systems differ. All, however, conspire to demolish the Sanctuary. All endeavour and try all means to uproot Religion, which condemns their libertinism in order that in the world there may not be raised a voice which, by recalling the eternal truths, should disturb their false peace. Hence we see everywhere abominable books, full of mortal poison. The celebrated Ligorio in his *Dottrina Dommatica* sets up a full catalogue of these books, and deplores their great number. Inexperienced youth drink the poison, and abandon themselves to every excess. The devilish and abominable Jansenism, which was formerly hidden in Flanders and in France has by intrigue overcome those who opposed it. Now it has crossed the Alps and it has wormed itself in Rome, the very centre of Chrisitianity.

7. MANY EVILS IN EUROPE DUE TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY.

Many have said that the abolition of the Society has not only been a blow for us, but a punishment for all. This is a fact. The Society was like a powerful dam against unbelief and immorality. The dam has burst and the flood foreseen by the Prophet Osee IV, has followed. Vignoli the Bishop of Forli (if I am not mistaken), when the Holy Father passed through his Di...

told him clearly that the cause of so many evils, which were harassing the Church, was the suppression of the Society. The same thing was repeated by the Emperor's sister to the same Pope, on his return journey from Vienna to Rome. This lady is a Nun in Tyrol. They say that the good Nun spoke very strongly. They say also that the Holy Father is fully convinced of the same. *Bonus est vir ; sed Satrapis non placet.*

8. THE CLERGY

" What, however, makes a deeper wound in the heart of the good is to see how both the secular and regular Clergy have climbed down from their former purity of life. Of the Seculars we can say with St. Jerome: " *Tales non videris sponsos magis existimatos quam Clericos* ". Of the Regulars I say with great sorrow that not only there have been some who have rejoiced in our downfall, but they have worked to bring it about. They thought they would rise up in glory on our ruin : but they were mistaken. By God's just judgement the contrary has happened. The wisest among them are beginning to see that our persecution was common to all Religious. Almost everywhere the Religious Orders in Catholic Europe are unsettled. In some parts they are dead ; in others they count for very little. Here they are directly under the Bishops ; there under the Government and the police. Hence their respective Superiors are such only in appearance. They cannot exercise their proper functions. Above all in Austria the Religious are upset. The Emperor is against them, for he says they are living in idleness ; that is to say they do no work for the neighbour. Many have been suppressed, and the thing is not ended yet.

9. THE POPE GOES TO VIENNA.

" For this, and for other reasons, the Pope left Rome on the 27 Febr. 1782. He reached Vienna on the 22 March. After having spent one month in the capital, he went to Munich, the capital of Bavaria. The Duke was anxiously waiting for him. He left Munich, and, travelling through Tyrol, he reached Rome on the 13th June at 22 hrs.

" The differences between the Emperor and the Court of Rome come to this, that the Emperor is opposed to all communications, which may imply gain for Rome and expenses for his subjects. Hence he insists that the Religious be subject to their Provincials and these to the Bishops, without any recourse to the Superiors General. Bishops to dispense in marriage cases independently of Rome. Benefices to be conferred without Bulls from the Pope. They say that in his Capital he allows public worship for all Religions.

" What agreement may have been reached between Pope and Emperor, we do not know for sure. If before I close I shall come to know something more definite, I shall put it at the end of this letter.

" This is certain that the going of the Pope to Vienna ...

to see the Supreme Pastor and to receive His blessing, with such faith and piety that even the most lukewarm could not help shedding tears. He has encouraged and strengthened the Bishops in an Encyclical, in which, after having dilated on the qualities of a good shepherd, he prepares them, if necessary, to give even their life for their flock.

"On this occasion the Hungarians distinguished themselves in particular for their attachment to the Church. They were led by Card. Battiani, their most worthy Primate. There were also wonderful conversions of heretics and bad Christians, only by looking at the Pope celebrating Mass.

"In short, it can be truly said that even if the Pope has not obtained the main object of his journey, his labours have been sufficiently rewarded by these results. From letters written from Germany by ex-Jesuits, we know that the Pope has been quite satisfied in seeing the zeal and apostolic labours of our brethren who, after the suppression, have continued to work very strenuously in God's Church. We know also that the Emperor holds them in great esteem, and that of late he told the Scolopii to leave the Theresian College, and he replaced them with ex-Jesuits. It is reported that he desires the re-establishment of the Society in his States, the same as in White Russia.

10. THE POPE' AUTHORITY UNDERMINED.

"As a last touch to the news regarding Europe, I shall add here that in these recent times the authority and jurisdiction of the Pope has been attacked, and it has suffered considerably. The first to raise the banner against the Holy See has been the Suffragan Bishop of Mayence. This man, under the name of Febronius has brought to light a work where he attacks the rights and diminishes the authority of the Pope. I have not read it. When I returned to Italy, he published a retractation, but later he fell into his former errors. As soon as the work was published, it was praised by various Courts. The Venerable Bishop of Coimbra, for having forbidden it in his Diocese, was arrested and buried in the dungeons of Pedroso, in 1768. He was released only in 1777, with us. During this time the Court of Rome was on good terms with Portugal, and yet the poor Bishop, deprived of his See, was groaning in prison for having done his duty and defended the rights of the Apostolic See.

"Febronius was refuted by the ex-Jesuit Zaccaria and by the Dominican Mamanfi. In the house where I live I have heard that, while Rome was preparing the Suppression, the various Courts were assuring the Pope that nothing was wanting to the religious peace of Europe, but the Suppression. It came. *Te Deum* was sung, for the obstacle to peace was done away with. Now we have perfect peace and tranquility in God's Church. *Tibi Domine, revelavi causam meam.*"

Then, after some personal matters of lesser moment, ends this most interesting letter.

It was copied from the original on the 5th June 1822, in Orvieto, by the District Chancellor, Francesco Filippi, nephew of the writer himself, Giovanni Francesco Filippi.

A copy was communicated to the Author by the Rev. Fr. A. Sauliere, S.J., of Loyola College, Madras.

I believe this is the first English translation in India.

APPENDIX II

ON THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN RUSSIA AND IN PRUSSIA.

We have seen how the Bourbons succeeded in obtaining from Pope Clement XIV the suppression of the Society of Jesus in their dominions and throughout the Catholic World. Yet the Jesuits continued their corporate existence in White Russia and in Silesia which were respectively under the Czarine Catherine II and King Frederick II. Their enemies accused them of disobedience to the Pope; in fact, some went so far as to call them Schismatics. We propose in this Appendix to show that these accusations are not justified.

1. CATHERINE II PROTECTS THE JESUITS.

When Poland was dismembered—in 1772—*White Russia* became part of the Russian Empire. The Czarine promised under oath that she would secure to the Catholics the free exercise of their Religion. The Jesuits had there four Colleges, two residences and several missionary centres Before the Russian armies took possession of the new dominions an extraordinary council was gathered in St. Petersburg, and one of the points on the agenda was, whether the Jesuits were to be allowed to continue their work in White Russia. Opinions were divided, for the Catholic Kings were getting rid of the Jesuits everywhere, and there was an old law of Peter the Great forbidding the Jesuits from entering Russia. But the imperious Czarine answered that the policy of other Rulers was their concern, not hers. If they had reasons to expel the Jesuits, she had reasons to keep them. As to Peter's law, just as he had authority to make it, she had power to unmake it. The Ministers dared not contradict.

2. THE BISHOP OF VILNA'S LETTER.

When in September 1773 the news of the Suppression reached White Russia, the Fathers expected with trepidation that the Brief should be promulgated, for the Pope therein "*exhorted*" (did not command) the Princes to intimate it to the Jesuits. But on the 19th of the same month they received a letter from Mgr. *Massalski*, who had jurisdiction over Lithuania and White Russia, wherein they were ordered to remain in their houses and to go on with their work. The letter concluded with the words:

"*Volumus ut hae litterae nostrae in virtue obedientiae debitae ad omnes domos vestras in dioecesi nostra sitas quamprimum citissime transmissae ac in stricta executione positae observentur*".

3. FR. STANISLAUS CZERNIEWICZ IS CALLED TO ST. PETERSBURG.

On the 25th October 1773 the Vice Governor of Polock intimated to the Rector of the Jesuit College of the town, Fr. Czerniewicz, to go to St. Petersburg, where he was called by the Government. The Rector and his two companions, upon reaching Riga, wrote to the Papal Nuncio there, asking him for his advice, and protesting their readiness to comply with the papal wishes. They received no answer. Soon after their arrival at the Capital, the Jesuits were received by Count Czerniszew to whom they manifested their desire to obey the Pope. The Count was rather surprised, and adviced them to present a memorial to the Czarine. The Memorial was soon ready, and was then presented for approval to the Bishop of Mallo, Delegate Apostolic for Russia. The Jesuits spoke to the Empress as follows: "By what is most sacred we beg of Your Majesty to allow us to render prompt and public obedience to the Roman Pontiff, who has over us spiritual jurisdiction, and to execute his order of abolition of our Society. Your Majesty by allowing the intimation of the Brief will exercise Your authority, and we, by obeying, will show ourselves not less faithful to Your Majesty, who allows the execution of the Brief, than to the Supreme Pontiff, who commands it".

4. THE ANSWER OF CATHERINE.

Towards the end of December 1773 Count Czerniszew called the three Jesuits, who were waiting for an answer to their Memorial. He told them that while the Czarine agreed that the Catholics in White Russia should live according to the laws of the Catholic Church, yet she did not desire to be more Catholic than the Catholic King (of Spain), or the most Christian King (of France), who often forbid the introduction of papal Briefs into their dominions. The Jesuits therefore will submit to the Brief as soon as the same will be intimated to them. Meanwhile let them wait, and let them rest assured that Her Majesty will take with the Pope all the measures she deems opportune.

At the beginning of January 1774 was published an edict wherein the Jesuits were ordered to remain as they were, and to take care of the education of youth. Not only the intimation, but also the introduction into the Empire of the Brief of Clement XIV was forbidden under the severest penalties.

5. A LETTER OF CATHERINE TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

The Czarine came to know that the rabid anti-jesuit Mognino—Spain's Minister to the Vatican—had complained to the Pope that he tolerated the Jesuits in Russia. Thereupon Catherine wrote as follows to the King of

Spain: "I inform Your Majesty of the resolution I have taken—for reasons known to myself—to preserve the Institute of the Jesuits in my dominions. Since I made no opposition to the measures taken by Your Majesty about the Jesuits in Your own States, so I hope Your Majesty will not put any obstacle to what I am doing in their favour in my own Empire. I let You know that in this matter I have neither asked nor obtained any favour from the reigning Pontiff (Pius VI); but I have made use of the faculties granted to me by Pope Ganganelli. Hence I ask of Your Majesty not to complain about this matter to His Holiness, nor to trouble Him in any manner whatsoever.' Whatever You may do to Him I shall take as being done to my own person, and I shall take up His defence even at the risk of my crown".

6. POPE PIUS VI AND THE JESUITS.

We need not speak of the prudence of Pope Pius VI (who succeeded Clement XIV in 1775) in the first years of his Pontificate, about this matter of the Jesuits in Russia. The Bourbons did not cease to harass him in many ways, in order to obtain from him the total extinction of the Society of Jesus. But they did not succeed.

Here we shall reproduce three Documents of the greatest importance on this matter, and *first a letter of John Benislawski*, Bishop of Gadara, and Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Mohilew, dated 1 (12) March 1783. He says:

"Cum ab augustissima Imperatrice totius Russiae Catharina II, ob trac-
tanda negotia Archieepiscopatum Mohileviensem, Coadjutoriam ejusdem Archiepiscopatus et approbationem Jesuitarum concernentia Romam ad *SS.*
D. N. Pium PP. IV missus fuissem, exposui Sanctitati Suae statum Jesui-
tarum conformiter Instituto suo viventium, et quod sibi ad statum hunc conservandum de mandato ejusdem augustissimae Imperatricis Praepositum Generalem elegerint. Quibus auditis SS. Dominus Noster et statum illorum et electionem Praepositi Generalis factam benigne confirmavit, repetitis ter vicibus dicendo: *Approbo, Approbo, Approbo.* De hoc vivae vocis oraculo fidem plenissimam facio, manumque meam et sigillum appono.

Datum Polociae, mense Julii die 13 (24), an. 1785."

The second document is the *Testimony of Padre Luigi Mozzi*, S.J. in the life of *Blessed Joseph Pignatelli*, S.J. It is as follows:—

"Padre Pignatelli had planned to go to Russia. But he went first to the Pope and begged him to tell him whether he regarded those Jesuits as true Jesuits, and whether he approved of his plan to put on there again the ancient habit of the Society. The Holy Father told him he could go. He was quite happy that he would put on again the habit of the Jesuits. He could do it with a safe conscience. He regarded those Jesuits as true Jesuits. The existence of the Society in Russia was quite legitimate. Padre Pignatelli repeated this to me several times. He told me he would

same book. The author of the book is unknown to the present writer.

give me a sworn document. I swear before God that what I have related here I have heard several times from his own mouth". (*)

Finally we give an extract of the famous *Conversation*, which the 84 years old *Cardinal Calino* had with Pius VI, on the 1st April 1780. Later he wrote it out with his own hand, and there are extant many copies, legalised by public notaries. He says:

"I hear that some members of the Diplomatic Corps in Rome are endeavouring to get Your Sanctity to confirm with a Bull the destruction of the Society of Jesus, and to declare schismatic the Jesuits in White Russia. Your Holiness, while these gentlemen valiantly oppose each and every Bull, it is only towards the Brief of Suppression that they show the deepest regard. But Your Holiness is too enlightened to be easily taken in. The various Catholic Courts never allow a Brief, which relates to ecclesiastical discipline, to be promulgated in their dominions without the King's approval. The Holy See has acquiesced. For a Brief may be useful in one Kingdom and not in another, owing to different circumstances, which are known to the Sovereigns. Hence the Canonists admit the *Jus Repraesentandi*, and while the appeal has its course, the execution of the Brief is suspended. This is good and correct......

"Meanwhile the Clementine Brief had no effect in Russia, because that Bishop, who in virtue of the Brief itself had to intimate it to the Jesuits, for reasons known to himself, did not do so. Hence the Jesuits continued to be true Jesuits, as their Institute had been practiced for 240 years, and had been approved and praised by nineteen Pontiffs.

Where then is their heresy or disobedience? The Bishop did not intimate the Brief to them because the Czarine had threatened him with exile should he have done so. Certainly no ecclesiastical precept obliges under such heavy conditions. Again, even Catholic Princes could, without any blame, have declined to promulgate the Brief. In fact Pope Clement had used the words *Hortamur Principes*: that is, his mind was to exhort, not to command. Should then non-Catholic Rulers be blamed?"

And here the aged Cardinal gives the example of the Servites, the Ministers of the Infirm, and the Brothers of Christian Schools of St. Joseph Calasanctius, who never were considered disobedient when they did not disown their Orders in those countries, where the Briefs of suppression or dissolution were not promulgated. He continues:

"I say this to Your Holiness to show You how some people forget everything, when the matter regards the Jesuits. Every law is put under foot, provided the Jesuits are harassed. It is a fact that the Society has been destroyed without giving it the opportunity to defend itself. And what Card. Malvezzi did in Bologna, and other Cardinals did in Frascati and in Rome itself, before, during and after the Suppression, is a *dishonor to the Holy See*, nay even to *humanity itself*". *

(*) Cfr *Vita del Servo di Dio P. G. M. Pignatelli*, by A. Moncon, p. 99, Rome, 1833.

7. THE ATTITUDE OF FREDERIC II WITH REGARD TO THE JESUITS

appears from a *Memorandum* which the King addressed to the Pope, and out of which we take the following:

"Let the Holy Father know that His Majesty, by keeping the Jesuits in his States does not intend to keep the Society as such, but wants to secure some objects, which he will never give up. The most important of these is the care of "*public education*", without which the laws are in vain. Now in the Kingdom of Prussia there are seven different religious denominations. Hence the education must be different for the different groups. It is not a light matter to rule one million and a half and more of Catholics, who live both in the new, and in the ancient, dominions of Prussia. This being so, though His Majesty acknowledges that the Society of Jesus has been suppressed, he cannot allow that in his states should cease also its public functions. These were to educate youth in piety and science, and to keep up the study of Catholic Theology. His Majesty desires that they should continue to do so. He has no other end in view. Hence the Jesuits may change their name, their habit, their vows and their internal rules. They must, however, keep up their external functions...Thus will cease the chief opposition; which is that the Jesuits should not continue as a body. To this may be added two very strong reasons. The first is that since we wish to provide for the education of the Catholics, we must see to it that educators are, and continue to be, at hand. This cannot be obtained without a living seminary, where the men come from. As the sciences are learned so is learned the method of teaching them. In fact, how can we substitute to a capable teacher, a man distracted, divided, immersed in the vortex of civil life, whose habits make him entirely unfit to teach? No one will deny that as the education of the citizens is necessary, so is necessary the education of the teachers. The second reason is taken from public economy which would be strained...in fact, let us remember that the wealth of the Jesuits would never suffice to pay as many teachers, who are not religious. Also, when privrae funds come to be administered by the State, the losses incurred are very great..."

* The full Report of Cardinal Calino's conversation with Pope Pius VI is given in the rare book *Osservazioni sopra l'istoria del pontificato di Clemente XIV*, scritta dal P. A. Theiner, Prete dell'Oratorio; Modena, Tip. Vincenzi, 1853; pp. 185—189. The whole of this *Appendex* is based on the same book. The author of the book is unknown to the present writer.

The King's letter was well received by the Pope, for there is a letter of His Majesty, of the 27th Sept. 1775, addressed to Fr. Reinoch, the Superior of the Jesuits in Silesia, which runs as follows: "The Pope has declared to me that he left me the choice of the methods whereby the Society could be maintained in my dominions. He said also that he does not desire that the same should be impeded in its ministry by any note of irregularity. Hence to day itself I have ordered all my Bishops to leave your Order in *Statu Quo*. Its members must not be harassed in their works and ministries. Ordination must not be denied to them, when needed. Hence instruct your subjects in these things, and act accordingly. Your Clement King *Frederic**

APPENDIX III

STATUS OF THE MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN ASIA AT THE TIME OF THE SUPPRESSION

There were in the East four Provinces: Goa. Malabar. China. Japan.

For Goa:

In the Peninsula of Salsete: 25 Churches and 25 Fathers.

In the Northern Country:

Parell (Bombain) 1 Church.
Bandora 2 Churches.
Poinser 1 Church
Dongry 1
Condotim 1
Purim 1
Basaim, 1 Seminary, 1 College, 3 Churches.
Tannah, 1 Church, 1 College.
Chaul, 1 College.

In Maissur, Churches or Residences in

Xiriranga Pattanao.
Ramapura.
Navalpatti.
Sambali.
Chollapandi.
Maratalli.
Cudulupaleya.

* Cfr. *Osservazioni* etc, pp. 121—151.

Arrubale.
Basuvapura.

10 Fathers (or 13 ?) and 56 Catechists.

In the Deccan, 4 Residences with Churches.

Mogol:

Srinagar, 1 Mission.
Dehli, 1 Church and Residence.
Agra, 1 College and 1 Church.
(In Persia. at Ispahan 1 Mission).
(In Turkey, 7 Churches).

Malabar: Churches and Residences:

in Calicut
in Tanor
in Ambalacata
in Curugueira
in S. Andre (4 Churches)
in Coulao de Cima
in Paimel
in Mampolin
in Putantopo
in Anjenga
in Reytora
in Bringao
in Puduterrey
in Coleche
in Cariapatao
in Sta Luzia
in Topo
in Raquiamangalao
in Covalao
in Cabo Comorin

and others, as Canheracote, Cotate, etc.

In the Nemam Mission, 1 College and 14 Churches.

On the Fishery Coast:

Perumanal
Veri
Talla
Manapar
Mendale
Virande patanam
Punicale
Calle velho
S. Pedro de Tuticorin

Vaipar
Vembar
Marava

and others, at Pangelim, Iringigerey, Tutancory, Atur, Macur.

Number of Missionaries, 15.

In the Madura Missions:

Tirucherapally (3 Churches)
Tanjaur (5 Churches)
Candalur (3 Churches)
Cangupaty (5 Churches)
Satiamangalao (15 Churches)
Madura (Capital: 2 residences and 4 Churches)

(9 Fathers: 8 dressed as Joghis and Pandaraswamis; 1 wore the habit of the Society)

Bengal:

1 College and 2 Churches.

Siam:

5 Fathers; 4 at Court, 1 at Tenacerim.

Ilha Sumba:

1 Father.

Macassar:

3 Fathers.

Camboja:

3 Fathers.

China: 31 Missionaries working in the Residences of

Pekin,
Namkin
Singanfu
Kianchen
Hoaigan
Shanghai
Cantao
Hainan
Kiengfu
Tingao etc.

In Cochin-china: 360,000 Christians; annual conversions about 4000.

Recently the Missions of Sabo (2 residences and 4 churches), Laos, Luca, etc. were started.

2 Fathers were poisoned.

It has been calculated that the Jesuits in their eastern missions alone, from 1542 to 1610 converted 1,370,000 idolaters, and many more from 1610 to 1759.

They have written grammars, dictionaries, catechisms, spiritual books purannas etc.

They have done immense good in the field of education, in the direction of souls, in hospitals etc.

And for all this Portugal has expelled or imprisoned them.

The various Missions were maintained by alms, legates etc.

For inst. the Marquis de Bussy Castelnau (b. at Soissons 1718, d. at Pondicherry. 1785) in 1756 gave for the Jesuit Missions 65,000 xeraphins. 36,000 served to buy lands for the Mission of Raichur. Fr. Joao Marques bought land worth 29,000 xer. to maintain 3 Missionaries for the Ghauts.

All these estates and moneys passed to the *Fazienda* of Goa. Similarly the lands and money which maintained Cranganore, Cochin, etc.

From a Document (incomplete) taken from *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente* by C.C. Nazareth. Lisbon. Ed. 1894.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY TO THE YEAR 1818

1. How the news of the Suppression was received
   (a) by the Fathers themselves,
   (b) by the Clergy,
   (c) By the People.
2. Remnants:
   (a) *The Ex-Jesuits in Malabar and in South Kanara*
      1. Don Salvador dos Reys, Archbishop of Cranganore (+ 1777)
      2. Don Clemente Jose, Bishop of Cochin (+ 1771)
      3. Padre Emmanuel Ferrao (The Destruction of Ambalakad—1791)
      4. Padre Mathias Scherpenseel—Vicar General of Cranganore (1780-86 ?)
      5. Padre Timotheo Xavier—Governador of Cranganore (1786)
      6. Padre Aloysius Falcao—The Persecution (See also Appendix 1)

      Mangalore and South Kanara (See Appendix 2)
   (b) *The Ex-Jesuits in Mysore and Raichur*
      1. Padre Pietro Licchetta
      2.—6. Padri Antonio Coelho, Luigi Tavares, Vellada, Salemma, Lancellotti
      7. Padre Giovanni Paradiso (+ 1793)
      8. Padre Francesco Saverio Pavone (+ 1799)
   (c) *The Ex-Jesuits in the Madura Mission and on the Fishery Coast*
      1. Padre Antonio Duarte—Provincial (+ 1788)
      2.—3. Padri Antonio Peyrotto and Antonio Giraldes,
      4. Padre Jose de Ourem
      5. Padre Pietro Machado (+ 1789)

      6. Padre Giacomo Tommaso de Rossi (+ 1774)
      7.—10. Padri Francisco de Menezes
      Lourenso da Costa
      Jose de Barros
      Francesco Tomassini
      11.—12. Padri Thomas Maur
      James Hartmann
      13. Padre Giulio Cesare Pontenza
3. The Successors of the Jesuits
   (a) Malabar (Carmelites, Secular Priests both Syrian and Latin)
   (b) The Carnatic (and also Madura, Bengal)
      Goan Priests
      Capuchins

   The Paris Foreign Missions Society
      Boundaries of the Carnatic Mission
      The Jurisdiction
      Proposed Amalgamation with the Ex-Jesuits
      Difficulties

   The Ex-Jesuits:
      1. Pere Mosac (Superior) (+ 1779)
      2. Pere Vernet (Procurator)—The Properties of the Jesuits.
      3.—4. Pere Coeurdoux (+ 1779) and Padre Ansaldo (+ 1805)—The Carmel.
      5.—6. Peres Busson and Costaz (+ 1781, and + 1784)
      7. Padre Francesco d'Andrea (+ 1818)
      8. Brother Duchoiselle (+ 1793)
      9. Padre Fabri (+ 1809)
      10.—14. Fathers H. de Montjustin (+ 1791), Baignoux (+ 1810), de St Amour (+ 1803), Guiribaldi (+ 1797), Schwendimann (+ 1804)
      15.—16. Pere Sincere (+ ?), Pere Arnoult (+ 1806),
      17. Padre Manente (+ 1812)

The Chandernagor Jesuits

18.—21. Frs Possevin (Superior), Garret, Garofalo and Br. Broquet.

The Capuchins succeed them. P. Marco della Tomba.

Conclusion by Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo.

We have been able to gather the names of 15 Portuguese,
14 Italians,
8 Germans,
15 Frenchmen.
Total 52 Old Jesuits.

Note on four Jesuits belonging to the Agra Mission:

(1) P. A. Gabelsperger,
(2) P. A. Strobl,
(3) P. J. Tieffentaler,
(4) P. F. X. Wendel.

We confess that our sources of information are few and incomplete.

No annual letters. Only some letters to private persons. The most interesting *Sources*:

(*a*) *Padre Pietro Licchetta's Letter to Padre Filippi.** Peres Jean and Besse have published only a few fragments. We have given practically the whole of it, though we have been forced to divide it. Thus it has lost some of its naive freshness.

(*b*) *Adrien Launay—Histoire des Missions de l'Inde*—Tome Premier—Paris 1898. This has been of use mainly for the Ex-Jesuits of the Carnatic Mission. The work is well documented.

(*c*) *India Orientalis Christiana* a R. P. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, C. D. (Romae 1794). A monumental work, quite indispensable to any one who wishes to write on India.

(*d*) *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente* (2nd Ed.) II Tomo—1501-1878, por Casimiro Christovao de Nazareth: Lisboa 1913; Nova Goa 1924. A most important collection of documents, written in Portuguese.

(*e*) *Rev. C. Paul—History of the Telugu Christians*—(120 pages) (Madras 1929). It is based mainly on Launay's work.

(*f*) *Pere Leon Besse, S. J.—La Mission du Madure*—(Trichinopoly 1914). Though heavy, it is well documented and quite reliable. (pp. XVI, 749).

We have related how the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV. Now let us see:

HOW THE NEWS OF THE SUPPRESSION WAS RECEIVED

(a) *By the Fathers themselves*:

From a letter of Padre Pietro Licchetta, S. J., written from the Maissur Mission, and more especially from the Residence of Daraburam, on the 16th April 1780, to the Rev. Padre Gian Francesco Filippi di Vallecossa, S. J.", we take the following:

"Padre Pavone and myself were in this residence, when the awful news reached us. It was just after dinner on the 16th May 1774, the feast of St. John Nepomucene, Protector of our Society. We were making our spiritual reading, and *nominatim* of the rules of modesty. I was overtaken by such anguish, that, leaving open the gate to tears, I shut the book, and from that time, I did not wish to read it or even to see it, in order not to renew the pain, which was so intense and piercing, that I never experienced, or shall ever experience the same in my life. I mean even that which may cause death itself. I thought I could not survive such sorrow. I did not eat nor sleep, except when tired out by sadness. The little sleep I had was often broken. And on awaking, the first thought, which pierced me like a stiletto, was this: "The Society is extinct, and I am a Jesuit no more." I was heart-broken, and almost beside myself. And", the good Father quaintly adds, "I have a reason for that, which is quite good, namely, that no one is less resigned to God's Holy Will than myself. The atrocity of the pain lasted in all its intensity at least eight days. Then, though it diminished somewhat, it did not cease for some months. Finally, though

* Communicated to the Author in its original Italian by Rev. Fr. A. Sauliere, S. J.

in its more cruel aspect it abated a little, (for everything fades away with time), it remained as strong as ever in my thought; nay, it seems to grow every day. For when I see the evils, which the extinction of the Society has brought about in these lands, I can guess the evils which must have ensued in other parts of the world. Similarly, when I see that the death of the Society has made little or no impression on some, I say to myself and to others: "Oh Society of Jesus, nobody knows thee except those who have lost thee."

The sentiments so touchingly expressed by Fr. Licchetta were shared by the great majority of his brethren. That Society which had received them when quite young, which had directed their first steps in the way of perfection, which they had been accustomed to regard as dearer than their own mother; that Society which had been founded by a Saint and approved by the Church, which had trained so many missionaries, which had worked in so many lands, and fought against so many enemies, that Society, famous for its learning, shining for the heroic virtue of so many of its children, lay now prostrate by the hand of the Pope, whom she had lived only to defend; dead, and—to all appearance—never to rise again. Most of the Jesuits lamented the irreparable loss. However, just as a mighty oak allows parasites to live on its branches, to draw nourishment from its sap, so it is with the Church of God, so it is with the religious Orders. They have their parasites. And these do not feel the death of the tree, which sustains them, as irreparable. They are incapable of such feelings.

Padre Licchetta speaks of them as follow:—

"There remains something to be said about two Fathers well known to Your Reverence, and they are Padre *Emmanuel Ferreira*, who was Procurator in the College of St. Paul, and Padre *Francesco Saverio Arcovito*, from my own country, and our fellow-novice. The first one came to the Mission three years after me. After some time he broke into a strange behaviour, and caused a good deal of trouble to this and to the Madura Mission, in fact to the whole Province. Finally, since he did not mend his ways, he has expelled from the Society, by Padre Antonio Duarte, who was Provincial at that time; but after his dismissal

he continued to give trouble. His expulsion was approved by the Archbishop of Cranganore and confirmed by Fr. General. He went to Goa, where he was put in jail and sent to Portugal, where again he was imprisoned in the gaol called Limorivo in Lisbon.

"The other, that is Padre *Arcovito*, had come, as you know, from Macao to Goa. He was sent to the Malabar Province, and from there to the Madura Mission. After some years, he too went wrong. He caused some trouble, but only to that Mission, and not so serious as Padre *Ferreira*. Finally, having been dismissed from the Society, after having wandered here and there in this vast continent, he found favour with...(*blank*)... Nabob of Carape, with whom he stayed some years and did some ...(*blank*)...but always with many ups and downs of good and bad luck in worldly matters.

"The end of both these Fathers (for they are dead) was really tragic. Padre *Ferreira* was accused of having written some letters to the Jesuits in Rome, and was beheaded on the public square. Padre *Arcovito* was calumniated, accused of theft, and put in gaol. The accusations were proved false, and he was liberated. In fact they even asked his pardon. But he was overcome by the evil spirit; he refused to eat, and starved himself to death.

"With regard to some Lay Brothers: *Catalani* ended best of all. He left the Society from the beginning, and remained in Goa, where now he is an Officer in the Militia; and, from what I hear, lives quite honourably. Of Br. *Muzzi*, late door-keeper of the Professed House, as well as of Brs. *Voigt* and *Guglielmi*, I only know that they left the Society, when it was suppressed in Portugal.

"They tell me that Fr. *Filiberto Gulher's* exit from the Society was not clean; but I cannot give any details, for I do not know them: perhaps you know them better than myself."

Now let us say how the news of the suppression was received

(b) *By the clergy*

The great charity which the Capuchios of Goa showed to the unfortunate Jesuits, is an unmistakable sign that they at

least regretted the extinction of the Society. The same cannot be said of the Augustinians and others. In his quaint manner thus writes Padre Licchetta:

"I should like to know what they think and do in Europe about our Society. More than a year ago we heard here that the Society had risen to life again fully in Europe, and almost as fully out here. But later the wind changed, and I am afraid I'll be a fool should I believe in the restoration of the Society. I speak from the roof downwards; for God is almighty. Above all I am so far from seeing the Society risen again in the King of Spain's dominions, that at every new ship which is landing in India I seem to hear that a decree has arrived raising the date of the Suppression to a feast of obligation of the First Class with a double octave. And should you think this a bit strange, remember that the Suppression Bull was published in Portugal and all her Colonies with solemn *Te Deum's* and services of thanksgiving."

A Priest could not have put the case more forcibly.

How the news of the Suppression of the Society was received

(c) *By the People* :

it is more difficult to say, for usually the people are dumb in these matters, except within their own narrow circle; and what is spoken about in an Indian village is generally unknown to writers and historians. In the last chapter, however, we have spoken of the *Mysorean Embassy* to the Viceroy and to the Archbishop of Goa. To organise such an Embassy, and much more, to finance it, shows that the love of the Christians of Mysore for their Gurus was deep and strong.

A second testimonial—narrower, however, and perhaps more personal—we have from *Chandernagor*. It is contained in a letter of the French Catholics—dated Dec. 1777—addressed to Mgr. Brigot of the Paris Foreign Missions. It begins as follows: "We have heard from public rumour that the French Government, by uniting the Jesuits in India to the Foreign Missions, has put you in possession of Jesuit goods and charges. Hence the Mission of Chandernagor will come to you. If the attachment which parishioners should have for a Pastor, who

has worked among them with apostolic zeal for 35 years, is known to you, you should feel, that the loss we are about to sustain cannot be lightened except by a member of your Society, whose name alone is an honour, etc."

The Pastor in question was Fr. Possevin of the extinct Society of Jesus. The occasion for the letter was that the Capuchins claimed to succeed the Jesuits in Chandernagor. The Parishioners did not like this possibility, and suggested that the Fathers of the Foreign Missions should step into the shoes of the Jesuits, or rather should co-operate with them, till the death of the old missionaries.*

We could gather many testimonials wherein regret is expressed that the successors of the Jesuits did not come up to the mark, and did not follow in the footsteps of the old missionaries. But we consider such expressions of doubtful value, for they are to be met with only too often among quarrelsome and disgruntled Parishioners.

We cannot refrain, however, from quoting a letter of *Mgr Laouenan*, of the Paris Foreign Missions, both on account of the authority of the writer, and of the historical value of the document. He says:

"In 1800 almost all the ancient missionaries (the Jesuits) were dead. From Europe no new evangelical labourers had come to replace them, and more than 30 years would pass, before they could come in considerable numbers. Hence various Christian Communities in India were entrusted to the Goan Clergy.

"Among the best institutions of the old Portuguese missionaries in India it is proper to put the *parochial system*. From the mouth of the Indus to Cape Comorin, and from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, all the Christianities founded by them, were immediately organised as Parishes, at the head of which was placed a native priest, and that was surely one of the causes of their stability. Each church had its independence, its revenues, its admistrative council. The priest, the school master, the sacristan etc. were all maintained by the revenues of the

* Cfr. *Launay: Histoire des Missions dans l'Inde* (Paris 1898) pp. 75-76.

church, and the system continues more or less to the present day. That there are little thefts and losses is inevitable, but the institution is sound, and it has withstood all these and greater trials.

Unfortunately the priests that were placed at the head of these parishes, not always had the capacity, knowledge, and virtue, which might have been expected of them. At this epoch the necessity of rapidly providing for the needs of the missions which had been deprived of their pastors, made the ecclesiastical superiors hastily ordain new priests and send them to the derelict churches. This clergy was almost exclusively recruited from the Goan Brahmins, known in India as Konkani Brahmins. ... When the Portuguese conquered Goa and the neighbouring country, they treated the Brahmins with much consideration. To those who consented to become Christians they stood god-fathers and gave them their names, so that even now it is quite common on the West Coast to meet a man going bare-footed, and yet being known by one of the most aristocratic names of Portugal. At the same time, instead of keeping them strangers to their own language, manners and civilisation, they educated them in such a way, that now, except for the colour and certain other traits, it would be difficult to distinguish a Goan Brahmin from a Portuguese.

"Unfortunately, with the language and manners, they passed on to them their vices and defects, the exigencies and habits of European life, without at the same time instilling into them the good qualities.

"It was these men, who, hastily trained and ordained with precipitation, were sent everywhere to replace the ancient missionaries. The full contrast which existed between the newcomers and the old Jesuit Fathers did not fail to strike and offend the punctilious susceptibility of the native Christians. The Goan Priests, instead of keeping those forms strictly classical, that refined politeness, that legal purity which the Jesuits used scrupulously to observe, neglected them, and only too often showed themselves proud and arrogant, conscious of their social superiority, desirous only to get money and to work

the least possible. They ignored the various Indian languages, or spoke them like pariahs. They lacked faith and dignity in the exercise of the sacred ministry and even at the altar they were slovenly. Sometimes they were addicted to wine, litigious, and about theology, they knew only the extraordinary privileges granted by the Popes to the Kings of Portugal."

Things have changed for the better in recent years. The present writer has known many Goan Priests, and has only good to say of them. They are pious, zealous, kind, learned. In fact they compare most favourably with the other Catholic clergy both Indian and European.

"Of course, that happened, which in the circumstances, could not but happen. The respectable communities, which had been converted by the ancient missionaries, could not bring themselves to accept these uncouth men. Near Pondicherry, and to the north of the Madura missions existed a numerous population of Reddis, who were Christians, and who occupied a great part of the land, from Porto Novo to the mountains. Nearly all of them, by command of their leaders, had apostatized towards the end of the XVIII century; and as was the case elsewhere, the apostasy was attributed to the publication of the Bull on the Malabar Rites. In 1871 I happened to be in the neighbourhood of the place where lived the descendants of these people. Their leader paid me a visit, and here is what he related to me:

"At a certain time—which he could not tell exactly—his grand-father, when upon a journey, had to stop at night as was his custom, at one of those places, which in India are found near the villages in order to afford some shelter to respectable travellers. To his surprise, he was not allowed to enter. He protested; but the head of the village told him: 'As long as your *Gurus* were men who knew and scrupulously kept the customs of our caste and the rules of etiquette which are current in our land, there was no difficulty in allowing you to set foot in a place which is reserved only for caste people; but from the time that you have accepted as your *Gurus*, and you receive into your houses a kind of *topas* or *prangui*, who do not keep any rule, it is not possible for us to regard you as

clean, and to receive you among us". Angered and humbled by this affront, my grand-father hastened back to his village. He gathered together the chiefs of the caste, told them what had happened, and proposed to return to Hinduism. They agreed, and all apostatized, except a small number of families. So far my informant.

"On examining the time when this event must have taken place, it was easy to find out that it was towards the end of last century, i.e. between 1780 and 1800. Similar occurrences happened elsewhere. The want of respectability of the Goan Priests was a disaster for the Religion of which they were the ministers. On the other hand, their avarice, their idleness, their neglect of the salvation of souls pushed many communities to apostasy. Again, they allowed the Protestants, through their schools, through their orphanages, through the numerous means which they possess, to devour their sheep. This is the most important cause of the defections which took place in India between 1744 and 1840.") * So far Bishop Laouënan.

2. REMNANTS

After having seen how the news of the suppression of the Society of Jesus was received by the Jesuits themselves, by the Clergy and by the Christians in India, let us now say a few words about the handful of Jesuits who lived on in India after the catastrophe. We feel like a shepherd whose humble fold has been scattered by a storm. Most of the sheep have disappeared; only a few remain; but he hardly knows where to look for them. None is to be seen in the rich fields of Goa. We have to strain our eyes to find a few, almost lost in this vast Peninsula. Now we lack the *annual letters*, which gave ample and reliable information. We have to rely on a few stray letters written either by the missionaries themselves, or by others. Chief among them is the letter of Padre Licchetta, from which we shall borrow abundantly. Then a few other documents, as we have been able to gather, cut off, as we are, from rich Libraries, and deprived of the help of competent historians. This chapter then will be sketchy and incomplete.

*) See *Launay, Op. cit.*, pp. CXXV—CXXVIII.

But what he lacks in information we shall make up by love and admiration for the few *remnants* of a noble Society, who carried on the work entrusted to them with failing strength and dwindling resources, cut off from that Society from which they were accustomed to gather courage and inspiration.

We shall extend our researches beyond Malabar, for we feel that, in the universal destruction, no ruins must escape our notice, however remote and humble they may be. They are all dear to us; far dearer in their disaster than in the day of their strength and triumph.

We shall speak of the few Jesuits—ex-Jesuits now—who carried on the work in Malabar and South Kanara, in Mysore and in Raichur and, finally, in Bengal and in the Carnatic.

(a) *The ex-Jesuits in Malabar and in South Kanara*

1 AND 2. DON SALVADOR DOS REYS AND DON CLEMENTE JOSE

We have already spoken of them in another chapter. We add here a few more details taken from Padre Licchetta's Letter. "When the Portuguese Jesuit Assistancy was destroyed, the Archbishop of Cranganore was Don Salvador dos Reys, and the Bishop of Cochin was Don Clements Jose, both Portuguese, and true sons of the Society. The Portuguese attempted to make them leave their Churches, and put there Administrators, opposed to us Jesuits. But since the Bishops refused, they were deprived of their subsidies, and compelled almost to beg in order to live; and so they carried on till death. Don Clemente died in January 1771, and Don Salvador in April 1777. They endeavoured to get hold of us as well, in order to imprison us and send us to Lisbon; but in vain, for we were living under the dominion of Indian Rajas. Thus the Portuguese, seeing that they could not do us all the harm they wished, did us all the harm they could. They confiscated all our goods in Goa, they deprived us of all help, so that we have been living on the special and unlooked for help sent us by the Providence of God. We remained, therefore (left in God's own hands), in these heathen lands, and carried on—as we might say—with the

luck we had. At first we thought of returning to Europe, but then we judged it was more according to God's will and the good of these poor Indians to remain here. In order to be united in one body, by common consent and the express approval of V. R. Fr. General, we subjected ourselves to the Provincial of Malabar. Thus the relics of the Province of Goa, that is, the three Missions of Maissur, Raicciur and Chittur were joined to the Province of Malabar, and, till the suppresssion of the Society, we were governed by that Provincial, and after the suppression, by the Ordinaries of Cranganore and of Cochin." So far Padre Licchetta.

It was the sad duty of the Archbishop of Cranganore, Don Salvador dos Reys, to inform the Jesuits placed under his jurisdistion, that Clement XIV had suppressed the Society of Jesus. In two separate letters, dated 15th May 1775, one to the Pope himself, and the other to Card. Castelli, he informed them that their order had been executed. He says at the time, instead of 14, there remained only 7 missionaries for Madura; and only 6 for Mysore, instead of 12. At the same time, he sent to Rome the list of those missionaries, who had agreed to place themselves under Cranganore. They were:

1. Antonio Giraldes—Malayadipatty.
2. Pedro Machado—Aur.
3. Antonio Peyrotto—Cottar.
4. José de Ourem—Marava.
5. Francesco Saverio Pavone—Karumattampatty.
6. Pietro Biagio Licchetta—Maissur.
7. Mathias Scherpenseel—Pucota (Malabar).
8. Antonio Duarte—Talai.
9. Emmanuel Ferrao—Ambalakat.
10. Louis Falcao—Alantalai.
11. Lourenso da Costa—Gurdalle.
12. Francisco de Menezes—Manapad.
13. José de Barros—Manapad.
14. Francesco Tomassini—Vadakenkulam.
15. Jacobus Hartmann—Tuticorin.
16. Thomas Maur—Tuticorin. (*)

(*) L. Besse, S. J. *La Mission du Maduré* pp. 477-79.

We turn again to Padre Licchetta, from whom we gather some other important information. He writes:

"Till our Bishops died, we were under them. When in '71 the Bishop of Cochin died, that See was put immediately under Governadores, sent by the Metropolitan of Goa, of which Cochin is a Suffragan. When in '77 died the Archbishop of Cranganore—just before dying; a special and new disposition of the Holy See, appointed Governador of the whole Archdiocese our Fr. Mathias Scherpenseel—a German—, who has been cheated (as well as ourselves) by a Canarin Priest, sent by the Augustinian Archbishop of Goa.

"Then, till the 20th of the past February, our Ordinary and Governador of the Archdiocese, put there by the Holy See, till the same would provide otherwise, was Fr. Mathias. But now things have changed in the following manner: With the last ships, which have landed in Goa last autumn, there came the Most Excellent Mgr D. F. Emmanuele di Santa Caterina, Discalced Carmelite of the Portuguese Congregation, Bishop of Cochin. Now, since the Augustininian Archbishop of Goa had left for Lisbon, he remained in Goa as Administrator of that See. By a *Motu Proprio* of the reigning Pontiff the same Bishop was made Administrator of the Archdiocese of Cranganore. Since, however, he had to administer the Archbishopric of Goa, he sent to Malabar one of his fellow Religious, called Fra Giuseppe de Soledade, in order that he should govern both Cranganore and Cochin. The said Padre Giuseppe, having taken possession of the Diocese of Cochin, constituted his Vicars General for the Fishery Coast, our Padre Antonio Duarte; for the Madura Mission (in that portion of it which belongs to Cochin) another of Ours called Giovanni Ferreira; and in the same way, having on the 20th February taken possession of the Archbishopric of Cranganore. he put in his place, as Vicar General of the whole Archdiocese, the same Padre Mattia (Scherpenseel). He wrote also a Pastoral Letter to these Missions, and to us he wrote a special Letter, very fine and full of esteem."

So far Padre Licchetta.

8. PADRE EMMANUEL FERRAO

was in Ambalakad at the time of the suppression of the Society. Father Paolino asserts that Ambalakad continued till 1773. *) We doubt the correctness of this statement and hold that Ambalakad was destroyed by the troops of Tippu Sultan in 1790. In fact D. Lallais—a Frenchman—at the head of Tippu's troops entered Travancore in April 1790. And Fra Aloysius Maria a Jesu thus writes in a letter of the 23 March 1791 to the same Fra Paolino:

"Even before he crossed the frontier he destroyed and burned down all the churches he found. He caused very many to be circumcised, belonging to all castes; Cattanars (Syrian Priests), Catholics, Schismatics and Gentiles. It is related that only one Christian, recently converted, belonging to the caste *Parea*, allowed himself to be killed rather than embrace Islam. A few churches in the North, being out of the way, escaped destruction. But they are very few indeed. Baleante, Tazcatte, Cialacudi, Puttencera—church, residence and village, all reduced to ashes. Immediately within the frontier, at the source of the river of Ambalakad at Maloer, Angamalay was the first place which experienced his fury; he burned the Catholic churches, that of the schismatics, seminary, houses, etc. More, he compelled many adults, both Syrians and Gentiles, to be circumcised. Towns, villages, houses in Agaparambil (belonging to the schismatics), Mangate (our house alone excepted), Parur, Cennota, *Ambalakad* (*church and college*), Curiapalli, two chapels in Cranganore; everything burnt down and destroyed".)**

It is certain that Padre Ferrao was in Ambalaked in 1775. How long he remained there we have no means of establishing, just as we cannot say whether any Jesuits were in *Calicut* at the time of the suppression. That one or two remained there

(*) Fra Paolino says so in *India Orientalis Christiana* p. 87. He adds that the Jesuits had built a Residence also at *Puccotta* and another in *Puttenchere*, where many Gentiles were instructed and baptized. Two hundred and more were baptized every year, among whom Brahmins and Nayars. A register of conversions was kept in the Church.

(**) Cfr. Id. pp. 178—9.

after the Portuguese persecutions seems fairly certain; but nothing more can be said about it.

4. PADRE MATHIAS SCHERPENSEEL

was in Puccotta in 1775. Probably more about him could be found in *Huonder's* work on the German Jesuits in India *) which at present is not available. In 1780 he was appointed Vicar General of Cranganore, where he very likely continued till 1786. (+)

5. PADRE TIMOTHEO XAVIER

succeeded Padre Mathias in 1786. He had long been a missionary in Mysore, and when Portugal expelled the Jesuits, he continued to work there. How difficult that was, we can gather from the often quoted letter of Padre Licchetta. He writes to his friend Padre Filippi:

"I shall digress a little in order to answer a question, which you may wish to ask me. You may say: During so many years in the Mission, how many adults have you converted or baptized? I answer with a distinction: Baptized, some hundreds; converted, none. And what I say can be repeated by all the missionaries working in this Peninsula. For the Indians—as St. Francis Xavier has described them—are *Gens quae non paret rationi, et inepta evangelio*. The spiritual motives do not move them to become Christians, but only the material ones; and especially the following:—

"Some one who finds no wife among the Gentiles, but finds her among the Christians, becomes a Christian in order to marry. Another, who is sick, receives Baptism, hoping that God will cure him, for he knows, very well that ours is the true Religion. One who lacks the means of livelihood, hoping that the Christians, and especially the Priest, will give him to eat, receives Baptism. Thus the Baptisms of adults have ceased now, after our ruin, for we have not, as formerly, plenty to give.

(*) Cfr. *Huonder Anton, S. J., Deutche Jesuiten Missionare des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freb. in B. 1899. (+) Mitras p. 56.

"What kind of Christians are they then? Do you ask me! Don't you know them? They are of the same kind as the Canarins of Bardez, Salsette and Goa.

"But what fruit do you get from these trials? Let the answer be given by J. Caesar Potenza, who is at present working in the Madura Mission. We get the same fruit which (as we read in the Lives of the Fathers) got that Monk who used to water a dry stick."

So far Padre Licchetta. One cannot help feeling that the enthusiasm is gone, the great hopes of the young missionary have disappeared. Only the drab reality remains, made more sombre by the disappointments and the frightful trials of the last years.

No wonder that the missionaries desired to leave the field. Says Padre Licchetta:

"After the suppression of the Society we hoped at least to be relieved from the burden of remaining in the missions, and to be able to withdraw to some corner where we could, in peace and quiet, prepare for death. But not even this was granted; and we were obliged to remain here, working above our strength, with no help, either in men or money. The members of this mission were 13, but they have died, one after the other, so that at the time of the suppression we were only 5. And now we are reduced to three, old and infirm. You can see for yourself whether 3 men, weak and aged, can do the work, which twenty or twentyfive years ago was done by 13 strong young men."

The Primate of Goa wanted Fr. Xavier to be Governador of Cranganore. If he left a hopeless field, where nothing ever happened, he entered another where everything was in turmoil. The Carmelites, who had established themselves in Verapoly, were now experiencing all the troubles which the Jesuits had experienced more than a hundred years before. But, though the Society was extinct, Fra Paolino informs us that not only the Carmelites, but also the few Jesuits who remained—though old and sick—were the object of cruel persecutions and calumnies.

6. PADRE ALOYSIUS FALCAO IN 1780

... was in *Tiruvancor*. The Minister of Travancore was then *Naganpulla Sarvadicariacaren*, brother of the Diwan *Kimarencembagaramenpulla* **). He started a terrible persecution against the Christians belonging to the caste of the *Cianas*. All were to pay homage to the idol *Padmanaba Swami*, or deliver to the soldiers the little money they possessed. No less than 20,000 Christians ran away to the mountains. About 300 were taken, and a few, yielding to threats, did honour to the idol, whose image was set up in a grove. But the majority—men, women and children—constantly refused. The tyrant, who had found very little gold in the wretched huts of these poor people, gathered as many as he could from the towns of *Benganur*, *Takale* and *Tiruvancoda*, and brought them before the Judge, whom in those parts they call *Melvisharipu*. Ten men, before their women and children, were hanged on trees and cruelly beaten. Two of them, by name *Velendren* and *Arulan*, died the same day. *Arlapen* — a boy ten years old — was present at his own father's martyrdom. Hearing his parent's groanings, he said to the Judge: "If my father's faith is a crime, I too am guilty of the same. Why then don't you beat me with him?" The Judge— a man small of stature, not impulsive—(Fra Paolino, from whom we take these details, assures us he had often spoken with him) commanded that the boy should be removed some distance. Then, as he thought the father had got a sufficient beating, he ordered that the boy should be tormented. At every stroke the little hero repeated the words "*Jesu Nather Swami*" that is "*My Lord Jesus*". He was nearly dead, when the Judge ordered he should be let loose. Upon being asked whether he had enough, he answered: "You can beat me as long as you please; you will never rob me of my Saviour."

Next day, they were all beaten again; the torn bodies were rolled on the burning sand, and powdered pepper was rubbed into the bleeding wounds. The Judge, seeing he could obtain nothing, turned for advice to the Minister, who, somewhat afraid of the King, ordered the Christians to be thrown into prison.

** The spelling is exactly as it is given in *India Or. Christiana*.

The refugees found some consolation with Fr. Falcao, who received them kindly, fed them, gathered alms for them, admininistered the Sacraments to them. Meanwhile Fra Paolino had to go on business to Patmanaburam. The imprisoned Christians having heard of his coming, succeeded in getting out of jail, and in approaching him. He was staying in a little chapel near Padmanaburam. Men, women, children, all pleaded with him that he should take to the Raja a letter written in Tamil, where they set out their awful plight. They would be ready to do any work, to pay any tribute, provided they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. Fra Paolino advised them to return to prison. Meanwhile he saw the King's Minister and after long talks succeeded in making the persecution stop after three months. Hardly six months later Nagampulla died of cancer in the throat. The gold which he had robbed from the Christians was sent to the Raja's Exchequer.*

Mangalore and South Canara were not the theatre of Jesuit activities at this time.

b) *The ex-Jesuits in Mysore and in Raichur*

1. PADRE PIETRO LICCHETTA.

Most of the information about this Father we have from his often quoted letter to Padre Filippi. Though some personal details may seem irrelevant, we find them most interesting, for, besides revealing the simple character of the chatty old man, they lift the veil over the state of the mission field in India at the close of the XVIII Century. Padre Licchetta writes as follows:

"After our union with Malabar, with the consent of our Archbishop and of Father Provincial the system of *Tarasi* (?) was altered, and it was necessary for me to leave Maissur. I went to the Mission of Raichur, distant from the borders of this one, ten days journey towards the North. One year before Fr. Diego d'Albuquerque had come here from Raichur, to help this

* Cfr *India Or Christiana*, pp. 168-174.

mission, which is more numerous than Raichur. When I went there, two more Fathers, i. e. Frs Lancellotti and Garofalo came down to Maissur. In Raichur then I found only three Fathers, namely Frs Vellada and Salemma, with their Superior, Fr. Giovanni Paradiso. Fr. Paradiso posted me to the Fort called Cittapura, in the northernmost part. A few days after my arrival the fortress was besieged by two armies. Since it offered resistance, they scaled its walls and plundered it after only three or four days siege.

"I, too, had to suffer from the victors, who carried away whatever they found in the house and in the church, though they did not find much, for I had buried whatever I could. Since, however, I could not bury the horse and two bullocks, I lost them. But in this tragedy I played a curious role. For instance, there came a Marasta, who, gathering from my dress and appearance that I was a Priest, bowed deeply and passed on. Then there came a Turk *) who gave me a push, snatched something from my dress, and disappeared. And so, what with bows and pushes, I was robbed of nearly all I had on. Owing to the confusion of the siege, I had forgotten to remove my ear rings. The robbers, having noticed them, tried to snatch them away. One broke and it was taken away, with no injury to my ear. The other was well fastened, so that, in spite of much pulling...they had to leave it. When the fury abated a little, I could take it off and hide it. Towards evening I went barefooted and almost naked to the victors' camp, where I met a Portuguese Captain. I begged of him to send some soldiers to help me to recover what I had buried, and save it from eventual robbers. So it was done; and in the evening I got everything back. But I kept it only for a few days, for, during a march, some thieves stole everything.

"The extraordinary heat and continuos journeying made me sick of fever and diarrhoea. I thought it was over with me, but God kept me for other trials. I recovered almost instantaneously, after having eaten plenty of grapes, fresh and luscious which were sold to the soldiers.

* The Muslims were usually called Turks or Moors by the old missionaries.

"Finally I reached Raichur, and having recovered what I had lost, from alms and help received from Ours, I remained in charge of those Christians for two or three years.

"I shall not omit to relate what the Raichur missionaries have done many a time and I too have done for God's service without any inconvenience. The Gentiles and the Turks of the place have the beautiful custom of bringing their children to our church, when they are sick, in order that the father may bless them with Holy Water. The greater part die after Baptism. In one year I counted some 30, and yet the mothers continue to bring them. The Heathen of this Mission of Maissur, not only lack this custom, but are very averse to it, as it seems, and very few children can thus be baptized.

"After three years in the Mission of Raichur, I was sent by the Superiors to Chittur, six days journey from the western boundaries of the Raichur Mission, in order to help Fr. Giovanni de Cordes, who, owing to Fr. Alberto Zarth's death, was alone. I remained there only one year and was then re-called by Rev. Fr. Provincial to the Mission of Maissur. By reason of the armies and continuous wars which are being carried on everywhere these days, my journey was very difficult. It took 10 months before I reached my place, and for a second time I was robbed of everything I had. Having reached the mission, and having been assigned to the Southern part of the same, namely to the *Congo* * I was obliged to learn another language, namely Tamil, for Cannada, the northern language, is not current here.

"After I had come back to this mission, one year before the suppression of the Society, on the 15th August 1772, I made the solemn profession of 4 vows. I had been nearly 20 years in the Society, and was 47 years old.

"The same year made their profession Fr. Lancellotti and others, older than myself. Owing to the troubles of those years the *Informationes* about us could not be sent to Rome in time.

* The district round Sattyamangalam was often called "*Congo*" in the Annual Letters.

"I continued, and do continue to work in the Mission with Frs Pavone and Timoteo Savier (of 13 that we were, we are now only 3, all the others being dead), under the obedience of the Ordinary, nay by his express command. But I can't go on, for I am old (I was born 1 Febr. 1725); and owing to so many journeys, afflictions, trials, I am sick, in fact a walking hospital. Of all my teeth there remains only one, on the upper left side, which prevents my chewing the food with the gums, so that I have to gulp it down as it is. Beside various fevers, skin diseases, dysentry, etc. by which I have been tormented all this time, for some years past I have been subject to piles, which I think I have contracted by riding, or travelling in a bullock-cart, or on foot. Before I was 50 I used to go about on horseback; but since I got piles, I could not do it any more; and now I am compelled to travel—in order to visit the sick—in a kind of a rustic palanquin. This is less inconvenient, but dearer, and it cannot be had whenever it is needed.

"The issue of blood is very frequent, especially at the luna-tions, and at the beginning of this year it was so copious that I thought I would bleed to death. To this I should add flatulence, which, moving in the stomach, gives me st[illegible]achache; the foul air, mounting up to the head, causes pai[illegible] makes me giddy. This is really a great misery.

"And how am I getting on with regard t[illegible]
ashamed to say—and I confess it to y[illegible]
hoping that you will help me with your [illegible]
worse now than I was before coming [illegible]
from head to foot, and fear *ne* [illegible]
reprobus efficiar......particularly w[illegible]
Please apply for me at least [illegible]
mundet me Deus et ab alienis [illegible]
me this great favour fr[illegible]
who know me, and I sh[illegible]

We have quote[illegible]
confess we far [illegible]
Fr. Licchetta th[illegible]
wars. The le[illegible]

[illegible]R 41 YEARS
[illegible]CHRISTIAN FAITH
MANY VIRTUES
[illegible] THE LORD
[illegible]E 13 JANUARY 1793.

believe in the myth of "those devilish Jesuits", whom even the Pope was obliged to destroy. Devilish indeed...Think of the tooth of Fr. Licchetta!

Besides the information about *Fr. Licchetta*, which may be gathered from his letter, we add the following: He worked in Dharapuram for several years. His Christians belonged to various castes, and had come over from Tanjore, in order to escape from the vexations of the Hindus. The church was beautiful, and owned a large property to the north of the present church. During Tippu's reign Dharapuram was the scene of a fierce battle between Muslims and English. The missionary—very probably Fr. Licchetta—seeing that the Muslims, who were encamped to the west of the church, were taking possession of the same, begged one of the Chiefs to desist, and not to worry the Christians, who were quite harmless. Seeing that his demand was disregarded, he decided to go to the Fort and interview the Raja. Having obtained permission, he started on horseback, but, when he was at a short distance from the walls, he was shot dead (1790?). The soldiers had taken him for a spy. When the Raja heard the news, he was very sorry. He ordered the Christians to bury the Father at his expense, and to erect a tomb in his honour. He was buried at Naniayampalayam, and a small chapel was built over the body. Even now Christian and Hindu pilgrims visit the tomb, and pray to the beloved Father, who was known to them as Rayanader-swamy.*

2—7. Of the following six missionaries we could gather but scanty news from the letter of Padre Licchetta. He writes:

"I have spoken at length about myself, but I shall be brief about the other missionaries; nor shall I speak of all, only of those whom Your Reverence knows:

Padre Antonio Coelho, whom I left Minister of the College of St. Paul, came to the Mission with Padre *Luigi Tavares* three years after me, and both died before the Suppression of

(*) Cfr Notes of *Mgr de Bresillac*, quoted in *Launay* Op. Cit., Vol. I, p. LXXXIV. Cfr. also *The History of the Coimbatore Mission* by Fr. L. Bechu (1948)—p. 190.

the Society, the first in March 1770, the other in February 1773. Also three years after me Padri *Vellada*, *Sallemma*, *and Lancellotti* left Goa for the Mission of Raichur, where the first died—I do not remember whether before or after the Suppression; the second is still working there, and the third, after having been there for 5 years, was called to this mission, where after much labour, he died of a long and most painful infirmity, towards the end of last year, on November 27. I know nothing of Padre *Vendal*, who went to the Mission of the Mogol. I heard, however, that after the imprisonment of Ours in India, since he was getting neither letters nor supplies from Goa, he went to Bengal, wherefrom he returned after having heard the sad news."

7. PADRE GIOVANNI PARADISO

came from Europe with Padre Pavone and went from Goa to Raichur only two months after Padre Pavone had left it. He is still there—writes Padre Licchetta "older and more sick than Padre Pavone; yet he carries on and drags himself about." His tomb can still be seen at Mudgal. The inscription reads:

HIC JACET
JOANNES PARADISI
QUI VIXIT AD 88 AN.
MISSIONEM HANC REXIT 41 AN.
AD FIDEM XTI MULTOS CONVERTIT
ET REVESTITUS VIRTUTIBUS
REQUIEVIT IN DOMINO
13 JANUARII 1793.

HERE LIES
JOHN PARADISI
WHO LIVED TO BE NEARLY 88.
HE WAS SUPERIOR OF THIS MISSION FOR 41 YEARS
HE MADE MANY CONVERTS TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH
AND CLOTHED WITH MANY VIRTUES
DIED IN THE LORD
ON THE 13 JANUARY 1793.

Dr. Mario Modaelli suggests 1758 as the date of Fr. Salemma's death.*

He evidently does not know of Padre Licchetta's letter, which is the main source of information for these times, or perhaps he knows only the scanty extracts given in Fr. Jean's History of the Madura Mission. In fact we read the following in Padre Licchetta, which we give not only in connexion with Fr. Salemma, but also to show how the attitude of Portugal towards the ex-Jesuits was gradually changing for the better. Unfortunately the change came much too late. The letter reads :

"Another piece of news I had at the beginning of March (1780) from a Capuchin, who assured me that in the Mission of Raichur, where he worked for many years Chaplain in a French Army, he heard that Padre Antonio Salemma wrote to the Governor of the Indian State in Goa. The Governor in a most courteous letter assured him that he had orders from his most faithful Majesty to help in all things the ex-Jesuits who where still living in the lands of his "*Jus Patronatus*", that he should write to the Bishop of Cochin, Administrator of the Archdiocese of Goa, exposing the needs of the missionaries and of the mission. Hence Padre Paradiso and Padre Salemma wrote to the Governador and to the Bishop of Cochin asking to send three missionaries Europeans, however, not Canarins—to the mission of Raichur. They expect an early answer.

"This news was brought by Padre Illuminato da Venezia. For several reasons we could hardly believe it. On the other hand the good Capuchin—who had no reason whatever to deceive us—asserts it is most certain. He says that he himself helped our Fathers to prepare the answer to Goa, and he insisted so much that finally we too have written to Goa, and to the Bishop for ourselves and for this mission. Let us see if it is *cocozza o mellone*" (i.e. if it is merely a canard or if it is genuine).

* Cfr *P. Mario E. Dott. Modaelli, Miss. Ap. L'India*, p. 279. Pont. Ist. Miss. Estere—Milano 1937.

8. Padre Francesco Saverio Pavone

was born at Cenza in the Kingdom of Naples in 1718. He joined the Society in 1737 and came to India in 1750. He worked for many years in the Mysore Mission, of which he became Superior. He had many difficulties in connexion with the execution of Pope Benedict XIV's Constitution on the Malabar Rites. As usual, our good Padre Licchetta throws some light on the subject. He writes :

"Before I arrived in the Mission of Maissur the devil had begun to move a persecution against Padre Pavone through certain Christians to whom he—as it was his duty—was opposed, because *ambulabant vias non bonas, sed post peccata sua.* After my arrival the persecutions now under one pretext now under another, have increased. All these pretexts have been prompted by the devil, in order to make those people walk along the broad way, and exempt them from the orders and decrees of the Pope concerning the customs and superstitions of these lands. And yet. would you believe it? We that have worked and do work, we who have suffered and do suffer from the same Christians for the observance of Rome's decrees, are painted to-day as supporters of idolatry in India. And this was one of the reasons of the destruction of the Society. *Tibi Domine revelavi causam meam. Videat Dominus et requirat.*

"It is now 12 years since we live in this fire, and now it flares up more than ever owing to the intrusion of certain Canarin priests who promise these fools that they will allow what we have forbidden as contrary to the Pope's decrees and openly superstitious. * Probably the fire will not die out—or to speak more clearly—the Mission will not be ruined unless we get out. And then the conflagration will be over, for it will destroy and consume this unhappy Christian community.

"The final cause for all this is Portugal, which, in order not to lose its *Jus Patronatus*, does not wish to give up the care of all these missions to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.

* The Primate of Goa had forbidden the publication of the decree of Cardinal de Tournon in India, and had opposed the Pope's Bulls. No wonder if his priests followed his directions.

"This would provide very well by sending here the *Theresians of St. Pancrace.* These Religious on account of their experience, are the best, in fact the only ones, in my opinion, who, after the extinction of the Society, can well administer this church. (*) Would that Portugal would send at least Portuguese Missionaries...But it does not. To save money they leave everything to Canarin Priests. *Ruina haec sub manu ejus.* Let us see, however, if a change of Government in Portugal will not bring about better conditions here. What I have seen till now is great coldness and slowness. But, I repeat: Let us wait and see." So far Padre Licchetta.

But the times were bad. Mysore was in a turmoil owing to the wars in which the English, the French, Hyder Ali and, later, Tippu Sultan, were involved. We read in Padre Licchetta: "The actual Lord of the country where the Mission of Maissur is situated is the Gran Nababo Aidarlikan Bader, a Turk by nationality. He is the strongest and most respected power in this Indian Peninsula. Not only is he not averse to our Law and to its priests, but he was favoured us in everything. May God keep him, for he is advanced in age. When he will be dead, God knows how things will go."

Hayder Ali died two years later, and his son Tippu soon began to show open antagonism to Christianity.

In 1787, we find Padre Pavone a refugee in Kerala, and a guest of Fra Paolino in Cettiatti. The author of *India Orientalis Christiana* (pp. 155-162) tells us that he often spoke with the aged and experienced missionary about the Indian missions and their problems.

One of the subjects of discussion was the burning question of the *Malabar Rites.* Padre Pavone explained how the Jesuits endeavoured to obey the Pope and the difficulties they encountered. The Friar listened attentively—but, if we can judge from his own account—not very sympathetically.

Again Padre Pavone gave him ample information about the state of Christianity in the old Jesuit Missions.

* These *Theresians,* as they are called, are the same as the Carmelites of Verapoly. Cfr. Appendix III.

In Madura there were 14 Christian communities which we shall transcribe here with Fra Paolino's spelling. The modern spelling can easily be supplied: 1. Madhura. 2. Tindicalla. 3. Aur. 4. Illipiur. 5. Purrattacudi. 6. Ayyambett. 7. Conacupao. 8. Tanjaur City. 9. Varugapatti. 10 Siringani. 11. Surano. 12. Camanaikempatti. 13. Tirunaveli. 14. Vadakencollam. *)

In *Maissur* and *Concao* there were 8 missionary stations: 1. Palacaticeri. 2. Caramuttampatti. 3. Dharaboram. 4. Mettupaleam. 5. Pudupari 6. Calcaveri. 7. Calangani. 8. Dhermapuri.

In the Kingdom of Canara and near the Ghauts, 5 missionary stations:

1. Satali. 2. Carnari. 3. Ratana or Ciringapatnam—capital and main fortress of Tippu Sultan—(the church, however, was outside the town). 4. Cancanalli. 5. Aanacalla.

Of all the churches in the Madura Mission, four namely Surano Camanaikempatti, Tirunaveli and Vadakencollam, were under the Bishop of Cochin. Conacupao was under Mylapore, the rest under Cranganore.

So were the mission stations of Mysore, Raichur and Chittur, Madura, Tanjore, Marava were politically under the Nabab *Muhamed Ali,* who, however, was under the English. After the conquest of the city of Madura, the English ruled from Trishnapalli (Trichinopoly), Tanjaur and Tirunavely. The Raja of Travancore *Rama Varmer* kept troops in Paleamcotta. The power of all these Princes increased after the defeat of Tippu Sultan in 1792.

In 1787 many churches in the dominions of the Sultan were destroyed and the missionaries were exiled. It was then that Padre Pavone was obliged to leave his dear mission and find refuge in Malabar. There, together with Fra Paolino, he tried to compile some statistics. According to their calculations the number of Christians in Madhura and Tanjaur was about 80,000; and 40,000 in Maissur and Concam.

* In Fr. *Besse's La Mission Du Madure* (p. 477) we find 16 churches mentioned. He leaves out Tanjore, Siringani, Tirunaveli. He adds Ellacourichi, Poudour, Cocudi, Iliyaliparia (?) and finally Neman in Travancore.

Then Fra Paolino makes a rapid excursion in the Carnatic and in Bengal, and in a note gives his estimate of the moral character of Indian Christians. Like all such estimates it has to be taken with a pinch of salt.

The Christians of *Calcutta*, as well as of all commercial centres, where the Indians flow in great numbers, are very bad indeed. To the Indian vices they join the iniquity of the Europeans. But the Christians who live in the interior, far away from European influences, are simple, honest, and conscientious. The *Malabarians* are cunning and hypocritical. The *Tamilians* are deceivers, unfaithful and given to superstition. The *Bengalees* are uncouth, lazy, envious and given to money making.

Padre Pavone in a letter to Padre Garofalo (of whom we shall speak later) tells him that he had received news from Card. Antonelli that all the Missions of the ancient Jesuits had been transferred to the Paris Foreign Missions' Society, that it was useless to expect any help from Portugal and that he should get all faculties from the Superior of Pondicherry.

When Padre Licchetta was klilled at Dharapuram, Padre Pavone was with him. From Dharapuram he passed to Covilpaleam, near Palghat, where he worked with another European ex-Jesuit who—according to Jesuit custom—bore the Indian name of *Devapattinader*. Padre Pavone's Indian name was *Amurdanader*.

Padre Pavone died at Covilpaleam when he was eighty, after having worked in India 50 years. A certain Paranjadi, son of Arulanandapillay, announced the death of the old missionary to the Chrisistians, and told them that he died on the 11th July 1799. He was buried in the big church at Covilpaleam, where Fr. Devapattinader had been buried before him.*)

(*c*) *The ex-Jesuits in the Madura Mission and on the Fishery Coast.*

* Besides the Works quoted in the text, cfr *Launay, Op. cit.*, p. 219 See also *History of the Coimbatore Mission. by L. Bechu.* (Bangalore 1948)—pp. 97, 98 etc.

1. PADRE ANTONIO DUARTE

was one of the last, perhaps the last, Provincial of the Society in the ancient Malabar Province. He died at Manapad after having laboured in India for over 50 years. His death seems to have taken place in 1788. He was one of the few Portuguese Jesuits who succeeded in evading the Government's orders to quit India His goodness and kindness were such that fifty years later, when the Jesuits of the restored Society returned to the Madura mission, they found that some Christians were still naming their children after Padre Duarte, whose memory was held in benediction. In the last year of his life, though suffering from gravel, Padre Duarte continued to work among his dear Christians till he had a kind of presentiment of his approaching death. They carried him to Manapad, where he gathered a few Christians round his bed, and foretold them that the sons of St. Francis Xavier would again come to work among them. Then he put the affairs of the Mission in order, sealed some documents in a tin box and gave directions that it should be opened only by a representative of the General of the Society. In the evening he made his Confession, and next day, a Sunday, he peacefully died, after having received Our Lord in holy Viaticum.

2—3. Of Fathers *Antonio Peyrotto* and *Antonio Giraldes* we know only that in 1775 they were, the former at Cottar, and the latter at Malayadipatty. When and where they died we cannot say.

4. PADRE JOSE DE OUREM.

The letter of the Archbishop of Cranganore, Don Salvador dos Reys to Card. Castelli (15-V-1775) informs us that Padre Jose was working in the Marava country. He had succeeded the great Padre Rossi, and in 1780 he was still living. When he died, we cannot say. His Indian name was probably *Satiavediapodagher*, and very likely it was he who had much to suffer from Nayakers and Vellages, who had declared in favour of a certain Fr. *Vedapodagher*—a Franciscan—against the

Jesuit. They even tried to set the police against him, but in vain. What the real cause of the trouble was, we ignore. *

5. PADRE PIETRO MACHADO, (DARMANATHER)

succeeded Padre Buttari at Aur in 1757, when to the worries connected with the Malabar Rites were added the terrible Portuguese persecutions, which culminated in the Suppression of the Society. During Padre de Ourem's troubles in the Marava, Padre Machado was Superior of the District; how far he was involved in the matter it is not easy to determine. He lived now at Aur, now at Trichy, where he died in 1789. His tomb may still be seen at Aur. +

6. PADRE GIACOMO TOMMASO DE ROSSI

is buried at Sarugani, where the inscription over his tomb reads :—

J. H. S.
Hic Sepultus Est
R. P. Jacobus Thomas de Rossi, S. J.
Qui Maravensem Regionem XXX Annos Excoluit,
Aethnicis Aeque Ac Christianis Honoratus,
Cui Debet Sarugani Aedem Suam Et Pagus Ipse
Meliorem Situm.
Vineae Domini Cultor Indefessus In Vita,
Defunctus Adhuc Loquitur In Libris Lingua Tamulica Scriptis
Ad Vulgi Captum Accomodatis,
Qui Infestis Temporibus, Cum Pastoribus Christiani Carerent,
Lupis Ovium Pelle Vestitis Circumventi,
Ad Fidem Servandam Plurimum Contulerunt,
Et Manibus Fidelium Etiam Nunc Teruntur.
Naiae In Apulia An. 1701 Natus
Societatem Jesu An. 1721 Ingressus
Missioni Madurensi An. 1736 Addictus
Sarugani Pie Obiit An. 1766.
Cujus Memoria In Benedictione Est.
Sinna Saveriar.

(*) From a *MS Menology of the Society of Jesus*, which is still read in the Calicut Mission (for August 28). Cfr. also *Besse, Op. cit.* p. 479.

(+) With regard to Fathers de Ourem and Machado, Cfr. *Besse, Op. cit.* pp. 823-5 etc.

J. H. S.
Here lies buried
The Rev. Fr. James Thomas de Rossi, S. J.
Who laboured for 30 years among the Maravas.
He was held in honour both by Gentiles and Christians.
The village of Sarugani owes to him its church, and the village itself a better site.
During his life time he was an indefatigable worker in the Lord's vineyard.
Though dead, he still speaks in his books written in Tamil
And adapted to the understanding of the people.
In the difficult times, when the Christians lacked Pastors,
And when they were in danger of being led astray by wolves in sheep's clothing,
These books contributed much to the preservation of the Faith,
And even now they are constantly in the hands of the faithful.
Born at Naia Apulia in 1701,
He joined the Society of Jesus in 1721,
And was assigned to the Madura Mission in 1736,
He piously died at Sarugani in 1766.
His memory is held in benediction.
Sinna Saveriar.

Unfortunately a mistake has crept into the Inscription, for Padre de Rossi—known to the Tamilians as *Sinna Saveriar*—died on the 12th October 1774, and not in 1766, as it appears from the Inscription. He lived just one year more after the Suppression of the Society. Thus he was destined to see not only the miserable persecutions of Portugal against the Jesuits, but also the climax of the crooked and hypocritical policy of the Bourbons, which culminated in the unfortunate Bull of *Clement XIV.*

Padre de Rossi was one of the noblest sons of the Malabar Province, and one of the greatest missionaries in India since the time of St. Francis Xavier. In a letter which he wrote to Padre Manulio, S. J., dated 27 September 1737, he tells him that he had been among the Maravas for more than one year. His own parish consisted of two small kingdoms, both together could

put on the field some 70,000 soldiers, and two principalities with 16,000 armed men, They were Ramnad, Sivaganga, Arantangui and Pattucottai. The Christians—he says—were very pious and their level of morality very high. In 28 days he baptized 740 idolaters.

In another letter to his brother Jesuit (23 June 1738) he says that during the year he baptized 632 adults and 1435 children. Next year the number of baptisms was 2647. In 1742 he travelled 3000 miles to visit the sick, he heard 23,122 confessions, reconciled 283 public sinners and administered baptism to 2082 children and 876 adults. And so the wonderful tale goes on, year in, year out:—

1746.........	773 adults.........	2045 children
1747.........	557 adults.........	1732 children
1748.........	260 adults.........	653 children

and so on for close on forty years. And to this we must add the wonderful cures—the miracles, one would almost say—wrought through the water of St. Francis Xavier, the intercession of St. Aloysius and of St. Joakim: 653 in 1743, 688 in 1745—all duly recorded with an infinity of details that is simply astounding. And the Father was always in indifferent health, and busy with instructing his Catechists, and settling quarrels, and building, and writing...small pamphlets and bigger books in a language not his own, explaining the Catechism, fighting the Protestants, relating the wonders of the Saints. And then the persecutions, now stirred up by the hatred of a pagan minister, now provoked by the foolish behaviour of some Christian...and the Father in danger of death praying to God to help his much tried flock, and endeavouring to gain the favour of influential people and even of the Queen herself, who full of admiration for the Minister of God sends him a white piece of clock, which—as was the custom among those people—was a mark of great honour.

This is not the place to speak more at length of Padre De Rossi, but we hope that the Fathers of the Madura Mission will write the life of this great missionary, who did so much for the Marava country, and who, after 40 years of work in India, saw

his Brethren torn from him, and his own mother, the Society of Jesus, stricken to death. *

7—10. OF PADRI FRANCISCO DE MENEZES, LOURENSO DA COSTA, JOSE DE BARROS AND FRANCESCO TOMASSINI

We cannot say much, for the news we have about them is scarce. The first died at Manapad on the 2nd of October 1791. The second in 1752 was working at Pettai, a Pariah village near Tinnevelly, but he passed the last years of his life at Courtallam. Of Jose de Barros we know only that in 1775 he was at Manapad, and of Padre Tomassini we have already spoken in the Chapter on Evangelization.

11—12. OF FATHERS THOMAS MAUR AND JAMES HARTMANN

We have a little more to say, though it is little enough. We find Fr. Hartmann at Maleyadipatty towards the year 1750 when the country was laid waste by the incursions of the Maharattas. Whole villages were destroyed, churches burned down, and the poor people had to flee to the mountains. Five years before, the same troubles; the Father had to live in caves, hide during the day and move about stealthily at night, in order to visit and comfort the Christians. In 1756 he is at Dindigul, where he witnesses the barbarities of Hyder Ali. At that time this man had not yet possessed himself of the Mysore throne. He was at the head of a powerful army, and—if we have to believe the *Annual Letter* of 1756—his cruelty and rapacity exceeded anything done by the Mahrattas. Later on, when he will have displaced the Raja of Mysore, he will change tactics and will show great regard for the missionaries. In the circumstances Fr. Hartmann can never stay long in the same place; he is ever on the move, and yet he finds time to rebuild a church in one village, to circumvent the machinsation of the Brahmins in another and to carry on his apostolic work. In 1756 he

* Cfr. *Fr Besse, Op, cit.* pp. 252, 322, 330, 345. Besides the letters quoted in the text there are some others written in 1735, 1738, 1739, 1741, 1743. Very interesting is a letter of 1756 on Padre Buttari's death. Of Padre Rossi's works in Tamil the following may be mentioned; 52 meditations on Our Lady of Dolours, the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, an adaptation of the wonderful deeds of the saints by Fr. Rossignoli and a work on the sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. (*Cfr Sommervogel*).

baptizes 120 adults and 204 children. In 1788 Fr. Hartmann was at Tuticorin with Fr, Maur, of whom thus speaks Padre Licchetta: "Our good German *Padre Tommaso Maur* is still living on the Fishery Coast, where he is Vicar of Tuticorin, Cape Comorin." When and how the two Fathers died, we do not know. *

13. Of Padre Giulio Cesare Potenza

Padre Licchetta speaks as follows: "He is older than Padre Pavone and even more infirm, for he is troubled with asthma, yet he moves about and works in the Madura Mission." That was in 1780. But some thirty years before we find that he had succeeded Fr. Ferdinand Pimentel at Nandavanapatti (1748). He belonged to the clases of Missionaries called *Pandaraswamis*, who were created in deference to the Bull of Benedict XIV, to work mainly for the Parias. He rebuilt the church of Trichinopoly, which had been destroyed by fire. He placed there a fine statue of Our Lady, which he had received from Europe. The concourse of people to see it was most extraordinary; Christians, Hindus, Mahomedans, all came. At times, within the Church compound could be counted over 15 elephants. Later he transferred the statue to Tanjore, where the concourse of pilgrims was equally great.

For a long time his sermons remained famous among the Christians. He often quoted the poet *Tiruvalluvan* in order to impress his teachings upon his hearers. Here are some examples: "Revenge gives you satisfaction for a day. Forgiveness makes you happy the whole of your life." "Modesty pleases in everybody, but especially in the rich and the learned." "It is useless to lock the door of the house, if the women do not wish to guard their virtue." "Study is of no use, if we do not learn to know and reverence eternal wisdom."

Though he speaks disparagingly of his labours, yet in four years—from 1746 to 1749, he administered more than 2700 baptisms in Tanjore and in Nandavanapatti

* *Cfr Fr. Besse, Op. cit.*, pp. 148, 154, 207. Is Fr Tommaso Maur the same as *Fr. Mahl*, of whom Fr. Besse speaks (p. 207) ?

In 1757 the Madura Mission counted 18 missionaries, 10 for the high castes, and 8 for the Parias.

In 1759 the orders of Pombal were brought to the notice of the missionaries. Fr. Pimentel obeyed, and was imprisoned. The others remained at their posts. But death did what the tyrant had been unable to accomplish. In 1775 only 7 were still working in the Madura Mission. In 1780 the situation was unchanged.

3. The Successors of the Jesuits.

The writer feels like an exile who, after a long spell of time goes back to his country which has been devastated by war. He chooses a guide to direct his steps among the ruins, and picks up a broken capital here, an altar-stone there, which he treasures, and tries to fit into the beautiful buildings that have disappeared. His guide here has been chiefly good Padre Licchetta, who has helped him to make the acquaintance of some of the ancient Fathers, who continued in India the work of the Society of Jesus, even after the Society had been destroyed. Padre Licchetta mentions some other names besides those we have given, but we shall not be able to understand their position, unless we say some thing about the men and the institutions, which stepped into the breach to take care of the Indian Christians, and carry on the work of the missions.

(*a*) *Malabar.*

We need not spend a long time in Malabar, for we know that the work there was carried on under the direction of the Bishops or Governadores of Cranganore and Cochin, and the Carmelite Vicars Apostolic.

A letter of *Rama Varmer* to *Fra Carlo Da San Corrado, C.D.* (*Episcopo Calamensi*) † who had come as Visitator from Bombay to settle some quarrels (*jurgia*) between the Vicar Apostolic Francis de Sales, C. D. (1775-1787) and the Clergy, complains that, contrary to the old customs, the Christians are subjected to unjust exactions on the part of the Priests. The Bishop therefore should change these unworthy missionaries, and put in some others, who will not oppress the people with their

† Cfr the two letters (no date) in *India Or. Chrstiana*, pp. 261-2

exactions, and will continue in the footsteps of the old ministers of God.

Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo—who enjoyed the favour of Ram Varmer—endeavoured to remedy the state of affairs, but confessed that little could be done while the Bishop of Cochin was in Goa, for the guilty could not be removed or even reprimanded, except by their own Bishop.

It appears therefore, that, besides the unworthy behaviour of these missionaries, there was a deeper cause of the malaise in the Indian missions—and that was the *Double Jurisdiction* or the quarrel between *Padroadists* and *Propagandists*, which became very acute after the Suppression of the Society of Jesus.

(*b*) *The Carnatic* (also Madura, Bengal etc.,)

It is not easy to give *the boundaries of the old Carnatic Mission.* Fr de la Lane, S. J., *) in a letter dated 30 Jan. 1709 says that the missions spread from Pondicherry to the Empire of the Moghul proper. It comprised the Kingdom of the Carnatic, Visapur, Bijanagaram, Ikkeri and Golconda, or the territory which till recently made up the Nizam's dominions.

In the *Direct. de la Mission de Pondicherry* (*MS*) Mgr de Laouenan says that the mission comprised the Diocese of Madras (Mylapore excepted) together with Masulipatam. From it depended the territories of eastern Mysore, where Telugu is spoken. Later on, following upon the French conquests round Pondicherry, the mission was increased with all the territory between the Palar (North) and the Pomegar (South). Two languages were spoken in the Mission: Telugu and Tamil.

Most of the Carnatic Mission was *under the Jurisdiction* of the Bishop of San Thome de Mylapore; some districts of the old Madura Mission were under Cranganore, some parts of Mysore were under Goa. Usually the Mission was called the *Malabar Mission.*

he founders of the Mission were French Jesuits, who, having been expelled from Siam, came to Pondicherry in 1689. The most celebrated among them was Fr. Tachard, but the

* Author of a Telugu Grammar.

great missionaries of the Carnatic were Frs Mauduit and Bouchet (1700).

In 1642 the Capuchins established themselves in Madras. Later they were invited to Pondicherry by the Founder of the town, Francois Martin. They opened a church there for the Europeans and the "*Creoles*". The Jesuits served the Indians proper.

In 1689 some *Fathers of the Society of the Foreign Missions of Paris*—expelled from Siam—established what they called a *Procure* in Pondicherry.

In 1764 Louis XV, yielding to the importunities of his Minister Choiseul, suppressed the Society of Jesus in France; but in the Colonies the Jesuits were to continue under the jurisdiction of the Ordinaries.

The Superior of the Capuchins on the 2nd of January 1769 claimed from the Authorities of Pondicherry that the properties and rights of the ex-Jesuits should be transferred to the Capuchins. The same demands were repeated by Fr Jerome—Provincial of the Capuchins—in October 1770. Nothing was done; and the situation continued till the 21st July 1773, when the Brief of Suppression *Dominus et Redemptor* was published.

In the year 1777 the number of Jesuits—never very numerous in the Carnatic—was about 20 in Pondicherry, Chandernagor, and in other French possessions in India.

Seeing the gradual removal of the Jesuits from the mission field, the Primate of Goa sent a Goan Priest, Joakin de Souza, to Mudgal. He built chapels at Adoni, Muddunigherry, Cuddappah. In 1794 Dom Pedro d'Alcantara, Vicar General of the Great Moghul, sent a certain Fr. Joas Luis to the Christians of Bijapur (Mudgal and Raichur) and Golconda, and we know of a Carmelite residing in Golconda towards 1800. In Masulipatam worked one or two Theatines from Goa. Till 1818 a Goan Priest—a certain Ignazimuttu—was at Secunderabad, wherefrom he was expelled, owing to his disgraceful behaviour. *)

* Cfr *Modaelli, Op. cit.*, pp. 278-9.

Down South—in the Madura Mission—the Bishop of Mylapore sent three Priests to take the place of the Jesuits. + Later on were added some Catanars from Cranganore

But let us come to Pondicherry. As we know, the place was then, as it is now, under France. After some hesitation, the ex-Jesuits, and especially Frs Vernet and de Brassaud asked the French Government that the Malabar Mission be kept up. Hence that the funds be given back to them; that a Seminary be opened in Paris for the recruitment of new missionaries; that new letters patent be given to them; that a French Bishop be chosen from among them; that they be made dependent on the French Ministry for India in France and not in India. If this cannot be done, they pray to be repatriated.

The Department concerned did not agree; nor did it favour the claim of the Capuchins; rather it set its eyes on the Paris Society of the Foreign Missions. Negotiations were begun, rather informally, with Mgr Davoust, Bishop Coadjutor of western Tonkin, who at the time was in Paris. But they dragged on even though it was known that the condition of the ancient missionaries in India was most miserable. "They lack everything", says Mgr Davoust.

It was at first proposed that the ex-Jesuits should be amalgamated with the Foreign Missions, in such a manner, however, that they did not hold the administration in their hands, so that there would be no danger of their remaining Jesuits under a foreign cloak. In ecclesiastical matters they would depend on the Bishop of San Thome, as they had done heretofore.

But the Foreign Missions of Paris would not accept this proposal, unless they had a Vicar Apostolic of their own in the Malabar Mission, as they called it. Further, they insisted that they should be enabled to gradually train an indigenous clergy.

The first condition presented a serious difficulty because the Carnatic was under the jurisdiction of Mylapore, and

(+) The three Priests were Padres Constantino de Vasconcellos, C. Antonio, Vieras, Ignacio Xavier, Secular Priests. Cfr *Pelo Clero de Goa*—Padre de Figueiredo. Tip. Rangel-Bastora 1939. p. 97.

Portugal would not yield the least of its Padroado rights. The Portuguese Ambassador in Paris—M. De Souza—was approached, and at the same time the Nuncio was acquainted with the matter.

In 1776 the King of France signed the Letters Patent wherein the Malabar Mission was entrusted to the Paris Society The Letters were then sent to Rome where they were favourably received. Portugal was assured that the nomination of a Vicar Apostolic would not be prejudicial to the rights of the Bishop of Mylapore, for the latter would retain the *Potestas Jurisdictionis*, while the Vicar Apostolic would exercise only the *Potestas Ordinis*. Portugal, however, protested, and even the Society of the Foreign Missions was not quite satisfied with the proposed arrangement.

Then Rome made a strange proposal: Let there be two Prefects Apostolic in Pondicherry; one, the Superior of the Malabar Mission, the other a Capuchin. This will not interfere with the episcopal rights of Mylapore. On paper, certainly not; in practice...well, it would not have been easy to devise anything more unpractical. The way would be open to perpetual friction and intolerable quarrels. *

The ex-Jesuits themselves favoured the suppression of the jurisdiction of Mylapore over the French Colony. Their reasons were;

1. The Bishop of Mylapore does not know the language;
2. He lives far away from the Colony;
3. He is a foreigner and has little interest in the welfare of the Colony.
4. He is under the English, and under their influence he may do evil to the Colony;
5. There was a Bishop of Cochin; but now Lisbon proposed not to give him a successor. If that should happen also at Mylapore, the mission will be ruled by a Vicar General from Goa, who will probably lack both science and good morals; and who will, therefore, be a scandal to the faithful.

* Cfr *Launay*, Op. cit. p. 41 etc.

However, Rome's proposal was finally accepted; and Paris decided that Pondicherry should have two Prefects Apostolic; a Capuchin and a missionary of the Foreign Missions. The Government favoured the appointment of Mgr Davoust; but he refused, his main reason being that he was not *Persona Grata* to the ex-Jesuits. Then was put forward the name of Mgr, Brigot, Bishop of Tabraca, whom Paris approved of towards the end of July. Rome still hesitated, for she feared complications on the side of Portugal. Finally on the 30th Sept. 1776 Card. Castelli appointed him Superior of those missions on the Coromandel Coast, which were formerly administered by the ex-Jesuits. His powers would be entirely determined by the Sacred Congregation.

But the Foreign Missions were still dissatisfied, and the ex-Jesuit, Fr. de Saint Estevan, in a letter of the 12 Dec. 1776 puts forward the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. His reasons are as follows: "The Indian Mission demands chosen men, who, to a great zeal for the propagation of the faith, join integrity of life, firmness of character, knowledge of the scholastic sciences, facility for languages, and a great desire to make oneself useful in acquiring natural sciences. To this must be added pleasing ways, prudence, disinterestedness. He who does not possess these qualities is not fit for the Indian Mission the hardest, the most difficult, the most austere, the most disagreeable of all. One must judge from the life the missionaries must lead in the interior. Exposed to burning heat, feeding on nothing that possesses life, sleeping on the ground and often in the open, harassed by robbers—such in the lot of the Malabar missionary. Of course, it is different in Pondicherry and Chandernagor but not all the missionaries can live in these towns. They must think they consecrate themselves to a most painful life.". *

This letter remained without effect. Finally the Seminary of the Foreign Missions accepted the heavy burden on the 23 Dec. 1776. They insisted, however, with the Government that steps be taken as soon as possible so that they may have a

* Cfr *Launay, Op. cit.*, p. 41 etc.

Vicar Apostolic and that the French missionaries may be allowed to penetrate into the interior, even where the British flag flies.

But they started under a most unfavourable handicap—namely the triple jurisdiction: that of the Bishop of Mylapore, that of the Capuchins, and that of the Bishop of Tabraca—and all three ill defined both as to territory and extent of power More than a century will elapse before matters could be clarified to a certain extent.

The Foreign Missions of Paris started with 6 Missionaries on the Coromandel Coast: two of them old, and yet inexperienced in missionary life; three very young, and finally the Bishop. Hence Mgr Davoust in a letter, dated Dec. 1776, beseeches the ex-Jesuits to continue to work in the Mission. Of course, they would not be at the helm any more; but they would cooperate; perhaps, they might even become members of the new Society. Then the King of France would protect them; should they return to France they could get a pension. But nothing could they hope for—even in their old age—should they persist in their fidelity to the extinct Society. Much less if...(but this would never happen)...if they make difficulties or foment disaffection among the Indians. The Fathers of the Foreign Missions must be kind to the ex-Jesuits; they must show them the greatest deference...As to the Bishop of Mylapore...Well, his Majesty cannot tolerate any foreign ecclesiastical interference in French colonies. That would go against the ancient liberties of the Gallican Church. On the other hand, Mgr Brigot would have all the powers needed to carry on his work

On the whole the new missionaries—and especially the Bishop—were kind to the old Fathers. But there were exceptions. Peres Mathon and Jalabert were difficult; and in a letter of the old Procurator, Fr. Vernet, to the Government Official Sartine, dated 12 Febr. 1778, we read some complaints about this. The poor father had been afraid lest the old Missionaries should withdraw. Luckily things changed for the better. He would ever work for closer union and co-operation.

In another letter he shows his satisfaction that the Bishop and Frs. Champenois and Perrin had come to live with the old fathers. For the fostering of charity there is nothing like living together and coming to know each other better. Further, they have agreed to say three Masses each for the repose of the soul of any missionary, old or new.

In fact Mgr. Brigot was so pleased with Father Vernet, that he thought of appointing him—even though old and infirm—Procurator of the Mission at the Seminary in Paris. The Government in Pondicherry was not averse to the choice, and Fr. Vernet left India for France. Thus the union with the ex-Jesuits would be better established. *

But later on he would write from Paris to Mgr Brigot that at the Seminary they were very much surprised to hear of his appointment. Naturally, French politeness did not snub him, but in 1779 an official document was drawn up, wherein his procuratorship at the Seminary was declined according to law; for the rules of the Seminary did not admit to the Board of Directors anyone, except Bishops, Vicars Apostolic or missionaries that had been sent to the missions by the Seminary itself. Further, according to the 6th article of the State Decree of May 1777, no ex-Jesuit could be tolerated to teach young Seminarists. Thus Fr. Vernet had to return to India.

Now let us speak of the Fathers themselves and of their works. We shall learn much both of the conditions of the Church in India in those days, and of the political situation, in so far as it affected the Catholic Missions.

1. PERE MOSAC

was at the time Superior of the Jesuits in Pondicherry. He had worked long in India, both on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal, and, as will appear from the Appendix he was a good Sanscrit Scholar. According to M. Perrin of the Paris Foreign Missions "he gave up his charge with the simplicity of a child, no sooner he saw Mgr Brigot, his successor. From this time onwards he gave himself up to prayer and interior life. Soon after (4-XII-1779) he died the death of the just, regretted by his

* Cfr *Launay, Op. cit.*, pp. 71-73.

ancient and new brethren, to whom he left as precious inheritance the memory of his virtues" *

2. PERE VERNET

the Procurator—busied himself to hand over the properties of the ancient Jesuits to the Foreign Missions. It was not much. According to an inventory made by Government on the 16 Sept. 1777, the Jesuits possessed:

(*a*) church and house in town;
(*b*) church and a little land at Ugalret;
(*c*) another piece of land at Ugalret;
(*d*) a piece of land, church and cemetery at Ariancupam;
(*e*) a rice field in the same village, belonging to the Pharmacy.**

It is added that the fields are hardly sufficient to maintain the sacristan of the church. Three other fields are valued at 200 rupees.

The Jesuits, however, had funds in *La Compagnie des Indes*, which had failed. By a decision of the Parliament of Paris the Malabar Mission was entitled to 513,970 fr., 15 sols 6 deniers, which at 4% should have given 20,558 fr., 16 sols 8 deniers. But payment was delayed. Only in 1780 was the first instalment paid. In 1785 Mgr. Pigneaux de Behaine, Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina, who was passing through Pondicherry, signed an agreement by which the Jesuits would pay to the Mission 9000 pagodes (i.e. about Rs. 36,000), and in case their resources from China should fail, the Mission would give to each one of them 50 pagodes per year.

Before this, Government had decided that each Jesuit should receive Rs. 100 per year—up to a sum of 30,000 livres. But a note of the 27th June 1776 remarks that "la situation de la caisse ne l'a pas ancore permis".

Pere Mosac died on 4th Dec. 1779. He was 75 years old. We do not know the year of Pere Vernet's death. But in 1790, when the revolutionary storm made itself felt also in Pondicherry, we find that the people desired him to be a member of

* Cfr. *Voyage dans l'Indoustan* Vol. II. p. 174.
** Cfr. *Launay. Op. cit.*, p. 54.

the *Assemblee Nationale.* Whether he accepted or declined the doubtful honour we cannot say. At any rate, many people still loved the Jesuits, though, perhaps, they could not stick the Society of Jesus.

3-4. PERES COEURDOUX AND ANSALDO

Of the first we shall speak at length in the AppendixI, where he will appear the great sanscrit scholar that he was, Here we mention him as the Founder of the *Carmel* of Pondi-cherry. Owing, however, to old age, he had to give up the direction of the Nuns to Pere Ansaldo.

The latter is described as "intelligent, laborious, prudent, reserved. He mortified his body, drank only water, and slept very little." The people had great confidence in him, and the vocations to the convent increased Soon the little house built by Pere Coeurdoux was insufficient. Pere Ansaldo built a fine Convent, covered with tiles. The dormitory upstairs, and downstairs a great hall, which was divided into three parts by strong pillars. The Raja of Tanjore gave some money for the building. Carpenters from a French ship lent their work; and the water in the well was due to a miracle of St. Theresa's.

Through the authorisation of Fra Andrea—a Visitor of the Carmelites in India—the Third Order of Carmel was regular-ly established. Soon the number of novices was more than 30. And their training was very solid. Only the good Father did no. succeed in enforcing the enclosure. Most of the novices were new converts and were not prepared for such a sacrifice. "Well," told them Pere Ansaldo, "perhaps you are not as precious as gold. But endeavour at least to be like silver." The chapel was built in 1792. Pere Ansaldo was not so successful with the little school, which he built near the convent. The number of girls was never great; and after a while it had to be closed down. The prejudices of the Indians against women's education were still too strong. Pere Ansaldo died in Madras on the 2nd November 1805, in the Convent of the Capuchins, of whom he had been named Visitor. Pere Mottet writes as follows about him: "He was a man of extraordinary virtue and great piety, and enjoyed the esteem of all. He had a remarkable knack of gaining the confidence of people, and this, together with great prudence, enabled him to carry through any enter-prise he put his hand to. But he confined his zeal to the establish-ment and management of three Convents—or rather of a Convent proper with 50 Nuns, and two schools for girls...He had been chosen as Visitor of the Madras Capuchins, and though he thought the task should have been given to others, he submitted, and left for Madras on the 16th October 1805. He fell sick during the journey; and from the 20th October to the 2nd November, he could take absolutely nothing...At his funeral there was a most extraordinary concourse of people. Even the English were surprised; and no father was so lamented by his children as Pere Ansaldo was by the Christians and especially by the nuns. He used to tell them: 'Keep your rules, and you will surely go to heaven. And should there be some little difficulty, I myself will come to the rescue.'

"And in fact he seems often to appear to some nuns, when one of them is about to die A diligent enquiry has revealed the fact that he appeared at least to 18 nuns since 1854. In the Carmel at Pondicherry they still speak of him as *the Father.*"

During his life Pere Ansaldo carried on all his works full of confidence in the Lord; but after his death difficulties were encountered. Of 500 "piastres" that were needed per year, not even 150 were forthcoming. His heirs gave to the mission 1200 pagodes; but even this did not square matters. Some of his works had gradually to be given up. Twenty six years before Pere Ansaldo—i.e. on the 16th June 1779—died Pere Coeurdoux, the Founder of the Carmel at Pondicherry. *

5. PERE BUSSON

"the most obedient of all the ex-Jesuits", as Mgr. Brigot said of him—died the 22nd June 1781.

6. PERE LOUIS COSTAZ

died the 4th Jan. 1784. He was 74 years old; had worked as missionary at Tranquebar and then had ministered to the French at Ariancupam.

* Cfr *Launay, Op. cit.* pp. 124, 163, 173, 220, 222 etc.

7. Of Padre Francesco D'Andrea

thus speaks Padre Licchetta: "He was the last to come from Europe, but not for this Mission (Mysore) but for Ponticheri. After the suppression he came over here and helped for three years. But suffering from constant hiccupping, chest pain and spitting of blood, he was compelled to try the air of Madura, where he is better now, and works for that Mission. He is the very man who was miraculously cured in Naples by St. Francis Xavier from a mortal disease, with only this word: "Get up". Now he is the youngest of all (the Neapolitan Fathers in India), and in health better than the rest. He is nearing 40, however, if he has not passed them already".

Mgr. Champenois—who had succeeded Mgr. Brigot—went to Trichinopoly in 1795, where he had placed Padre D'Andrea From 2 to 3,000 Christians used to come to Mass.

But he had forgotten the Padroadists. Some Goan Priests had been sent there by the Primate of Goa and some Catanars by the Governador of Cranganore. These men, claiming—and not without reason—that the Bishop had no jurisdiction there, endeavoured to take the Christians away from him. While he preached in one part of the church, they preached in another; and, of course, it was not only the Gospel that was being preached. *

One may imagine the sorrow of Padre d'Andrea. No wonder that, as *Br. Duchoiselle* caustically remarked about him, "He was happy to live where he did not live."

In a letter of the 22nd Dec. 1796 the ex-Jesuit Fr. Schwendimann writes as follows: "The greater part of the bad Christians is on the side of the native priests, the rest sides with our missionaries, The scandals are very great. Should our missionaries be compelled to quit, the mission will be lost. These priests can only do harm."

The first to be appealed to in this sad affair was the Nabab of Trichinopoly; and his sentence was in favour of Mgr. de Champenois and of his missionaries. Then the Catanars appealed to the English. General Abercomby declared himself in favour

* Ibid. pp. 170 etc.

of the Catanars. Trichinopoly had to be abandoned, but the English declared later that the Pondicherry missionaries could continue to work in the surrounding villages.

We shall not speak of the ill-treatments they received. They felt that at the bottom there was the hand of their archenemy, the Bishop of San Thome, for whom the rights of Portugal were paramount. The work for which 30 missionaries would have been insufficient was left to 4 men, who moreover, belonged to a different rite. Mons. Lambert in a letter of the 10th Febr. 1798 says: "The protection which the Governor of Madras has given to these priests has so emboldened them that they will try to expel us from all the missions. In their words, they 'will not rest till they have thrown us into the ditches of Pondicherry'. They wish to parade as Jesuits, but they have neither their virtues nor their habit, for they dress like the pagans and they rub their bodies with sandal like the Hindus."

Padre d'Andrea passed the last years of his life in Pondicherry, where he died on the 31st Dec. 1818, 77 years old. He had lent Rs. 2000 to the Raja of Tanjore, which were recovered by the mission some years later.(*)

Four years before his death he had the happiness of seeing the Restoration of the Society of Jesus by Pope Pius VII. He asked, and obtained to be readmitted into it. He was the last survivor of the ancient Jesuits.

We are happy to break for a while the narrative of the work of the ancient Jesuit Fathers in order to speak of a Lay Brother. In a letter dated 17 Febr. 1788 thus write.

8. Br. Duchoiselle

"When I came to Pondicherry, 4 years ago, my predecessor was dead, and the Dispensary, which lacked almost everything, is coming up again. From the time of Pitoit the Dispensary had to be sold; then it started again. It was sold another time under Palli, and again it raised its head. Since now there are

(*) One should not wonder at this. After the Suppression the ex-Jesuits were not bound any more by the vow of poverty. They could own and dispose of their property like all secular priests.

other Dispensaries in the town, and as the Physicians get there what they need, my work is confined almost entirely to the poor. I sell some elixir and some spices, and this keeps up the Dispensary. Other compounders prepare the same kind of "*Drogue Amere*" as myself. Then they say that they have got it from me. Thus they do me harm. Yet, though I am not rich, divine Providence helps me to get along with my Dispensary. *

"Mgr Champenois would like to get me a young boy—not more than 12 or 15 years old—from France, as apprentice. I am not against it. If he has good will, he will succeed. Otherwise he won't. Should he fail, since it is the Superior who brings him here, they will have nothing to say against me. I have here three workmen, who help me and also with the poor. You know Xaverimuttu of Karikal, and Sandu, who had his leg shattered when the English besieged the town; the third takes care of my little garden."

The boy never came to India. Later on the Brother will ask the Superiors of the Paris Seminary to send him a compounder "who has both virtue and talents. These two articles are very necessary, both for the Seminary and for the poor". They answered from Paris that such a wonder was not easy to find. They would search for it. The good Brother died in 1793. It was a great loss to the mission. *

9. Padre Fabri

in a letter to Mgr Brigot (22-XI-1778) writes that "with the help of a certain Catechist Xaveri, the hope of conversions

Note: It may be of interest to know the composition of the famous "*Drogue Amere*". Here it is; To prepare 24 bottles take 24 oz. of resin, 12 oz. of incense, 4 oz. of "mastico", 4 oz. of aloe, 4 oz, of myrrh, 402 of Calumbu. Mix all this with eau-de vie, and keep it in the sun, when the weather is dry, for about a month. Gradually it will turn red, and a precipitate will be formed. Empty the remaining eau-de vie, and bottle it up.

One or two soup spoons will suffice. It will cure indigestion, colic, stomach pains, sores, worms. It may be administered also to women in labour. Cfr. *Viaggio* by Fra Bartolomeo pp. 7-8.

* *Note* on the "*Drogue Amere*"

* Cfr *Launay. Op, cit.*, pp. 126; 219.

is bright. In some villages the people have got rid of the sly Brahmins. There are difficulties from the older people, but many have already been baptized, and they will lead others to us. Those who speak against Xaveri are rascals."

Padre Fabri worked for a long time in the interior. Then he was sent to Karikal. Here he was involved in the troubles brought about by the reactions of little Colony to the French Revolution.

On the 14th July 1792 the *Te Deum* was sung in Pondicherry in the Capuchin Parish, and that marked a kind of approval of the Revolution. Padre Fabri was in charge of the old Jesuit Church in Karikal, and he received a request from the Commandant to do the same. He demurred. Feeling ran high. He did his best to calm the people, but finally he too had to yield, and sang the *Te Deum*. Some thought he should have immediately complied with the request of the Commandant, for after all, he demanded the service only in connection with the troops, oath. But matters were not easy. Some of the French missionaries were quite against the Republic; others were more conciliatory, The Capuchins took the oath of fidelity. Two ex-Jesuits in Pondicherry were intimidated, and—though with many explanations—did the same. Then they retracted what they had done.

The anger of the Revolutionaries turned chiefly against Pere *Damase*, the Superior of the Capuchins, who had to leave Pondicherry. There was danger for all; but then the old fathers, who still enjoyed great influence on the people, succeeded in averting the storm. Nay, three ex-Jesuits were even proposed as members of the *Popular Assembly*. It seems they did not accept.

Later on we find Padre Fabri in charge of the Carmel, after the death of good Padre Ansaldo. He tried his best to help the poor Sisters, who were in great straits. Similarly he had to take the place of Padre Ansaldo as Visitor of the Madras Capuchins. He went there, but the confusion was such that he had not the courage to declare himself as Visitor. He returned to Pondicherry, where he died three years later (16-VI-1809).

Of the following 5 Fathers we could not gather much information. They are :

10.—14. FATHERS HYACINTHE DE MONJUSTIN, BAIGNOUX, SAINT AMOUR, GUIRIBALDI AND SCHWENDIMANN.

The first died in Karikal on 1 Sept. 1791. He was 83.

Th next two, worked together at Attipakam. In eight years and a half they baptized 3300 infants (pagan parents) and 300 adults. In 1781 Pere *Baignoux* baptized 20 grown ups and 120 children, "There have been—he writes—800 communions, 100 confessions of children and 20 marriages. The dead were from 36 to 40. More, while travelling I baptized 30 children (Christian parents) and have confessed and communicated 200 persons. My catechists and myself have together baptized 60 pagan children."

Pere Baignoux died on the 16 July 1810 "after having given great edification to all."

Pere de St. Amour died on the 31st August 1803.

Pere Guiribaldi was 73 when he died, on the 19th Nov. 1797. He had been long at Ariancupam.

Father *Schwendimann* was Procurator for a long time. There are some letters of his, where we find the usual complaints of Procurators, that it was hard to get on, that times were very difficult, and so on. When the English took Pondicherry, from the French Republicans, he was rather glad, for he had enough of *Liberte, Egalite* and *Fraternite*: and in a letter of his of 1796, he says that all are anxiously praying for peace. But what peace will it be? If the Frenchmen come back, shall we have to pack up and go to the interior? "Mgr. Champenois in a letter of the 25 July 1804 writes: "We have, suffered a great loss. Our good Procurator, Pere Schwendimann, died on the 21st May. I was telling him: 'you are feverish.' He would not believe it and went on as usual. He went to Ulgaret on the 19th, did his work, and on the 20th said Mass. He came back in the evening with high fever. Some remedies were administered, but in vain. On the morning of the 21st, he lost consciousness, and one hour after noon he breathed his last."

15-16. When the Paris Society took up the mission of Pondicherry *Pere Arnoult* was working at Pounganur and

Pere Sincere was in Pondicherry. The former died in 1806. We could not establish the date of the death of Pere Sincere.

With regard to *Pere Arnoult* the following may be of interest: within a period of 25 or 30 years—from 1775 onwards—most of the Christians from the Missions "beyond the Mountains", as they were called, (Punganur, Ballapuram, Krishnapuram and Cuddapah) had to emigrate, owing to the fierce persecutions of the Polygars. Pere Arnoult, who was at Punganur, first brought his Christians near Vellore. He helped them with money to buy some lands. But the new settlement was not a success. They moved on to *Yelamcotoor*, where the Father built for them a small chapel. But the land was unproductive, and in 1803 the Father bought the village of *Sellampattada*, where his Christians finally settled down. They belonged to the two castes, Yelama and Balija. Pere Arnoult procured the title deeds from the Zemindar, and then started to build a church. But he died before he could finish it.

17. PADRE MANENTE *

was a very interesting character. For a long time he worked "beyond the Mountains", when the mission could hardly be kept up for want of money and missionaries. We read in a letter of Pere Vernet (28-VI-1776): "In times past the number of churches in our mission was considerable. But the intestine wars between Rajas, the changes in the Government at Pondicherry, the want of missionaries and necessary funds, have brought total ruin to the greatest part. What remains is half ruined, and one can see at a glance the distress we have had for many years." And one year later (3-V-1777): "The Carnatic Mission was once very flourishing, but our misfortunes have reduced to two the number of missionaries, who are always on the move, making the most fatiguing journeys, in order to visit the scattered Christians."

This must have been doubly painful to Padre Manente, for he was a gentleman, who rather enjoyed good living. Yet he was most devoted to his Christians, and endeavoured to help them in every way.

* Cfr *Launay Op. cit.*, pp. 114, 187, 188, 438 etc., and *Fr Paul, History of the Telugu Christians*, passim.

Among his Christians he had a certian number of weavers. He advanced money to them to buy yarn, on condition, however, that the cloth should be sold in Madras. The weavers, of course, took the money, but the cloth never appeared. The father—perhaps not very tactfully—took strong measures against them. The weavers then joined together, lodged a protest with the Zemindar of Amaravatissa that the Padre was harassing them, that they could not weave any longer, that they would be obliged to emigrate. The Zemindar took their side, and without hearing what Padre Manente might have to say, ordered his arrest. The soldiers reached his bungalow at Bapatla towards 8 p.m. Helped by his disciples, the Padre hid himself in a hedge of prickly pear, that surrounded the compound. After a vain search the soldiers went the village, and the poor Padre, all covered with thorns came out of his hiding place, got into a palanquin and moved south into British territory. At dawn he reached another village, and, in order to allow the palanquin bearers to take some refreshment, he got out of the palanquin and hid in a wretched hovel. The Zemindar's men arrived a little later. They saw the palanquin on the road, they searched for the Padre, but, not suspecting that a gentleman could hide in such a hut, overlooked precisely the place where, in fear and trembling, mumbling an act of contrition, poor Padre Manente was hidden. The adventurous journey continued without further incidents to Madras, where the Padre had many friends. After he had shaken off the fear he thought again about his poor Christians. In the north they had only misery and persecutions. Why not imitate Pere Arnoult, and bring them south? He hastened to Pondicherry, but could not obtain favourable conditions from the French Government. He turned then to the English, who granted him some land on the river Coum.

In 1788 a huge crowd of villagers—barbers, potters, smiths, dhobys—came from Oleru to Kitchery, where they settled down. All the expenses were met by the Padre.

Bishop Bonnaud relates that Padre Manente—even while he was still at Oleru—was very friendly with Europeans and Eurasians. On Sundays they used to come to his church, and after Mass they were lavishly entertained at his bungalow, with European food and drink. They were generous towards him; but it was not in his nature to be outdone in generosity. Then the villagers began to talk; the Hindus whispered that the Padre ate meat—even a calf or a cow had been killed in his compound. Hence the Hindus refused to have anything to do with the Christians. The affair, however, seemed to have had only some local importance.

Padre Manente had some difficulty with the Paris Missions, and much more with native Priests, for otherwise his last will would be inexplicable. In 1812 he got sick. Pere Mottet went to Kitchery and persuaded him to go to Madras, where the Padre had a house, and where he could get better assistance. He got into the palanquin. He was crying, for he had great pain in his foot—very likely from a carbuncle. In Madras he made his last will and left his church of Courvam to the Capuchin Fr. Fidelis, and after him under the care of a Mr. Cachart. A certain Devasagaya was left in charge of house and church of Gonta Pullai. The post of Catechist would be hereditary in the house of Coratu Marianna, and also in that of Romavin Rajappah. The man in charge of the church is to be given 3 golden pagodas per month; Coratu 1½; and Romavin 1.

To the child of a certain Louis Capi, 200 pagodas;

To Pierre Cachart, 500 pagodas.

To the orpbans at Pondicherry, 100 pagodas.

The rest of his income to be given in alms.

His property to be sold, and added to the capital.

One rupee a day for a daily Mass for the repose of his soul.

The executors were to see that the Catechist did his duty, and kept house and church in good repair. *No native Priest to be allowed into his church.* If they could find a good European Priest, let them pay him properly and put him in charge of the church. Padre Manente must have been a queer character indeed. One would like to know a little more about him.

The Chandernagor Jesuits. *

Launay in the 6th Appendix to his 1st Volume of the *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde* gives the agreement between

* Cfr *Launay Op. cit.*, pp. 75-8.

the *Compagnie des Indes* and the Jesuits, whereby it is provided that the Jesuits be in charge of the Christians in Chandernagor. The agreement is dated 11 Febr. 1733. It comprises 26 articles.

A second agreement is dated 28 Jan. 1735. Both are very interesting documents and show the attitude of the French Government of those days towards the missions. It took great interest—too great, in fact, both in the missionaries and their work.

Chandernagor was then under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mylapore. The Jesuits had two churches there, one for the Europeans, the other for the Bengalis. The churches were well founded, and the Jesuits received a yearly sun of 1200 livres for their work. From a letter of 1753 we learn that out of a population of more than 100,000 the Christians were only 4,000. The Fathers were also visiting a hospital with more than 300 in-patients. From a Memoir of Pere Vernet, dated 13th May 1777, we gather that the Jesuits in Chandernagor were then only four: Frs Possevin (Superior), Garret and Garofalo, and a Lay Brother, Broquet, who was teaching "*le Pilotage*". They did not take part in the negotiations with the Paris Missionaries. In fact, when it was proposed that the Capuchins should take the place of the Jesuits, the Frenchmen in Chandernagor protested, and desired that the old Fathers should remain among them. But it was not to be. They left Chandernagor in December 1778. A storm threw the vessel on the coast of Ceylon, at Trincomalee ; but they were saved. *Pere Possevin* went to Mylapore, where he died on the 3 Oct. 1780. *Padre Garofalo* went first to Raichur, and then to Pondicherry, where he died on the 30 May 1801, 72 years old. *Pere Garret* survived till 1817. The second successor of Mgr Brigot—Mgr Hebert—writes of him: "His zeal, his union with God, all his virtues, and the care which for some time he had shown in preparing himself for death, make us believe that if his death was sudden, it was not unexpected and unforeseen." *

The Italian Capuchins succeeded the Jesuits in Chandernagor. Celebrated among them was *Padre Marco della Tomba*, who

* Cfr *Launay*, Op. cit. Vol. I, p. 441.

in a letter to Card. Borgia describes the excesses perpetrated against Religion even in little Chandernagor by the French Republicans. He is also to be praised for his most interesting description of the journey to Lhasa in Tibet by the Capuchin Padre Tranquillo.

Meanwhile the ex-Jesuits shared with their brethren in Pondicherry the anxieties due to the revolutionary movement in the French Colony, and to the wars between the French and the English in India. They were suspect to the French—or to a section of them—because they did not favour the Revolution; and to the English, because they were supposed to foster the interests of France.

On the 15th Oct. 1778, after the English had taken Pondicherry, Mons. Bellecombe signed the terms of the armistice. The 13th article tried to secure perfect freedom for the Catholic Religion, and free movement for the missionaries in the exercise of their ministry. It was granted, on condition that the missionaries avoided proselytizing among Protestants. But some of the Mission buildings were requisitioned, and no rent was paid. In 1779 the English left Pondicherry: but since they continued to fight against Tippu, the country around was subjected to all the horrors of war. Famine and pestilence stalked the land.

In 1793, the English took Pondicherry a second time, and since they suspected the missionaries of political activities among the Indians, they subjected them to various restrictions. Again various buildings belonging to the mission were requisitioned. and no rent paid. Padre Garofalo writes (12-11-1796): "They always give us fine words, but nothing more. The English have gained. and still gain, much honour by the way they have treated the French Emigres in England, but here, while laymen have been paid rent for the buildings occupied by the Officers, we have got nothing." Besides, the missionaries could not move any where without passport and interminable formalities, with Officers that were not always polite.

To this were added the Jurisdiction troubles with Mylapore which at times assumed very ugly proportions indeed. And the

missionaries were getting old, and, owing to the revolutionary wars in France, no new missionaries were forthcoming. Mgr Hebert in a letter of January 1810 speaks as follows: "The ex-Jesuit Padre Manente has written to me that, since here we are all either sick or old, the mission will certainly die unless new men come from Europe. Try then your best to send us some men. Should it be impossible to find French Priests, try to recruit some Irish missionaries. Padre Manente offers to pay all the expenses of the voyage. Do something for us, otherwise we are doomed."

Padre Paolino da San Bartolomeo writes in his *India Orientalis Christiana:* "After the Suppression of the Society of Jesus almost all the churches in Madura, Maissur, Concam, the Carnatic, Tanjaur, Golconda, Balagate, Agra and Delly are bereaved of their Pastors. Their zeal for Religion has disappeared, their light is extinguished, for there is nobody ready to take the place of the old missionaries, nobody ready to submit to the sacrifices inherent in any missionary enterprise. Hence the Christians move about in darkness and without any law. This deadly torpor, this laziness, this contempt for Religion, this neglect to spread God's Kingdom, will bring down God's punishment."

And then the good Friar concludes with a noble exhortation to all Priests and Religious—and especially to his own Carmelites—to work, study and pray in God's vineyard, to look back to the example of their Founders, who did so much for the glory of God, even though their means were limited.

"I wrote"—he concludes—"these few things in order to strengthen the courage of those Religious who have chosen to work in the missions; I have written to help them to get rid of their fears, to sustain those who hesitate, to spur on the willing so that, with the grace of God, the way may be made easier for them." *

We may be allowed to add a note on four Agra Jesuits, two of whom died but a few years before the Portuguese Expulsion of the Jesuits from India, and two some years after the Suppression of the Society.

* Cfr *Padre Paolino, India Or. Christiana*, pp. 199-213.

1. *Padre A. Gabelsperger* lies buried in the so called *Padre Santos Chapel* in Agra, where he died on the 9th March 1741. He was a Bavarian and had come out to India at the expense of *Jai Singh*, the famous Indian Astronomer, who built Observatories at Jaipur, Delhi, Benares, Muttra and Ujjain. His fellow worker was

2. *Padre Andre Strobl*, born at Schwandorf in the Higher Palatinate who died in Agra on the 30th May 1758. Four letters of his, written from Jaipur between 1742—44 are in existence. When Jai Singh died in 1743 the observatory went to ruin, and in 1746 we find Padre Strobl at Delhi, probably in charge of the Observatory there. In 1749 he went to Narwar where he was frequently visited by

3. *Padre J. Tieffentaller*, who died in Lucknow on the 5th June 1785, His tombstone is at the back of the old Roman Catholic Cathedral in Agra. There is another slab at Muttra, in the house of the Priest, for which it is difficult to account. It may be that somebody took it there, perhaps at, or after the mutiny, possibly for safety.

Joseph Tieffentaler was born at Bolzano, in Tyrol (27—4—1710) and joined the Society in 1729. He left Germany in 1740, and stayed two years in Spain. In 1743 he sailed from Lisbon to Goa, whence he went to Surat, Since Jai Singh, for whose Observatory he was probably destined, died in the same year, the Father went to Agra as a teacher in the Jesuit College. He was a man of considerable linguistic attainments; for he spoke German Italian, Spanish and French, wrote good Latin, and had a good knowledge of Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. He eventually composed a Sanskrit. Persian dictionary and wrote some treatises in Persian. He was also a mathematician and astronomer; in fact well equipped for the geographical labours to which he devoted himself.

He reached Agra at the end of 1744. He took the latitude of Agra and then (1745) went to the Observatory of Jai Singh at Muttra, and also visited Brindaban. In 1746 we find him back in Agra and next year with Strobl at Delhi. Then he was sent as Chaplain to the Christians at Narwar. In 1750 he went to Goa, where he stayed six months, and then he went by Surat on a journey through Bombay and Gujarat to Marwar, Jodhpur and Ajmer; and in 1751 he was back in Narwar once more. He next travelled to Gwalior, Gohad and Agra and returned the same year to Narwar. He stayed there some little time, with occasional excursions to Delhi, Brindaban, Agra and Kotah. Evidently he was a great traveller. In 1759 occurred the persecution of the Jesuits by the King of Portugal, and Padre Tieffentaller avoided Portuguese possessions, in order to escape imprisonment. The Christian community at Narwar dwindled away, and in 1765 he found himself penniless.

Then he determined to travel to Bengal, relying on the charity—as he says—" of the famous English nation, so well known for their humanity, liberality and charity to the poor ". He went to Allahabad, and from

there to Lucknow and Benares, and thence by boat to Calcutta, landing at Patna, Monghyr, Kasimbazar, Hoogly and Chandernagor, and returning the same way. During the journey he made many observations and drew up a map of the Ganges.

Whether his hopes in English liberality were fulfilled we cannot say. In 1766 he visited the English Camp at Kora, and during the years 1766-71 he traversed the whole of Oudh. He had an assistant versed in Geography whom he sent to the cataracts of the Chagra and elsewhere.

In a letter to A. Duperron Fr. Tieffentaller gives the following list of his works, which he had sent to a certain Krutzenstein :

1. De Religione Brachmanica cum refutatione Zachariae Holwell et Alex. Dow Anglorum.
2. Astronomia et Astrologia Indica.
3. Systema mundi juxta Gymnosophistas.
4. De Stellis, de Arithmetica, de Idolis illorumque signis. De locis ad quae peregrinari solent.
5. Historia naturalis Indiae...cum figuris ; nec non observationes metereologicae et astronomicae, 26 annorum spatio exactae. De maculis solaribus ; de luce zodiacali.
6. Cursus Gangae, fluviorum Indiae maximi inde Priaga, seu Chlabada Calcuttam usque, ope acus magnetici exploratus (1765).
7. Cursus Zemnae, qui inter majores fluvios numeratur.
8. Narratio historica de iteratis irruptionibus Afganum in Indiam, deque urbis Deliensis expilatione anno 1757 et 1759.
9. Quaestio unde Indi originem ducant...unde nomen acceperint...dogmata religionis hauserint.
10. Dissertationes variae lingua persica conscriptae quae agunt *(a)* de templo meccano *(b)* de sacrificiis antiquorum *(c)* de sacrificio Abrahami *(d)* de Ismaele *(e)* de Mahumete *(f)* de illius successoribus *(g)* de libris sacris *(h)* de Alkorano *(i)* de nomine tetragrammato *(j)* de attributis divinis *(k)* de mysterio SS. Trinitatis *(l)* de Verbo aeterno.
11. Liber qui continet preces, laudes B. Virginis, et aliorum sanctorum, versibus persicis ligatas.
12. Hymnus trium puerorum in linguam persicam conversus.
13. Mille nomina quibus Beschan sen Vishnu supremum ethnicorum Numen insignitur.
14. Lexicon Sanskreticum Persicum.
15. De austera vitae ratione quam eremicolae Indi agunt.
16. De antiquitate religionis ethnicae, atque confutatio Holwel et Al. Dow qui Indos a nota idololatriae eximere conantur.
17. Aliaa mappae geographicae quae varias Indiae oras spectandas exhibent.
18. Figurae urbium et arcium, templorum, idolorum, montium.

19. Catalogus locorum quorum altitudo geographica est observata.
20. De Zoroastri et Religione Persarum antiquorum.
21. Expeditio bellica in Indiam instituta a Nadir Sihah Rege Persiae ex lingua Persica in Germanicam translatam.
22. Res gestae regnante Schah Alam, hodierno Mogolorum rege, persice conscriptae.
23. Neai Shaster, seu Philosophia et Theologia Gymnosophistarum in linguam latinam translata.
24. Scaturigo Gangis fabulosa iuxta opinionem Gymnosophistarum.
25. An aliqua vestigia Religionis christianae extiterint eo tempore quo Europaei in Indian delati sunt.
26. De longitudine et latitudine Indiae.
27. De milliarium Indicorum mensura et inequalitate.
28. Res gestae inde ab anno 1757 usque ad annum 1764, Gallice conscriptae.
29. De variis sacrificiis Indorum, de festis quas agunt in honorem idolorum.
30. Tractatus Latinus de lingua Persica.
31. Tractatus Latinus de legitima literarum latinarum pronuntiatione.
32. An dentur plures mundi, sicut asserere ausus est D. de la Lande.

N.B. Many of the geographical works of Fr. T. are to be found in Rennel's Memoir of a map of Hindustan, or the Mogul's Empire. (London 1783, 1788, 1793, 1800)

Bernouilly does not rank Fr. Tieffentaller's works very high ; but he is wrong, for the Father was a man of very marked ability.

His great work *Descriptio Indiae* is, as one writer says, "curious and interesting". Its value is unfortunately largely neutralized by the lack of maps, which apparently were destroyed at Lucknow in the Mutiny. Fr. Noti says that only one Anglo-Indian writer honours the memory of Tieffentaller by a laconic reference. But—as E. A. B. Blunt remarks—Anglo-Indian writers pay him the far greater honour of using him, as will appear from a cursory glance to any Gazetteer".

4. Padre F. X. Wendel.

died in Lucknow on the 29th March 1803. He was the last representative of the old Society of Jesus in northern India. He came out in 1751 and was at Diu in 1756. Thirteen years later he went to Agra, and restored the old church with the assistance of W. Reinhardt, alias General Sombre. In 1775 he petitioned the Emperor Shah Alam for the return of the Agra Cemetery, which had been confiscated, and there is a parwana of the Emperor confirming him in possession. He also did some geographical work. *E. A. B. Blunt, I. C. S.* in his *Christian Tombs and Monuments* in the U. P. (from whom we have largely borrowed the above short notices) thus speaks of the Jesuit Agra Mission. "The results of the Jesuits' Mission have been belittled by many. Terry writes that their conversions were

mock-conversions; they worked upon "the necessity of some poor men who for want of means are content to wear crucifixes". Withington says much the same, adding that the converts "brought them their beads again, saying they had been so long without their pay and would be Christians no longer". "We also—continues Blunt—"find them blamed for devoting their attention too much to the court....But these criticisms must be largely discounted. Terry and Withington wrote as men born under Elizabeth naturally would write; they are biassed critics. Jesuits, always and everywhere, have made the best of missionaries. Picked men of more than ordinary ability, education and self-devotion, as they were, they could not have preached the Gospel for 200 years without achieving better results than a little mock Christianity induced by gain; and if they devoted themselves rather to the upper than the lower classes, they had no small measure of success, though they never realized their dream—a Moghul Emperor who should be a Christian. The imperial grants to them, the presence of Christians in the court and seraglio, the very numbers of Jesuits themselves, show that they were regarded without disapproval, if not with actual favour. So after 200 years of vigorous and fruitful life passed away the old Agra Jesuit Mission, founded by a heathen Emperor (Akbar) and exterminated by a Christian king (Joseph) of Portugal".

APPENDIX I

A LETTER TO THE RAJA OF TRAVANCORE FROM HIS PERSECUTED CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS (1783).

We, the Christian subjects of the great Raja of Travancore from *Tovala* towards the North, till *Tiruvandaram*, from the Sea (West) towards the East, from the mountains (*Ghattes*) West and South, from the Fortress *Tiruvandaram* towards East and South, who are paying tribute, turning to the throne, and prostrated at your feet, present this Epistle of sorrow (*Sangadavariola*).

Though we all undergo oppressions and slave labour, and pay the common taxes (*Padivupanam* and *Curipanam*), and pay the fourth part for our palm groves; though also *Nelli and Jacara* is payed by us, from our own to the workers, near the rivers, the tanks, the roads and other public buildings, and we ourselves are working; yet, because we are Christians, and are called after our Saints, and not according to pagan names, they force us to renounce our Christian Law, and to change our names with the names of idols. We are poor and lower caste (*Caringiadi*), and therefore they tie us, and with canes and sticks cut from the tamarind tree or from the Aala tree, they beat us from the sole of the foot to the neck, so that many shed blood Then they throw us into prison, and pressing hands and feet into stocks, they bind us with chains. And this they do even to our wives and children, and they do not allow us to leave the prison even to answer the call of nature. Hence more than 10,000 of us have run away to the mountains, and our homes and palm groves lie in ruins. Those who were caught were taken to *Travancoda* (Travancore town), to *Ciucala*, to *Vepenur*, to *Itamali*, to *Agatiswaram*, to *Tiruvadia Mogatil*, and their being hung up trees, were beaten and cut. Enclosing leeches into coconut shells, they tied them to our navels they blew powdered pepper into our eyes and nostrils, and we and our children, beaten and wounded, were thrown on the burning sand in the sun. And these torments continue from September (Aypashi) till April of this year 1783...Now more than 100 persons are kept in prison and in chains suffering much tribulation and hunger...And all this because we honour our God and serve Your Majesty. Therefore, throwing ourselves to the ground, we pray that You may put an end to this persecution set up by your Ministers, and may not compel us to leave your Kingdom Have pity on us and grant that we may remain in this your Kingdom under the commands and protection of your Majesty.

Trans. from Latin. *India Or. Xna.* pp 263-264. Rome 1794.

APPENDIX II

This *Appendix* has been compiled mainly from Notes communicated to the Author by Rev. Fr. Sauliere S. J. The Notes have been copied from a book in the *Indian Library, Kurseong.* The title of the book (unfortunately incomplete) is *Extrait Des Memoires Des Inscriptions Et Belles-Lettres* Tome XIX; Annee......Pages 647-697.

It is hoped that some one will find the Appendix interesting enough to make him study a little more how much the Jesuits contributed to the evolution of Sanskrit Studies.

This work ought to be done in Europe, where the great libraries afford opportunities denied to us in India.

It is marvellous to see the depth of culture of the old missionaries. Though their means were far less than ours, their achievements were—we think—far superior. Besides the vernaculars, of which some of the first grammars are due to them, they made Sanskrit their favourite study. They rightly thought one cannot reach India's soul without knowing the noble language. They were in communication with the best European scholars, and they were not put out by the fact that a letter might take even 18 months to reach its destination.

They were not afraid to incur expenses to help in the development of science and history.

Now we seem to have lost touch both with scientists in Europe and in India. Our Colleges seem to unmake scholars and build up only school-masters.

Both *Abbe' Barthelemy and Anquetil Duperron* * were insatiable in their curiosity. They were competent men, but seem to have hardly realized the difficulties of the Fathers. It was not only a matter of climate, old age, want of time and money. Just at that time, the very tree, of which they were branches, was being cut down.

Who can measure the harm that was done to Religion and Science by the Suppression of the Society of Jesus?

1. *The French Academician Abbe Barthelemy* had asked of Pere Coeurdoux to send him a *Sanskrit Grammar* with explanatory notes, otherwise no use could be made of the *Mss* in the Royal Library at Paris.

The Father answers that among his papers he had indeed such a Grammar. All the Sanskrit terms had been written out in Telugu characters. But he had it copied out by an Indian, who knew both Telugu and French. As soon as an opportunity would offer itself he will send it to the French Academician.

Besides, he had sent the request to Pere Mosac at Chandernagor, who knew Sanskrit, and who would help in the matter.

He suspects, however, that a Grammar had already been sent. In deciferiug the terms written out in Telugu characters, use could be made of the *Telugu Grammar* of *Pere De La Lane*, which had already been sent to Paris.

As to the *Sanskrit Dictionary*, there was one in the Royal Library. To get it copied out in India is not practical, on account of the climate, occupations, etc. It will take several years and will cost a lot.

Abbe' Barthelemy had asked for a list of the *principal Sanskrit terms* referring to the most common objects. They should be written out in French and Arabic, and the pronunciation should be given.

The Father answers that it is not difficult to comply with the request. The difficulty, however, is in giving the right pronunciation, which, even in India it is not easy to get correctly. Further the terms which Sanskrit has for the same object are so many, that a choice is not easy.

Abbe' Barthelemy demands as much information as possible about the *History of India*, which the missionaries no doubt could gather and translate in their own language.

To which Pere Coeurdoux replies that the Indians have no taste for History. What they relish are fables of giants, who with one arrow will destroy entire armies, and similar nonsense. In the thirty years that he was been in India, he has not discovered a single Indian History. The Moguls have one written by a Persian. A missionary tried to translate it and purify it from the infinite fables with which it is deluged. But he stopped, being horrified by the murders, the treacheries the debaucheries, which abound.

A fourth demand about Monuments, especially those cut out of rocks. Have the Indians any traditions about them?

The reply is that such Monuments are not unknown in India. The Father mentions the pagoda of *Doulabad* in the

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* *Anquetil Duperron* (1731-1805) travelled to India and Persia. (1754-1762) In Surat he began the study of the Zend-Avesta. While in Paris, he received from Bengal (1775) a Persian MS, the *Oupnek'hat*, which contained the translation of 50 *Upanishads*. Duperron began to put it into French, but soon came to the conclusion that French was not fit to render the meaning of the Indian works. He then made use of Latin, as Maracci had done with the Koran (Padua 1698). The Revolution reduced him to poverty; but it could not divert him from his work. He himself tells us that he lived on 4 sous a day—no fire, no sufficient clothing, not even linen enough to afford him the possibility of a change now and then. He completed his translation on the 18 Brumaire of the IV year (9 Oct. 1795).

Though it was only the translation of a translation the *Oupnek'had* (i.e. *secretum tegendum*) had great importance in the development of oriental studies in Europe. As it will appear in the following pages, Anquetil Duperron insisted with Peres Coeurdoux and Mosac, that they should make known to the literary world their oriental knowledge.

In the description of his Indian travels, Duperron has some interesting observations on Malabar and the Christians of St. Thomas

In several linguistic questions he differed considerably from Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo.

Cfr. D. H. Von Glasenapp. *Die Literaturen Indiens* pp. 6.7.

Deccan, visited by *Pere de St. Justin.* He has seen a temple full of idols. Next the Father deprecates the methods of certain so called Scholars, who changing a word here, misinterpreting a figure there, leaving out the differences and stressing the similarities, find in India the ancient traditions of all nations. Some of the inscriptions are in an unknown language, some are uninteresting etc. *Father Kircher* has reproduced some in his works. As to popular traditions, India is full of them. But their historical value in general is nil. It will be a pleasure for him to gather those which can throw some light on antiquity.

Then follow some lists of words common to Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. About these lists Pere Coeurdoux makes 18 remarks, which show his uncommon critical faculty. We shall give some of them.

1. *More attention should be paid to vowels than to consonants.* For inst. *Pita* and *Pater* come undoutedly from the same root, though the vowels differ.

2. *Often A is pronounced like O* at the end of word.

3. *In Sanskrit many words end in AM.* Hence similarity with the Latin Accusative, rather than with the Nominative. *Dantam. Denten* (Not Dens)

4, 5, 6, 7. In Sanskrit no *F. P and B* take its place. Similarly P, B, often take the place of *V.* (*Papam, Pavam.* Sin *Peccatum*). D changed into T (*Darmam, Tharmam*) *H.* changed into *G* (The Tamilians pronounce *Sandegam* not *Sandeham*). M often changed into N.

8. Sanskrit abounds in *aspirates.*

9. Some, however must be pronounced like the French *Chemin, Chapitre.*

10. P, followed by H is not pronounced like the Latin *Philosophia.* It is aspirate. So are D and T followed by H.

11. *There are 4 letters that stand for S.* Difficult to distinguish them in French.

12. If the word-ending *Caram* is dropped, similarities become often apparent. *f. i. Sus and Soucaram.*

13. The Sanskrit termination *Tuam* corresponds to the Latin *Tas: Devatuam; Divinitas.*

14. Though he has been unable to find *Dare* in Sanskrit, it undoubtedly exists. There is f. i. *Datta Putra, Filius Datus ab alio, Adoptivus.*

15. The word *Janitri* is remarkable; it corresponds to *Natura Omnium Genitrix.*

16. The Father makes *Manu* correspond to *Noah.* The *Ma* stands for *Maha.* Manu divides the people into castes. Noah is the second Father of mankind.

17. From *Durgam,* Fortress, he derives *Durg, Turg, Turris.*

18. *Other similarities between Greek and Sanskrit*: both have Singular, Dual, Plural; the Alpha privative; syllabic addition for the Aorist etc.

Next Pere *Coeurdoux* puts a question of his own to the *Abbe Barthelemy* and the other Academicians: *How is it that Sanskrit has so many similarities with Greek and Latin, and especially with Latin?* And he attempts to give himself an answer. We can only summarise. The similarities may be due to six causes:

1. *To Commerce.* (The influence is not great).

2. *To Intercourse among the learned.* (Excluded. The case of Pytagoras is briefly dismissed. The Brahmins thought they had nothing to learn from foreigners).

3. *Neighbour Countries.* (Excluded).

4. *Religion.* (Some Savants have exaggerated the mutual influences. They have been few and far between).

5. *Invasions.* (The invasion of India by Alexander: too rapid. *Bacchus?...Osiris?...*(Not worth discussing).

6. *Unity of Origin.* The solution seems to be here. In India two main stocks: The Descendants of Sem (*Dravidians?...*) and of *Japhet* (*Aryans?...*). Japhet had 7 sons, and 7 were the great Forefathers of the Brahmins. Now, the Brahmins ancient tongue is Sanskrit. They came to India from Caucasia and Tartary, which had been occupied by the sons of Magog. Of Japhet's children some spoke Latin, some Greek, some Sanskrit (??). Before separating there was an intermingling

of expressions, which are to be found now also in similar terms and words. From the above it is clear that Pere Coeurdoux is to be regarded with Sassett (16th century) and Schultze (1725) as one of the precursors of *Comparative Philology*. But it was due to the work of *Franz Bopp* (1791-1867) that Comparative Philology was raised to the rank of science. Not only did he detect similarities in single words, pertaining to different languages; but he included from the structure of the languages themselves, and from the flexions of verbs and nouns, that they belonged to a single group, which he designated as "*Indo-Germanic*".

2. *A letter of Anquetil Duperron to Pere Coeurdoux* (28-VII-1768) We shall summarize it.

Regrets the death of *Pere Lavaur*, S.J., missionary in India. from whom he had received favours. Thanks Pere Coeurdoux and Pere Mosac for their kindness to him while he was in India Says that now he belongs to the Royal Academy des Belles Lettres, and is the King's Interpreter for Oriental Languages. Desires that the Father should help the European Savants by gathering the popular traditions in India and getting someone to copy the Sanskrit Grammar he has. Next, the Father should acquire works on Indian Antiquities, and endeavour to illustrate them.

In Paris they have the Mss of *Padre Beschi*, the Telugu Grammar of *Pere Delalane* and a Dictionary Portuguese-Tamil and Tamil-Portuguese Of Peres *Calmet* and *Martin*, nothing. In Sanskrit they have a Grammar and a Dictionary; but the Syntax is wanting. Hence the Father might send the Syntax. Duperron can read *Malabar*, *Telongoum* and *Bengali*. He would like to have a copy of the Father's small Dictionary *Telongou-French-Sanskrit*. All expenses will be met.

The knowledge of Sanskrit will open up wonderful fields.

He has read the Persian History of *Mahmoud Sabokteguin*. (*) Pere de *Monjustin* should not stop the translation. Horrors are to be met with in all histories. Again, what is said about

* On the Indo Greek and other foreign Dynasties of North—Western India Cfr. V. Smith's Oxford History of India pp. 121-143.

Doltabad is not exact, *Iloura* is meant, nine *cosses* from *Aurengabad*. The rock-cut temple called Kailasa at Ellora, in the old Nizam's dominions, is one of the most marvellous works of human labour. The whole temple, hewn out of the side of a hill and enriched with endless ornament, stands clear as if built in the ordinary way.

It was built at the time of King Krishna I (*c*. A.D. 760).

He was in *Sandol* in 1757. He would like to get a design of the stone with the man, the woman and the tree. The twelve Zodiac figures will be something new.

The Father's views on the similarities between Latin, Greek and Sanskrit are subtle. He too believes in the existence of a common primitive tongue.

It should be remembered that the Greek Empire in Bactriana lasted more than 150 years, and Bactriana is not very far from India.

He agrees with the Father as to the inexistence of "*perpetual fire*" in India; but he calls the Father's attention that fire is kept up in many temples. Could he verify whether such fire is only used for sacrifices, or whether it is the object of worship?

He is pleased with the Father's theory that both the *Brahmins* and Sanskrit had their *origin near the Caucasus*. That is why Sanskrit contains so many Persian words. He wants the translation of the names of the seven forefathers of the Brahmins. He will add to the Sanskrit Dictionary in the King's Library the words whose meaning the Father has sent him.

He wants to know whether *Brahma* is the first God of the Indian Trinity, as is affirmed in the Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary, born from Vishnu's navel, possessing the power to create, as is found in the Teloungou Dictionary. Or is he *Burmo*, a divinity which the Sanskrit Dictionary distinguishes from Brahma the Creator? He would like to know whether the Indians say that *Bram* is only the creative attribute of the Supreme.

What is the nature of *Paraparavastu*—the supreme being of Indian Theology?

And what is the antiquity of the 4 *Vedams*? The Catalogue of the Royal Library mentions only 3: *Ragu Vedam, Sam Vedam, Atharvana Vedam.* If the notes are correct, it is the *Ridjou Vedam* that is missing.

It would be glorious if the Father could procure the forth Vedam for them.

Every year he will send to the Father the *Journal de Verdun*.

Will he please send the enclosed to Pere Mosac, with *M. Holwell's* work, and the two volumes of *Memoires de L'Academie des Belles Lettres*?

Greetings to Fr. Tieffentaller's of Agra, with whom Duperron was in correspondence while in Surate.

A Letter of the same to P. Mosac (*30—VII—1768.*) He informs him that he is a member of the Academy. Thanks him for his kindness when he reached Bengal, and the constant visits when he was sick in the Chandernagor Hospital. He offers his condolences for the tragic position of the Father. If he could join Pere Coeurdoux in writing to him, then he would get information from the interior of India, from Guzarate and from Bengal as well.

He sends him *Holwell's* Book (*Evenements Historiques et Relatifs aux Provinces du Bengale,* 2 Partie: *Mythologie des Indiens Tiree du Shasta Bhade—1768.* Trad. Fr.). Holwell's aim seems to raise the Indian Religion above all Religions. Five main points in the book:

1. *Authors are wrong to represent the Indians as plunged in idolatry.* But in the 2nd part he contradicts this statement 20 times. (pages given).

2. *The greatest portion of the story of Alexander's expedition is fabulous.* But what about the similarities of *Malliens* and *Moultan, Merus* and *Meru, Sindomana* and *Sind?*

3. *The names Brahma, Vishnu and Shiven have two meanings:* Allegoric (the three principal attributes of the Supreme); and Natural (the three first creatures). But this does not follow from the passages of the *Bhades* of which he gives the translation. The system represented by these allegories is open to the objections to which are open all Cosmogonies.

Duperron requests the Father to verify (a) if the allegorical explanations of Holwell are well founded. Couto says that the wives given by the Supreme to his agents represent *L'Apetito Incitativo Que os Obriga A Governar Aquillo Que Ten por Officio.* (b) Are *Brim* (the creative power of the Eternal). *Birmah* (first creature) *Brahma* (author of the *4 Bhades*) different beings in Indian Mythology? The Sanskrit Dictionary in the Royal Library distinguishes *Burmo* (essentia-divinitas) and mentions the *Burmosari* as "*qui deum solum spiritum adorant*".

4. *M. Holwell makes the Vedam 1500 years posterior to the Bhades. Duperron* finds nothing in his books to support this contention. According to him *Bhades* and *Vedas* are the same thing. The *Shastras* are the doctrinal part, the 18 *Puranas* are the historical, and the *Agamon* the ritual part of the *Vedas.* The Father will be pleased to give his opinion on this point.

5. M. Holwell pretends to be the first to have made known in Europe the Indian *ideas on Meteinpsychosis.* But Duperron finds them in *Couto.*

Holwell is very intolerant of those who differ from him, he is dogmatic about things he knows little about, he is not very conversant with the languages etc. In Paris they need a Sanskrit Grammar, a Dictionary Sanskrit-French, a Dictionary Bengali-French, the Alphabet used at Balassor.

Can the Father help?...etc.

This letter remained unanswered. In Duperron's words: "(Pere Mosac's) taste for silence was greater than every other consideration."

3. Pere Coeurdux' Letter to Mons. Duperron.

(*Pondicherry* 10—11—1771).

The books sent him by Duperron have taken eighteen months to reach.

What M. Holwell says about *Indian soldiers* is not correct. The Patans are brave; not so the Moors and the Mahrattas.

In the second vol. there is a new proof that the ancient Indians have known the *unity of God*. What they hold about transmigration lowers us to the rank of animals, or even of demons. The last invocation to *Sarasvati* is, to say the least, in bad taste.

In the *Mémoires* he finds the article of the Abbé Mignot full of erudition. Had he been in India, he would have avoided some blunders.

The Europeans are often mistaken about the *Lingam*. It is a phallic symbol.

To compare *Chrishna* with *Christ* is not only blasphemous, but also unscientific.

Too often Europeans seem to ignore the two great Indian systems: *Dwitam* and *Adwitam*.

The first is dualistic, the second monistic. Both acknowledge *God* as *Ananta* (immense), *Achariri* (bodiless), *Nirgunam* (no qualities), *Sarvantariami* (omnipresent), *Sarvecha* (Lord of all), *Anadi* (without beginning). Providence is represented as a globe; Brahma in the middle with arms extended. The name given to the Supreme is *Para Para Vastu*. But after the poetic advent of the *Trimurti*, Brahma has passed to a second rank.

The Adwitam acknowledges one being only, spiritual and bodiless. All the rest is illusion. Hence no real distinction between virtue and vice. Mother, wife, sister's wife, may all be considered equal. *The horrible consequences* of such ideas are acted upon in the *Shagti Puja*.

As to the *perpetual fire*, I reject only its universality. All the elements are worshipped by Indians; the fire above all. It is probable that elemental fire be Shiva itself. No matter if then the god is honoured by himself.

As to the Vedams: we call them *Sama*, *Ezur*, *Rug* and *Adharvana Vedam*. The last is a magic book. I do not believe, as some say, that it is lost. Such books are never lost. *Pere Calmette*, who knew Sanskrit well, used to say that the *Vedams* are written in ancient Sanskrit, now unintelligible. What they quote is not the Vedam proper, but the *Vedantam*. In the *Gaiatri* only one word *Savituru* is understood.

Pere Mosac thinks he has discovered the true Vedam. It is by a true philosopher, enemy of Polytheism. He has translated it. Wonderful if you could get it.

What you ask about verifying Greek or Latin words in Indian books... well, the work would be enormous.

As to the meaning of the names of the seven *Rushis*, I ignore it, except for two.

As to *Brahma*, I do not know whether India acknowledges more than one. Very likely.

The King of the inferior gods is not Brahma, but Devendra (Indra).

It is not difficult to get *Fr. Beschi's* Grammar (printed by the Danes at Tranquebar). Unquestionably he was the ablest scholar of the Tamil Mission.

I am getting the Sanskrit Grammar of Pere *Pons* copied out. The *Dictionary* takes time. Pere de Montjustin will not again take up his translation of the History by a Persian Author. As to the tree between a man and a woman, there are many such representations in India. It is the *Kalpal Vroukcham*.

Addressing myself to an Academician I should have written better, but I am old, etc.

4. LETTER OF ANQUETIL DUPERRON TO PERE COEURDOUX. (1771).

Received Sanskrit Grammar. Complains that Fr. Mosac is silent. He waits for Pere Mosac's translation of the Vedam. He hopes he will send the original as well.

He is the organ of the Academy for what he writes. The Academy thanks the Father for his communications. He will send the Father the three volumes of his *Zend-advesta*.

He requests that the copying of the Dictionary be hastened. If written in Nagri characters, the pronunciation to be added.

Texts confirming what the Father has said about Dwitam and Adwitam, desired. Does the *Advitam resemble Berkley's system?* Get whatever can be got about the unity of God and the deluge from Indian books. Texts to be added to translation.

The Father might *ask the title of correspondent of the Acadamie*. It might be obtained.

5. ANSWER OF P. COEURDOUX { RECEIVED 8-5-1773 WRITTEN Oct. 1772 }

He will not beg the title of Correspondent, though he values it. P. Mosac will not communicate his writings. He hopes the Dictionary will be got ready. But something should be paid to the writer Maridas. Not easy to determine what Indians really mean by *Maya*. P. Pons speaks of the immoral consequences drawn from the Adwita system. The writer himself has read of them in *Brahma Uttara Candam*. Not easy to get original works. The English, who have plenty of money, might get them. Seven Penitents were saved from deluge. Gods and demons saved themselves by attaching themselves, to the hairs of *Bassava*, Shiva's bull. He sends the *Sandhia* (morning, midday and evening prayers of Brahmins) communicated to him by a convert. Woe if Brahmins should know of it. He will try to satisfy him about Nagri characters. In a magic book Father has been surprised to find same proceedings used by Balaam against God's army.

Note of Pere Coeurdoux on solitary Brahmans and on the date of the deluge: On the first point he has dealt elsewhere. He remarks here that these Brahmins treat especially of Astronomy and Astrology.

From the Deluge start all their astronomical calculations. We live in the 4th age, the Kaliyugam. It begins at the end of the Deluge, from which only seven men and their wives escaped on a ship built by Vishnu. Remark that this is admitted by a nation very ancient, never fallen into barbarism, attached to its customs and traditions. Its period is a period of 60 years, and it begins at the end of the deluge. The Bible also begins counting from there: *Primo mense, prima die mensis Noe vidit*, etc. Other nations, subjected to many revolutions, have lost the date of an event, which has been kept in India.

Besides the civil cycle of 60 years the Indians have a later (astronomical) cycle of 90. Now the date of the deluge, according to the Vulgate, differs from that of the Septuagint by about 900 years. The Indian calculation gives from the Deluge to Christ 3102 years. The Septuagint gives 3258. The difference

is only 156 years. The difference would be even less if we take the Vulgate and the calculations of some chronologists (i.e. 132 years). The Indian epoch, if not true, seems very near the truth.

Anquetil Duperron answered in 1775. But he heard nothing more of Pere Coeurdoux or of Pere Mosac.

APPENDIX III

LETTER OF FR. PAVONE TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.*

YOUR EMINENCE.

I feel bound to thank Your Eminence most sincerely for the great kindness You showed me in joining and supporting my brother's humble petition for obtaining the payment of my pension. I trust that the same kindness will get for me the continuation of the same favour, which I most humbly beg of Your Eminence. From December 1761 to February 1784 I devoted my small ability to the spiritual care of the Mysoreans. Having been imprisoned by the usurper of this Kingdom, and having been robbed of whatever I had (except a few trifles for the journey), I, together with the other missionaries, was expelled, after we had witnessed with great pain and sorrow, the churches destroyed and the Christians persecuted. May God forgive the Canarin Priests who were the cause of this, by adhering to the English in the war which the latter waged against Mysore. This roused a terrible hatred in the heart of the tyrant against our holy religion. I reached Pondicheri, but I did not stop there. With infinite trouble, running along the coast of Coromandel, the Fishery and Travancore, I came to Malabar, from which, being nearer, I could more easily be of some help to those poor Christians who were deprived of their Pastors. In fact I could do so for three years, living in a Church of Syrian rite, where I could administer the Sacrements to those who came there, and exhort to stand firm in the faith those who could not come. But a fierce storm stirred up by Syrians, threw me out of that church and of the boundaries

* This important letter was obtained only of late from the Archives of Propaganda. It throws much light on Chapters III, IV and V of Part I.

of the Mission. As soon as these people come to know of the death of Mgr. Cariati, which took place in Goa, on the 9th September 1786, they thought it was violent and not natural. Convinced of this they worked themselves into a fury and complained bitterly to the King of Travancore, crying for vengeance against the European Priests, whom they believed guilty. To this accusation they added many others, and did all they could to get them expelled. The circumstances were favourable, for the King was angered, and with reason, against the Bishop of Cochin.

Meanwhile came on the scene the new Governador of the Archbishopric (of Angamale), F. Thomas Perimakel, the companion of the late Archbishop. He, being swayed by the same excessive nationalism and by ambition, fostered the same project in his heart, and aimed with all his might at obtaining the episcopal dignity. On the day in which he took possession of the see, he convened all his people in the church of Angamale. There he described to them the death of Mgr. Cariati in a way so captious and deceiving that, though he did not assert that he had been killed, he made them understand it had been so. Further he read a paper, which he affirmed to be a letter written by the Theresian Fathers to the Nuncio in Portugal (and which even the Gentiles judged to be false) where they asked that Archbishop Cariati should not be sent out to India. He said that in order to get a Malayalee Bishop it was not necessary to wait for the Bulls from Rome. He could be consecrated out here, as is done by some European Princes, and then they could ask the Pope's approval.

By these and other similar cavils, he fanned their fury to such a pitch that, without thinking what they were doing, they put together a written document, where after giving a long string of facts, some entirely false, others wrongly interpreted, about European Bishops and missionaries, they declared their refusal to be any longer under them, and their determination to govern themselves under a Bishop of their own nation. This was very ungrateful of them, for the Europeans had laboured and spent much to bring them back to the Catholic Faith.

Besides, will they be able to govern themselves? If, with all the care bestowed on them by the European Missionaries, they are so ill behaved, so recalcitrant, so little religious, what will they be without them? This document, signed under oath by all the Syrian Christians, was published throughout Malabar, so that there was no man or woman, no grown up or child, no catholic or heretic, who did not come to know it, with great discredit of religion and of the priesthood. And I, while staying in one of their Churches, could hear it read and re-read from my room. And they were saying with derision and contempt: "What wonder that a Bishop should be killed by those who have massacred Kings and Popes?" And it was not possible to contradict them without rousing their indignation. And one of my servants, who dared deny the truth of their assertions, ran the risk of being severely beaten. Now, how could I remain among people who looked with such disfavour upon European Missionaries? So at the beginning of winter, when there was no danger from the Mysoreans, I came to Cettiate, a Latin Church of the Apostolic Vicariate, where I still remain. Meanwhile the war, which at the beginning was waged against all Europeans, left the Portuguese alone, and turned against the Theresian Fathers. Thus they hoped that the Portuguese would help them to get their candidate consecrated Archbishop of Cranganore. And in fact the Bishop of Cochin has promised (I know not with what prudence, whether sincerely or not, for the matter does not depend on him, nor is it proper in any way) he has promised to get them the nomination from Goa, and later on the Roman Bull, by way of Portugal. And this as a reward for having withdrawn from the rule of the Vicar Apostolic, and as an inducement to get them to reconcile themselves with the Padroado.

All this was done, after having confirmed the said written promises by another letter, which was sent to the King's Minister. Was peace obtained thereby? Not quite, for it cost the Bishop a good deal of money; further he had to yield to all their pretensions, which is far from honorable; again, he subjects himself entirely to the King. The King on the other hand,

has accepted only in appearance and will not long abide by his promises. Surely such peace is bound to fail, considering the Bishop's character, proud grasping, impulsive, turbulent. He wants only Canarin Priests in his Diocese, and does his best to get rid of the Franciscans. It would be excusable to expel the guilty, if there are any, but why expel them all?

Meanwhile the Theresian Fathers, seeing themselves attacked by such horrible calumnies, and considering that silence on their part would condemn them before the world with great detriment to their good name, thought it proper to take up their own defence, and justify themselves before the Courts of the Kings of Travancore and Cochin. In this they were so lucky as to be cleared of all accusations except one, namely that a Cattenar had died in prison without their knowledge. This made them appear negligent in the care of the prisoner.

They were obliged however to give up the Syrian Churches, keeping only the Latin ones, which really was the best in the circumstances. But this victory cost dear to the Syrians, who were obliged to pay a very big sum of money to the two Kings, part because they had promised, part because they lost the case. And here the scene began to change. The necessity of paying such a large amount, which in their fury seemed light at first, began to appear in all its weight, when they grew calmer. They were touched to the quick and finally opened their eyes, which had been blinded by their fanaticism. They began to understand that they had played into the hands of their Rajas, and they realized by experience that the rule of a national Prelate is not better than that of a foreigner. The hope to have a Bishop from their own gradually faded away. They saw themselves deprived of the help which they used to get from the Europeans. These reflections were followed by the conscience that they had blundered, and had been deluded. Finally they repented. And already many Churches contemplate their return under the Vicar Apostolic, putting aside the document wherein they had promised never to return.

It is certain that their present condition cannot last. Dissension will soon begin among them. And so God Almighty, by His terrible justice, has made use of their own devices to humble

their pride, which had indeed become intolerable. Since the circumstances have changed, I too will change; and I am thinking of returning to the boundaries of the Mission, in order to be able, as far as possible, to bring some help to those deserted souls; with the intention, however, if God grants me life, to come back here to pass the winter. But my help can never suffice. It is necessary to find some way of inducing the tyrant to readmit the missionaries into his dominions. Perhaps through France, with which he is allied, and where he has just sent an embassy. But who will be the missionaries to go there, if there is none to go to Madura, where the door is open for those who wish to enter, and the Christians are very numerous, and their need, if not extreme now, will be so in a short time? There are no recruits from Portugal. Goa has no men fit for the purpose. The Canarin Priests if formely ill adapted for such a holy ministry, have now made themselves totally unworthy. Who could believe it? Not a few of them, joined together with many laymen of their nation, plotted to kill all the Portuguese, either by the sword, or by putting poison in their bread.

Thus they hoped to become absolute masters of that dominion. The leaders were three: a certain Vittorino, who is still in Portugal, and two others who returned in April 1786—by name Gajetan Cotto and J. A. Gonzalvez. The last managed to run away and found shelter among the Gentiles. All the others are now strictly guarded in prison. It is true that the conspiracy was discovered in time, but let us hope that Goa may not perish through the tyrant of Mysore, with whom it is held for certain that the conspirators had secret dealings.

Nothing else remains but that this sacred Congregation should find a remedy, either taking charge of the two missions mentioned above, or dealing efficiently with France and Portugal in order that they should send good labourers, furnished with all the needful, and France should deal with the Ruler of Mysore in order that he should readmit them into his Kingdom.

And since without the faculties usually given ad *vicennium*, to dispense in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity the faithful cannot be kept, and many will be lost, I in their name,

beg of Your Eminence to obtain them from His Holiness, and to send them as soon as possible. And in particular I ask the dispensation for one, who, after the missionaries had been exiled from Mysore, since he could not find a suitable wife of his own caste, married his niece, namely his own sister's daughter. The reason why I beg for a dispensation is that he has children and now they cannot be separated. I see very well that by making this request, which does not concern me, I usurp somebody else's office. But I dare do it (and if there is any fault, I ask pardon), because he who up to now governed the Archbishopric did not do it, and he who governs now has little experience, and I doubt whether he will do it.

And now, kissing the hem of the sacred purple, I humbly sign myself

of Y. E.

most obedient and

devoted servant

Francesco Saverio Pavone.

Seettiate in Malabar

4th February 1788.

INDEX

* Ended in India in 1950.